[GUIDE TO THE SA19 TALAMANCA FILE]

For the purposes of this file the Talamanca nation includes the Boruca, Bribri, Cabecar, Changuena, Coto, Dorasque, Quepo, and Terraba (Chirripo, Tirub) tribes.

Five sources have been processed for the files. 1: Gabb is the basic source, of broad subject coverage, with considerable data in the form of word lists. 2: Skinner is a well-illustrated description emphasizing the material culture of the Bribri. 3: Stone is a balanced though short ethnography of the Boruca, a highly acculturated group. 4: Pittier de Fabrega consists of a selection of folk-tales; and 5: Urcullu provides historical depth in the form of a missionary report at the time of the early Spanish contacts with the Indians.

Although this file does not provide thorough coverage of all tribes and subjects, the material which has been processed is well balanced and presents a fairly good account of most aspects of Talamanca culture. --Analyst]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Rama SA17

ON THE INDIAN TRIBES AND LANGUAGES OF COSTA RICA.

BY WM. M. GABB.

(*Read before the American Philosophical Society, August* 20, 1875.)

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES.

R T 101

The Indians of Costa Rica, with the hardly probable exception of the Guatusos, all belong to one closely allied family. I only make this possible exception in deference to the almost absolute ignorance which yet exists in regard to this isolated tribe.

R 131

Before entering on the consideration of the better known peoples of the southern part of the Republic, it may be as well to make a brief summary of what is known of the Guatusos up to the present time. They occupy a part of the broad plains north and east of the high volcanic chain of North-Western Costa Rica, and south of the great lake of Nicaragua, especially about the head waters of the Rio Frio. I have fortunately fallen in with various persons who have entered their country, and who have had an opportunity of seeing the people and their mode of life. The stories of some are so evidently exaggerated that I shall suppress them; but by carefully sifting the evidence and giving a due preponderance to the testimony of those whom I consider most reliable, I have arrived at the following results.

R 114 124

R 142

Thomas Belt, the author of "The Naturalist in Nicaragua," says he has seen of them, five children and one large boy, "and they all had the common Indian features and hair; though it struck me that they appeared rather more intelligent than the generality of Indians." He also says that "one little child that Dr. Seeman and I saw in San Carlos in

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce T [132] [137] a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1700 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. T [191] The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. T 609 648 At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially, 101
politically, and religiously, but differing markedly in language. The 131
Cabecars occupy the country from the frontiers of civilization to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tiliri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bris occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquin and the valley lying around the mouths of these streams. The Tiribris, now reduced to barely a hundred souls, live in two villages on the Tilorio or Changinola River. It is said that on the head waters of the Changina, a large fork of this latter stream, there are yet a few individuals of the Changina tribe, but the other Indians report them as implacably hostile and their very existence is only known by vague reports of their savage neighbors. The Shelaba tribe, formerly living on the lower part of the same river is now entirely extinct. A few half-breeds are all who perpetuate the blood, and their language is utterly lost. Still further down the coast, beyond the Costa Rican boundaries is another allied tribe, partly civilized, in so far as that they trade and work a little and drink a great deal of bad rum, spending most of their earnings on that bane of the race. They are called by foreigners Valientes. Crossing over to the Pacific slope, the Terrabas are tribally identical with the Tiribis. The tradition still exists in a vague form, that they are emigrants [173]
from the Atlantic side; but when or why the emigration took place, is forgotten. The home of the tribe is in a very narrow, rough cañon, traversed by a river that might better be called a torrent, a country strongly contrasted with the fertile plains and broad savannas of Terraba, and it is not improbable that under the press of a crowded population several migrations took place. They still tell how, twenty or thirty years [797]
ago, a priest came over from Terraba, baptized all who would submit to the rite, and by glowing stories of the abundance of meat and other inducements that he shrewdly imagined would tempt them, carried off over a dozen of their best men, who never returned. A glance at the vocabulary will show how little separated are these two branches of the tribe in language. The Borucas or Bruncas, who occupy a little village, not far from the headquarters of the Terrabas, are apparently the older occupants of the soil; perhaps crowded into a corner by the invaders.

Other tribal names are mentioned by various authors, such as Bicei- 101
tas, &c. The name Bicoita is not known in the country, and, although used to the present day outside of the Indian country, is unknown to them, or at best, is supposed to be a Spanish word. The district of that name is probably the western part of Bri-bri, the most eastern point to which the slave-hunting expeditions from San José Cabécar penetrated. The Blancos are properly the Bri-bri tribe, but this word is rather loosely used, and is often applied alike to the Cabecars and Tiribis.

But little can be gathered of the history of these people. What hap- 173
pened in the times of their grandfathers is already ancient history and partly forgotten. All recollection of the first arrival of the Spaniards is now lost. They have no traditions of the use of stone implements before the introduction of metal. When asked what they did for axes before the traders

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

CULTURAL POSITION AND ORGANIZATION

The Bribri, according to Sapper,[3] Brinton,[4] Thomas and Swanton,[5] and Pittier,[2a] belong to the South American rather than to the Mexican and North American culture group. According to Pittier, the tribe is divided into two groups, the Tubor-uak[6] and the Kork-uak or Djbar-uak. These moieties were exogamous and matrilineal, and were divided into the following clans:

101 614 616

TUBOR-UAK

Suritz-uak, Deer clan.
Dutz-uak, Bird clan.
Bokir-uak.
Dojk-uak.
Sark-uak, Monkey clan.
Dogdi-uak, Snail-shell-River clan.
Orori-uak, Ravine-of-the-Arari-River clan.
Kugdi-uak, Ravine-of-the-Uren-River clan.
Tkiut-uak, Flea-house-site clan.
Duri-uak, Bird-ravine clan.
Arau-uak, Thunder-house clan.
Urijk-uak, Ant-eating-Bear clan.

KORK-UAK, OR DJBAR-UAK

Djbar-uak.
Di-u-uak, Water-house clan.
Tkbiri-uak, Snake-ravine clan.
Kos-uak, Precipice clan.

GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. *Diquis* is the older
103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Río Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-
[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east.
162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five
361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory
175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 82, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 428.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca.*[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[13] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k·a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The
Boruca distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

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FOLK-LORE OF THE BRIBRI AND BRUNKA INDIANS IN COSTA RICA.

THIS is, I believe, the first attempt to collect the tales and legends still preserved among the Costa Rican Indians. My primary object in compiling them was to obtain original texts for the study of the languages of the tribes mentioned, and a few of these texts, all belonging to the Bribri, have already been published in German, in the "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien."[1] 121

As far as our very imperfect knowledge of the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of Costa Rica allows us to admit, the bulk of the population consisted at the time of the Spanish conquest of five or six main groups, differentiated essentially by their languages. The *Chorotegas*, in the peninsula of Nicoya, belonged to a northern stock, as did the small *Nahua* colonies scattered among them. The *Votos* or *Corobicies* occupied the low plains along the San Juan River and the northwestern end of the main cordillera; they are still represented to-day, at the headwaters of the Rio Frio Valley, by the ill-fated Guatos, whose complete disappearance is a question of only a few years. The *Huetares*, *Huetares* or *Guetares* extended all over the central part of the country; they have become extinct, or are mixed up and lost among the present half-bred or Spanish population in the densely inhabited strip between Port Limon and Puntarenas; but far to the east, in the valleys which originate in the highest region of the cordillera, and descend towards the Caribbean Sea (Chirripó, Estrella, Tarire, Coen, Arári, Uren), there still live in an isolated state about 1500 of their descendants, divided into the two chief groups of the *Cabécaras* (including the Chirripóes and other scattered families) and the *Vyeritas*, *Blancos*, or *Bribri*. The *Tirub*, *Térribes*, or *Térrubas* formed another stock, once powerful, but reduced to-day to a miserable handful located near the headwaters 101 131 162

[1] H. Pittier de Fábrega, *Die Sprache der Bribri Indianer in Costa Rica*, etc. 1898, vol. cxxxviii.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[776] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

101 There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
131 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyta;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thóxar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymi.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike;
[411] for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymíes* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymíes,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

FOREWORD

121 THESE pages present the life of two indig-
●101 enous groups, the Cabécares and the Bribri, who number among the first-known inhabitants of Costa Rican soil. They are
[177] people in varied stages of acculturation, but many are now taking part in the national environment and life of the republic.

115 There are numerous informants who helped with the gathering of details which have contributed to the making of this book. Among these were two young teachers, Teofilo Mayorga, a Cabécar from Ujarrás, and Gabriel Figueroa, a Bribri from Salitre. Both took down the linguistic texts in phonetics and aided in the literal translations. Saturnino Ortiz and Marcos Ortiz, also from Salitre, and Herman Villanueva of China Kichá supplied much important data.

There were two medicine men whose aid was invaluable, Telesforo Figueroa, Bribri, and Victor Challe, Cabécar, and the late Bribri Burier, Jaime Ortiz.

To these, to Roger Thayer Stone, and to the countless others who cooperated in the preparation of this text, among whom figure Agnes Gamboa, Francisco Amighetti, and Naomi Stratton, the author renders profound gratitude.

Doris Stone

San José, Costa Rica, 1960

[P. V]

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail
487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUAYMÍ]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[35] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUAYMÍ]

[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] See Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116–30; Lehmann,

101 **Peoples:** *Names and Location.* Such complicated terminology with respect to geographical extensions leaves little hope for too clear a presentation of the inhabitants of this area. [635] The ancient provinces of Duy and Guaymí included the northwestern section of Panama which was in part the home of the Térraba Indians. These people will be treated only in connection with history and tradition in this study in spite of the fact that in historic times there was a small group on the Zorquín River.[22] In the actual report, we use the term Talamanca as an all-inclusive word for the Bribri and the Cabécares. There are between [162] two and three thousand of these people on the Caribbean side, and approximately 1,595 on the Pacific.

Panamanian Border to the Coen River. Many names are listed in the documents pertaining to the area from the Panamanian border to the Coen River in Costa Rica. Among these, the commonest are: Ara, Ateo, Abicetaba, Blancos, Biceitas or Viceitas, Korrhué, Ucabarúa, and Valientes. To be sure, most of these terms are spelled in various ways according to the period and the author. These peoples were found between the Urén, Lari, and Coen rivers and in the plain of the Tiliri or Sixaola River, at least as far as Punta Cahuita.[23]

This entire group seems to have been closely related although they were not all one original people.[24] Collectively, they were the first to be known as Talamancas in the early 17th century, and today are called by this name or by that of Bribri.[25] It is interesting to examine these ancient designations because certain ones are associated with peoples now extinct, while others have a definite inference in modern terminology.

The groups that have now disappeared are

[103] [22] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 218. This is also a Mosquitia name. The Bribri term is Choli.

[23] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. We do not include here the Sicuas or Zeguas who were also found on the north coast. They were known to be of Mexican extraction. For an account of these people *see* Lothrop, 1944.

[24] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 219-20.

[25] *See*, e.g., the reports of the Franciscan fathers toward the end of the 17th century. The distinction is clearly made between Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas. *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 369-74.

101 the Ateo, Korrhué, and Ucabarúa. The Korrhué, however, seem to have been originally a Cabécar clan conquered by the Bribri.[26] The [103] name Ara or Arari still signifies in Bribri the upper Lari River, and in a certain sense can mean the inhabitants of this region although as a name it is not applied to the people.[27] Here a settlement known as Bribri is located. The term Biceita or Viceita seems to have its source in that of the Abicetaba who were a Bribri clan[28] and, even though not used in 1959, is understood in Costa Rica as the Bribri. Blancos and Valientes were loose terms as Gabb has correctly shown. Blancos sometimes included the peoples on the western side of the Coen, while Valientes more correctly was applicable to the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Chiriqui Lagoon or Almirante Bay.[29]

Bribri is unknown in the early documentation, but as Pittier points out, the word is derived from *dẹri-dẹri* which he states means "brave" or "strong."[30] In 1959, the Bribri still insist that their name comes from *dererri* meaning "strong" or "hard" and that "brave" is *ẹnsú*. Lehmann[31] notes that during the years 1590–93 the terms *Vrivri* and *Taquetaque* signified to the Guetar of Cuquerrique (Tuquerrique) "Lords and sons of lords." When we remember the tradition that the Bribri conquered at least the Cabécares (*see* Non-Documental History), there is ample reason for these statements.

Western Bank of the Coen River to the Reventazón. On the western bank of the Coen River and continuing through the Tarire to the Reventazón rivers were many names, including the Cavécaras (Cabécares), Urinamás, Siruros, Moyaguas, and Chirripó, with a people called Estrella in the coastal area.[32] The only ones of this group, with the possible exception of

[26] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[27] In the Bribri tongue, *ara* means "you." *ará* means "a child."
[28] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219.
[29] Gabb, 1875, p. 487.
[30] Pittier, 1898, p. 16.
[31] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. It should be remembered that Spanish is a phonetic language and even today *v* and *b* are by mistake used interchangeably. In colonial times they were confused more frequently. *See also* Fernández, 1907, vol. VII, p. 392.
[32] Thiel, 1896–98, p. 47. For a more detailed list *see* Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 221.

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.
[136] [133] [262]

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.
[797] 174

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the [101]

174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb[37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.
● 101 South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[40] Stone, 1949.
[42] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

101 361 [162] The two Bribri groups are to be found at Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*ʒeri*) and amount to approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival of Bribri here is not known although it was [174] probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds 173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca 166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig- [614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time. [582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Analyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at the same time conquered, Cabécares generally [191] understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Analyst]

[43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. [103] The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Fran- [797] ciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

● 101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[46] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri
[784]

Organization.)

[46] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–90.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically distinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation. [177]

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. Transportation is restricted to foot with the 489 exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent 491 and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- 177 quest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the 648 republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 10(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

● 101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for distinctions in beliefs and living habits between
101 one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

[P. 36 (B)]

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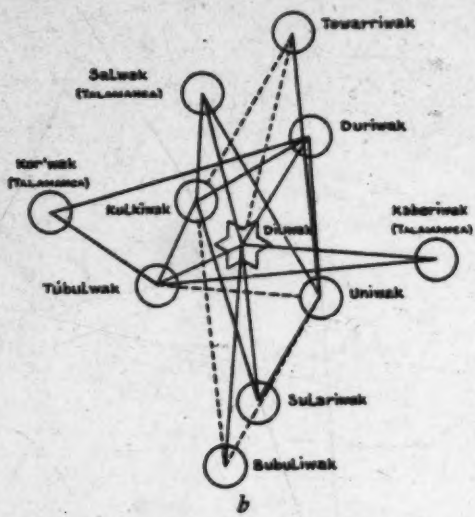

b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

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maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séką́* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ką́* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *dítsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *sruwet* meaning "other group."[118]

[582]

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

[614]

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

101

[118] In the Cabécar, *dəsuwak* means "same group." *séberwetar* is "other group."

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their language *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is
192 composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkíwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*ñame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak	mediwak
mogriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts
611 of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves members of their *father's* clan in spite of the
[851] fact that the father has married outside of his people

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *túbor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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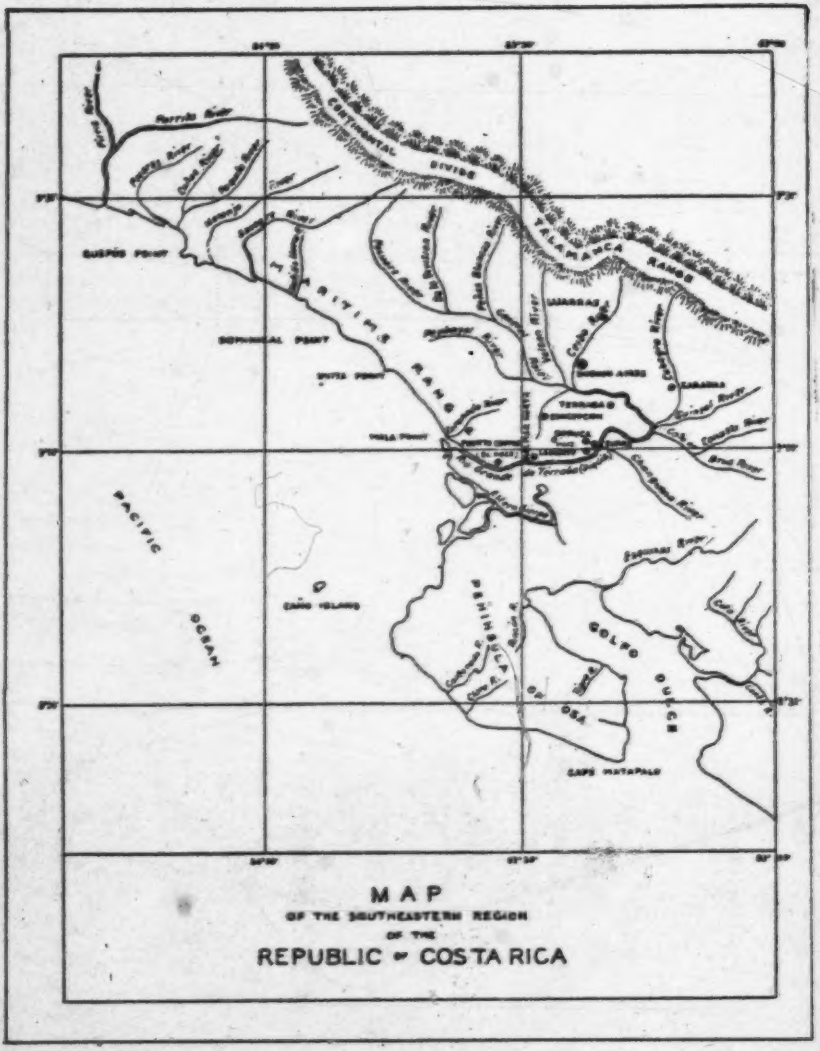
MAP
OF THE SOUTHEASTERN REGION
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA
CONTINENTAL DIVIDE
TALAMANCA RANGE
BRITUNCA RANGE
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULFO DULCE
PENINSULA DE OSA
CAPE MATAPALO
CAPE BLANCO
CAPE VELAS
CAPE CORCOVADO
CAPE BLANCO
CAPE VELAS
CAPE CORCOVADO
CAPE MATAPAL

[P.4]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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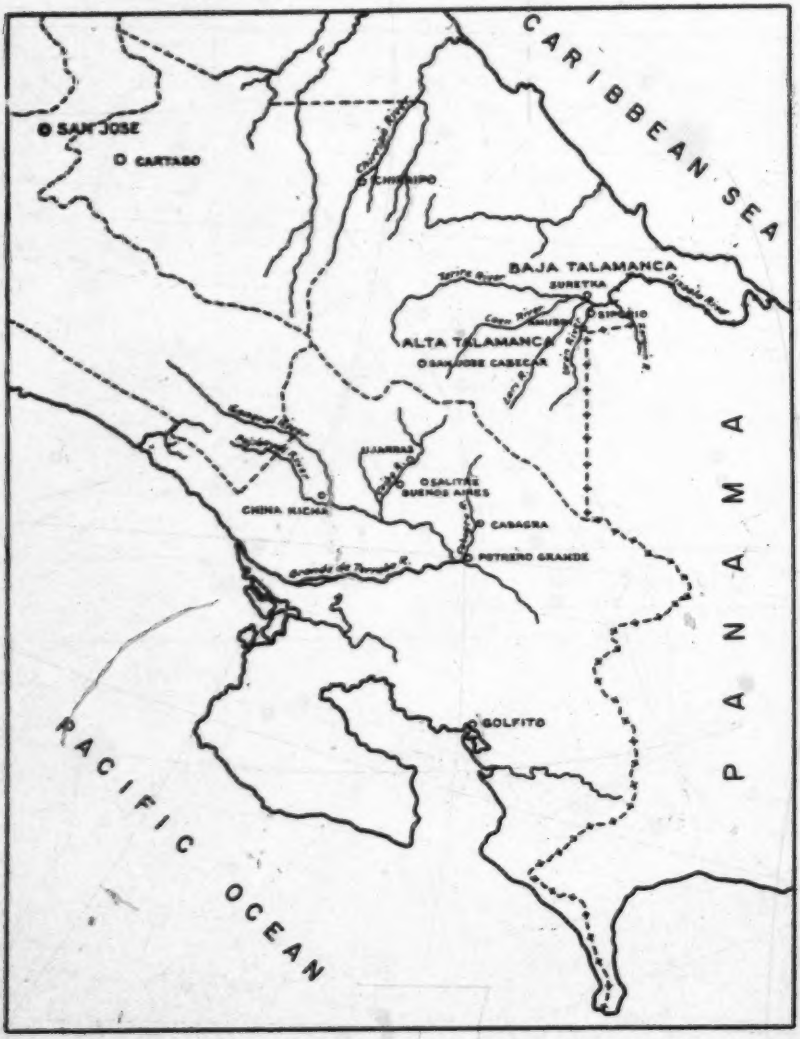

FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribri and Cabécar Indians.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

192 corpse	al'-ma	Can this be Spanish, *alma*, soul?
cotton	sa-wi'+juk	*Juk*, material.
to cough (v)	to	The resemblance to the Sp. *tos*, a cough, is probably only a coincidence.
cough (s)		
[103] country	koñg koñg+ska	*Koñg* is used in innumerable compounds. Not only is it used in the same manner in all the allied dialects, but in Brunka, it occurs as *kak*, the sun. Nearly all words relating to country, air, day, atmosphere, sky, earth, in short, the general physical surroundings, contain it as an integral part, *Koñg+ska* is the country inhabited by any people.
cousin	——	Cousins are called "brother" and "sister," even if several degrees removed.
to cover	pa+bō-ku' i-shku+pa+bō-ku'	*Pa*, skin, covering, surface; *i-bō-ku*, see to pack; to cover a solid object. To cover a vessel to shut a book.
coward	sū-wa+na	See afraid.
crab	ju-wi'	
crazy	i-li'-na	*Ye li'-na-ka*, "he is crazed."
crooked	ki-tunk'	
cup	kyoñg	See calabash.
to cut	i-nyu' i-tu'	Without chopping. With chopping.
cylindrical	a-ra-bo'+wa	
damp	mong'-mok	
to dance	klu'+ptu	*Klu*, the foot; *ptu*, the sole.
dark	tset-tsei'	Also any dark color, especially dark brown.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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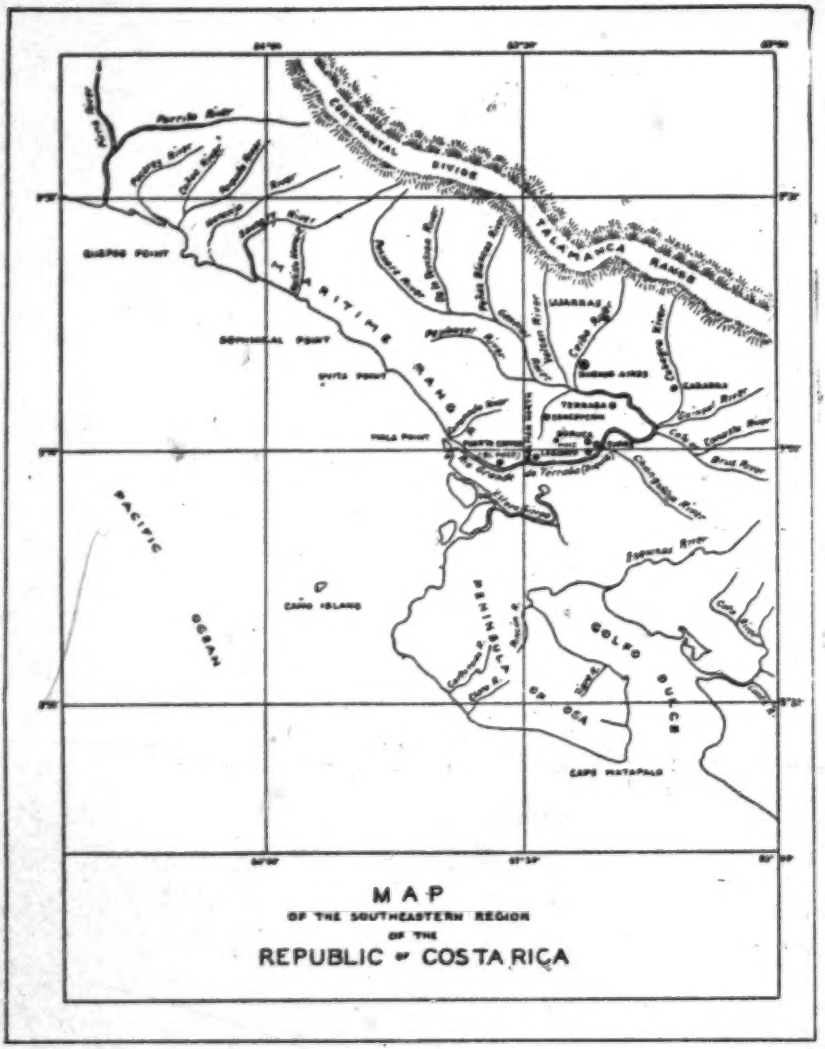
MAP
OF THE SOUTHEASTERN REGION
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA
CONTINENTAL DIVIDE
TALAMANCA RANGE
RITIMA RANGE
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULFO DULCE
PENINSULA DE OSA
CAPE MATAPALO
CAPE BLANCO
CAPE VIRGIN
CAPE CORCOVADO
CAPE SAN PEDRO
CAPE SAN JUAN
CAPE SAN JOSE
CAPE SAN LUCAS
CAPE SAN ANTONIO
CAPE SAN MARCOS
CAPE SAN MIGUEL

GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. *Diquis* is the older
103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Rio Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-
[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east.
162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five
361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory
175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

539 Brunka to his presence, and told him he could go, and to be careful not to wound hogs again without killing them. He also marked in his presence all the hogs he would be at liberty to kill. And the man went away through the woods, until he got to Krámra-ua,[1] where he met with a few of his kinsmen who were hunting hogs. When they saw the man who used to cure them, the hogs always ran to him, and never would go away, so that he could easily kill all those which had been marked for him. And he always advised his companions never to wound animals, but to kill them right away.

VII. DON PEDRO CASCANTE.

(Legend of the hollow trail of El Pito.[2])

487 In very remote times, when the Spaniards had not yet arrived in these countries, the Indians only could climb up from the coast of 773 Quepos to the high mountains of Dota by following the long and [481] tiresome ridge of El Pito, bound together by means of the royal vine into files of ten to twenty, and pulled by witchcraft without any effort from their side. But, also, on each journey one man disappeared without the others being aware when or how, and that was the toll they paid for the dreaded ascent.

539 This great calamity had lasted for numberless years, and the trail to El Pito became deeper and narrower from day to day, on account of the way they had to go over it, bound together in long files, when a very holy missionary father left Cartago, riding a strong white mule, to go and win over the Indians. And as he was going down to the coast through the fearful road of El Pito, he met the "Encanto" which had taken the form of a big turkey, and would not get out of the road to let the holy man pass. Then the father became very angry; he alighted from his mule, bound the turkey with a blessed string, and dragged him down hill until they got to the place called "Alto de los Cotos." There he tied him to a large tree which he blessed, and told him that he would stay there up to the day of the final doom. And from that day hence, the "Encanto" never again annoyed the passers-by.

Only a certain Pedro Cascante, who had a large breeding-farm of mules and cattle, down on the plain of "El Calicanto," allowed himself to become a prey to his avarice, and on account of it, he lost his soul.

Cascante had become very rich by carrying out to San Marcos the

[103]

[1] Krámra-ua, name of a place on the lower Diquis.

[2] This trail, so deeply cut into the ridge of El Pito as to be tunnel-like at a few places, leads from San Marcos, once one of the principal residences of the Quepos Indians, down to the coastal plains of the Pacific.

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper
487 Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUEST]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[635] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUEST]

[115] [2] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[3] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[3]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued
[Text continues to P of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

[P.4]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

102
103
131
133

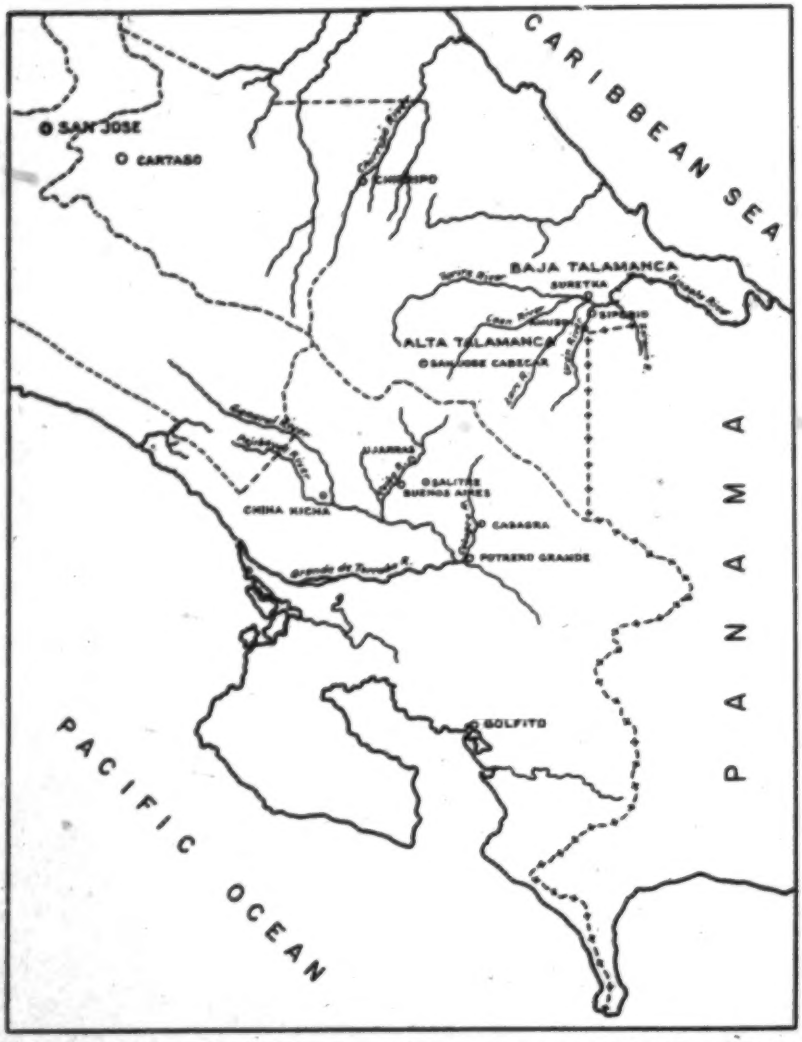

FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribri and Cabécar Indians.

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: ". . . they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614] [114]

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, ". . . una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

[192]

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of [illegible] to that of Pococi.[15] It included the T[illegible] River, an important affluent of the Six[illegible], and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez [175] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques es el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9–39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

101 **Peoples:** *Names and Location.* Such complicated terminology with respect to geographical extensions leaves little hope for too clear a presentation of the inhabitants of this area. [635] The ancient provinces of Duy and Guaymí included the northwestern section of Panama which was in part the home of the Térraba Indians. These people will be treated only in connection with history and tradition in this study in spite of the fact that in historic times there was a small group on the Zorquín River.[22] In the actual report, we use the term Talamanca as an all-inclusive word for the Bribri and the Cabécares. There are between [162] two and three thousand of these people on the Caribbean side, and approximately 1,595 on the Pacific.

Panamanian Border to the Coen River. Many names are listed in the documents pertaining to the area from the Panamanian border to the Coen River in Costa Rica. Among these, the commonest are: Ara, Ateo, Abicetaba, Blancos, Biceitas or Viceitas, Korrhué, Ucabarúa, and Valientes. To be sure, most of these terms are spelled in various ways according to the period and the author. These peoples were found between the Urén, Lari, and Coen rivers and in the plain of the Tiliri or Sixaola River, at least as far as Punta Cahuita.[23]

This entire group seems to have been closely related although they were not all one original people.[24] Collectively, they were the first to be known as Talamancas in the early 17th century, and today are called by this name or by that of Bribri.[25] It is interesting to examine these ancient designations because certain ones are associated with peoples now extinct, while others have a definite inference in modern terminology.

The groups that have now disappeared are

[103] [22] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 218. This is also a Mosquitia name. The Bribri term is Choli.

[23] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. We do not include here the Sicuas or Zeguas who were also found on the north coast. They were known to be of Mexican extraction. For an account of these people *see* Lothrop, 1944.

[24] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 219–20.

[25] *See*, e.g., the reports of the Franciscan fathers toward the end of the 17th century. The distinction is clearly made between Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas. *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 369–74.

101 the Ateo, Korrhué, and Ucabarúa. The Korrhué, however, seem to have been originally a Cabécar clan conquered by the Bribri.[26] The [103] name Ara or Arari still signifies in Bribri the upper Lari River, and in a certain sense can mean the inhabitants of this region although as a name it is not applied to the people.[27] Here a settlement known as Bribri is located. The term Biceita or Viceita seems to have its source in that of the Abicetaba who were a Bribri clan[28] and, even though not used in 1959, is understood in Costa Rica as the Bribri. Blancos and Valientes were loose terms as Gabb has correctly shown. Blancos sometimes included the peoples on the western side of the Coen, while Valientes more correctly was applicable to the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Chiriqui Lagoon or Almirante Bay.[29]

Bribri is unknown in the early documentation, but as Pittier points out, the word is derived from *dẹri-dẹri* which he states means "brave" or "strong."[30] In 1959, the Bribri still insist that their name comes from *dererri* meaning "strong" or "hard" and that "brave" is *ẹnsú*. Lehmann[31] notes that during the years 1590–93 the terms *Vrivri* and *Taquetaque* signified to the Guetar of Cuquerrique (Tuquerrique) "Lords and sons of lords." When we remember the tradition that the Bribri conquered at least the Cabécares (*see* Non-Documental History), there is ample reason for these statements.

Western Bank of the Coen River to the Reventazón. On the western bank of the Coen River and continuing through the Tarire to the Reventazón rivers were many names, including the Cavécaras (Cabécares), Urinamás, Siruros, Moyaguas, and Chirripó, with a people called Estrella in the coastal area.[32] The only ones of this group, with the possible exception of

[26] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[27] In the Bribri tongue, *ara* means "you." *ará* means "a child."
[28] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219.
[29] Gabb, 1875, p. 487.
[30] Pittier, 1898, p. 16.
[31] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. It should be remembered that Spanish is a phonetic language and even today *v* and *b* are by mistake used interchangeably. In colonial times they were confused more frequently. *See also* Fernández, 1907, vol. VII, p. 392.
[32] Thiel, 1896–98, p. 47. For a more detailed list *see* Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 221.

[P. 8(A)]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra[43] and Salitre (*ʒerí*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers[44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualys]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Qualys

[103] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Fran-
[797] ciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

[P. 49(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar
Bribri
Changuena

173 The Talamancan medicine man also used
726 his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[188] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured.
● [103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper
776 Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress
[103] and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited
[614] by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried
173 *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he
776 wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called
[103] *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[188] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

*539 trees and invited him to drink cacao out of new gourds. The chief replied that he would like to very much, but these little trees never produced. *sibu* answered, "Look! They do have fruit."

The other turned and seeing that the little trees had borne fruit said, "Good. Let's prepare the drink."

sibu made a mixture and together they started to drink but he only pretended. The worm chief set to and when he was full, vomited the *jabu* he had previously swallowed with everything in it.

Then *sibu* collected his seeds, saying that they were his. He dried them in the sun and from these we came.

The Populating of the Pacific Side of the Cordillera of Talamanca

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

At the beginning when *sibu* made the world, it was dark. Three men left Cabécar, in Talamanca, and cut a trail across the range. They were, *səLəʒəbí*, who led the group, *kuasran*,[176] who became the first member of the Borucas, and his brother-in-law, *ɩɔwik*.

In those days, the savannas on the other side (Pacific) were inhabited by the *sórbru*, the owners of the *wakas*.[177] These were bad people who lived by killing others and did not want the people of Talamanca to dwell amongst them. When the three men reached Ujarrás, there was still no sun, but on arriving at Térraba, day began to break. It was then that a jaguar upon which one of the men was riding, put his paw on a soft rock and the print stayed
[778] there.[178]

The owners of the *wakas* disturbed the men so that they sent for an *usegLa*. He came from Talamanca in the form of a jaguar and killed all the *sórbru*. Then other people began to come from Talamanca to populate this side of the range.

[176] Today this name is applied to the ridge that runs
●[103] from Chim Kichá, in General Valley, to Boruca. According to the Borucas, *kuasran* fled there during the Spanish conquest and lives in a cave. He is the oldest of the Borucas and knows all about their beginnings, but no one has seen him. They do not say that he came from Talamanca.

[192] [177] This is a phonetic (Cabécar) interpretation of

*539 make him sleep. It is then that the water-
776 jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He
823 searches for cacao, and when he discovers a
761 well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamą́* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamą́*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 (*Cabécar*)
776
761 When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes
[823] up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after
[825] people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas
●103 through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires
[133] to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on al-
[487] most all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamąte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namą́ tɔ́* (jaguar print).

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
103 caused by nature which with the help of the
[133] imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

*539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *ɨɔwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *ɨɔwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

(14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrís is supposed to
[778] mark his grave.

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *kɨ̃ɨuLu namɨ́* (hunt jaguar).

*539 614 [824] [825] *grurwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənitsrwa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənitsrwa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Tiribi *zhgu-ring'* and the Terraba *zhu-ring'*, seem to be specific; but the Cabecar, *kong-wo-hor'-ka* is "the atmosphere burns," while the Brunka *jil'-kra* is simply "fire." 197

Like the two or three cases of imperfect plural in Bri-bri, already mentioned, the Terraba has a single plural word; or rather only an approach, a sort of transitional form. *Zhgring* is a rib, and *zhgring'-ro*, the ribs in their collective sense, rather as the bony case of the thorax, than as the several bones.

As stated above, the compound words in the vocabulary of Bri-bri are divided by a + sign between the component parts. In the other languages, there are doubtless many that have not been properly separated, because I have not ventured to make theoretical divisions, and have only separated those that were obviously compound. My less perfect acquaintance with them has not warranted me in this step, nor in the probably unnecessary detail of analysis to which I have subjected the language of Bri-bri.

In Terraba the 3d person, singular, pronoun *kwe*, while not varying for gender or number, has three forms which always appear according to a peculiar condition, thus:

he, she, (sitting or lying down)	so'-kwe.
" " (standing)	shon'-kwe.
" " (going)	hor-shon-kwe'.

In Brunka, I, thou, he, (or she) and we, (*a-dē-bl'*, &c.,) are used with the termination *dē-bl'* whenever they occur alone. When combined with other words in a sentence, the first syllable only (*a*, *ba*, *i*, and *ja*) is used. The termination is almost an integral part of the word and must be used when alone. This is the reverse of the termination *re* in Bri-bri, which is rarely used except in a sentence, and then only for euphony or emphasis, and at the option of the speaker.

CHAPTER III.

VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRI-BRI INDIANS.

[NOTE.—In this, and in the accompanying vocabularies, the vowels have the same sounds as in Spanish, unless marked with a special sign; *ē* is pronounced as in English *met*; *i* as in *pin*; *ü* as in *mum*. *J* has the sound as in *John*; *ng* as in *thing*; *ñ* like the French nasal *n*; *kh* like *ch* in the German *ich*; *h* is aspirated as in English. A few words having unusual vowel sounds are noted separately, not to add unnecessary complication of conventional signs; like *si-ul'*, blue and *ku-ku'*, ear. 104 128 194

Compound words are written with a + sign between the component parts. Accent is of great importance, the change in position of the ac-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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cent sometimes changing the sense of the word entirely like *i-juk'* to drink, *i'-juk* earth, soil.]

to ache	i-dō-ll'-na	See *pain.*
to adhere	i-ba'-tsu-wa	See *against.*
afraid	sū-wa'-na	
afterwards	e'-wa	Not *i'-wa*, interrogative, "what with."
again	i-sā-ka'	See *also.*
against	i-bō-tsu'-wa	See *to adhere.*
ago	or'-a-pa	Immediately past time.
	on-i-al',	Hours ago; this morning.
	nyo-nyo'-ni	Very long ago; days, months, years.
to agree	i-shun'-lu	See *to arrange.*
	nyi'+wo-yu	*Nyi*, together.
to aim	i-shun'-sa-u	
air	kong'+shu-wang	*Kong*, see country; *shu-wang*, from *si-wang'*, wind.
alike	nyi+ke'	*Nyi*, together.
	nyi+ishtsel'	Exactly alike; *tsei*, much, applied to words or two people speaking alike.
alive	tse'-ka	See *awake.*
all	song	
	o-ri-te-ne'	
alligator	to-rok'	
alone	e'-kur	*E* (*et*) one.
	e'mi	Used in the sense of *only.*
alongside	i-yaw'-mik	
already	je-buk'	
also	i-sā-ka'	See *again.*
always	shu-ar'-i-a	
angle	bō-ta'	A point; the angle of a surface or the corner angle of a solid.
	si-chi'-a	The angle of a prism; see *square.*
angry	o-ru'-na	
ankle	o-ru-bo'	
ant,	tsa'+wak	*Wak*, people, tribe. *Myrmecophaga jubata.*
ant-eater	u-ri'	*Tamandua 4 dactyla;* *u*, a forest clearing; from its being often found in such places.
	te'+u-ri	

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

127 192 THE following is a comparative vocabulary of the Boruca language of words used in this paper. The earliest vocabulary is that of Valentini, dating from 1862. This has been taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–48. In the chart, it is listed as Valentini, 1920. The next oldest are those of Gabb and Monseñor Thiel, and are placed according to their publication dates, the first being Gabb, 1881, and the second Thiel, 1882. The second Thiel vocabulary is taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–56, and was collected in the year 1892. It is listed as Thiel, 1920, in the chart. The following three lists are from Pittier dating from the years 1891, 1892–96, and published by the National Museum of Costa Rica in 1941. Because of this, it is listed as 1941. The last Pittier vocabulary appeared in 1908. The final column was gathered by 192 the writer in 1945, and contains the Boruca 104 name for the principal items mentioned in this paper. The orthography used in the 1945 column is based on the international phonetic alphabet of G. H. Camerlynck. This alphabet was accepted at the International Congress of Phonetics in 1926. The key to this spelling is given below. (Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining special phonetic characters and setting these in the typeface as used herein, certain substitutes in the phonetic alphabet have been made. It has been necessary to make

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
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APPENDIX C:
COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

two alterations from the original — the *a*'s are different from those in the Camerlynck alphabet; *y* represents an alternative form of the character used by Camerlynck.) 192 104

It should be noticed that apart from the differences caused by lack of standard phonetic alphabet, the language has been slowly changing during the period of years represented by these lists, and that certain indigenous words are being replaced by hispanic forms.

KEY TO PHONETIC SPELLING

a: Like *cat*, *hat*
ɑ: *ah*, like *a* in Latin.
e: like *May*
ɛ: like *wet*, but with long vocalic sound
ə: like mute *e* in English
i: like *ee* in English: *sleep*
o: like *ob* in English
ɔ; *œ*: like *cat* in English
ø: like *custom*, or better, like *eu* in French, or *ö*(*oe*) in German: *Goethe*
b, *d*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, *z*, like in English
ŋ: almost like *ng* in English, or like *gn* in French
ʃ: like *sh* in English
ǯ: like *Genevieve*
ʦ: like *tsbat*, but without expiration
j: like *yet*
y: like *ü* in German: *Glück*
ɥ: like *ü* in German: *Glück*

[p 42-B]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

539 willed, "May he let me have the whistle! May he look back into the house!" And as this happened, Sibú ran away and ran on whistling all the while. Meanwhile Sórkura thought he would go and set him an ambush on the path. He took four of his spears and his shield, hung his conch upon a string around his body, and said to his people: "I will go and kill Sibú; when you hear my conch resound, Sibú shall be dead. Then you are to warm up my cacao, as I will soon be back." He then went and waited for Sibú to pass by, and when Sibú came along, he threw one of his spears at him. But Sibú had on the back of his head another ear, which warned him that some one was going to shoot at him. The spear fell noisily on his side. Sórkura made another throw, but without effect. And now Sibú took one of the spears in his hand, and threw it at Sórkura, who received it on his shield. Then Sibú willed, "I will kill Sórkura; may he look over his shield!" Then he took a new aim, and Sórkura was shot just in the middle of his face. And Sibú took the conch, and blew: *Tuú, tuú,* so that the woods resounded, and he cut Sórkura's body into pieces with his knife, and made it into flesh, bones, blood, and bowels, which ever since have been [787] things of ill-omen to us.[1] Sórkura's people waited long, and kept his chocolate warm for him; but he never came back. Sibú had killed Sórkura!

V. THE KING OF THE TAPIRS.

[825] Like the wild hogs and the deer, the tapirs have also their king. Two Bribri went hunting into the woods, each one carrying his bow and arrows. They met with a white tapir, and tried to kill it; but they did not succeed. Both ran after it, but they lost its track, and one of them went astray, no one ever knew how. The other looked for him everywhere, but did not find him. So he went back to his home, where he asked for his companion, and, as he had not come back, everybody thought that he had met with a mishap, and lost his life.

The lost man ran far away behind the tapir until he lost sight of it; then he stood still to rest. Soon his ear perceived the crowing of a cock. He then thought that there was some house near, and, having gone to see, he got to a large *palenque.*[2] He went in, and

[1] Every time the Indians find in the woods leaves sprinkled with blood, or bones and excrement, the origin of which they cannot explain, they see in them Sórkura's relics, and turn away with awe; also leaves having the appearance of being spotted with blood, such as frequently occur in certain groups of plants (*Aroideæ, Begonia, Columneæ,* etc.), are considered to be of the same origin, and are signs of ill-omen for the undertaking they are engaged upon.

[2] Palenque is the *Spanish* or possibly *Nahua* word employed in Costa Rica to designate the large conical houses of the Bribri, who call the same *d-sarí.*

[104]

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197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the
[533] former contact in times long past between the two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but
[535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Leh-
[197] mann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study,
● 104 indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą iłɔ*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ɔ is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, ị, ǫ, ụ, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

1: Gabb, William M. On the Indian Tribes and Languages of Costa Rica. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 14, pp. 483-602. Philadelphia, 1876.

Yale: A53b 375 14

[This article is the basic source on the Talamanca tribes, and also includes a small amount of information on the Rama (OWC designation SA17). Although of modest length, and consisting of more than half vocabulary and grammar the paper contains a substantial amount of information on various phases of native life. The author presents data on social and political organization, the life cycle, economic life and diet, physical anthropology, material culture, and religion. --Analyst]

Field date: 1873-1874
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-5
Processed in 1961

2: Skinner, Alanson. Notes on the Bribri of Costa Rica. Indian Notes and Monographs, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 37-106. New York: Museum of the American Indians, Heye Foundation, 1920.

Yale: C52 4 6.

[The author gathered the material for this monograph during a two month stay among the Talamanca. His primary purpose in visiting the group was to collect examples of native handicrafts, and he did not have the opportunity to observe religious ceremonies or the manufacture of some of the material culture items. Apart from a short section on funerary customs, the source deals with housing, furniture, and the various articles made of cordage, wood, pottery, and so forth, which were aboriginal in nature. Profusely illustrated, the source constitutes a thorough inventory of Talamanca material culture. It is limited in its descriptive side, however, by the fact that many of the items of native manufacture were no longer being made by the time Skinner observed

2: Skinner, Alanson.

the group, so that the completed article must serve to represent an extinct industry. --Analyst]

Field date: 1917
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

3: Stone, Doris Z. The Boruca of Costa Rica. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 26, No. 2. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949.

Pp. viii, 60; 1 map, 1 text figure, 8 collotype figures (33 photos); foreword, bibliography, 3 appendices.

Yale: C52 O11 26

[Although this paper on the Boruca Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not intended as a complete ethnological study, it presents a fairly well-rounded report of the culture, resulting from four brief visits of the author. Because little previous material was available on this group of the Talamanca people, and this report was prepared shortly before the building of the Pan-American Highway through the region, this work is probably as close to a complete

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3: Stone, Doris Z.

ethnological study as may be possible on this particular subdivision of the Talamanca culture. --Analyst]

Field date: 1945
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

4: Pittier de Fabrega, H. Folk-Lore of the Bribri and Brunka Indians in Costa Rica. The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 16, pp. 1-9. Boston and New York: Published for the American Folk-Lore Society by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903.

Yale: Nkg 10. J 82. v. 15-16

[This source is composed primarily of a collection of tales and legends taken from the folk-lore of the Costa Rican Indians. Tales 1-5 of this article are taken from the oral literature of the Bribri, and 6-7 from the Brunka. The first four tales of this collection deal with native religious themes, while the remainder reflect either Christian influences, or deal in anthropomorphized terms with legends relating to the relations between animals and man.

The author of this article is a specialist in American folk-lore. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Folklorist-5
Processed in 1961

5: Urcullu, Manuel de. Report of Fray Manuel de Urcullu: Missions of Talamanca in 1763. Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca. Costa Rica-Panama Arbitration: Documents Annexed to the Argument of Costa Rica before the Arbitrator Hon. Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice of the United States, Vol. 1, pp. 486-491. Rosslyn, Virginia: The Commonwealth Co., Printers, 1913.

Yale: Costa Rica . Cuc. d913ca. v.1

[This source is in the form of a report made by the author to his superiors of the results of the mission's activities among the Talamanca Indians. Most of the data presented in the article pertain to the topography of the region, the history of the first Spanish-Indian contacts, and the eventual establishment of missions within the area; but there is some scant ethnographic information on foods, clothing, tribal divisions of the Talamanca, *ornaments, self mutilation and trade relations* with other Indians. --Analyst]

Field date: 1763 Evaluation: Missionary-5

Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1961

6: Stone, Doris. The Talamancan Tribes of Costa Rica. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 43, No. 2. Cambridge, 1962.

PP. x, 108; foreword; 1 map; 3 appendices; bibliography; 14 end plates

Yale: C52. 011. 42-43

[This source is a general ethnography of the Talamanca Indians with special emphasis on the Bribri and Cabécar tribes, both of whom have been subheaded under SA19 Talamanca where appropriate in the text. The data presented in this source pertain to the geography of the region, historical orientation, the Talamanca language, subsistence activities, houses and house types, dress and ornamentation, transportation, native manufacture, the Talamancan life cycle, recreation and leisure time activities, religion and magic, mythology and native arts (dancing, songs, etc.). Interesting material may also be found here on the Talamanca medicine men and their activities. The author also records native linguistic texts pertinent to various myths and songs presented in translation in the text. Three

6: Stone, Doris.

appendices are to be found at the end of this work, the first dealing with cultivated foods and domestic animals, the second with an example of Bribri songs, and the third, written by Carlos Meléndez Ch., presents a biographical sketch of Antonio Saldana, last king of the Talamanca.

The author is an ethnologist and archaeologist with a special interest in the Costa Rican area.

When pages of the original book are printed in two columns they have been repaginated by HRAF in two parts--i.e., p. 3 (A), p. 3 (B). Footnotes appear at the bottom of both columns and have been marked for the appropriate categories when they contain other than bibliographic material. --Analyst]

Field date: 1956-1959
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

"Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the 'doctor' blows a few whiffs of tobacco smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete." 783

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2. Pittier de Fábrega, H. (*a*) Nombres geograficos de Costa Rica. I. Talamanaca. San José de Costa Rica, 1895. (*b*) Folk-lore of the Bribri and Brunka Indians in Costa Rica, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, vol. xvi, no. lx, pp. 1–9, Jan.–Mar. 1903.
3. Sapper, Carl. Beitrage zur Ethnographie des südlichen Mittelamerika, *Petermanns Mittellungen*, B. 47, H. 2, p. 31, Gotha, 1901.
4. Brinton, Daniel G. The American race. New York, 1891, p. 189.
5. Thomas *and* Swanton. Indian languages of Mexico and Central America, *Bull. 44, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1911.

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6. Pittier de Fabrega, op. cit., *a*, pp. 20, 21. *Uak* signifies "pueblo" or "clan."
7. Pittier de Fabrega, op. cit., *b*, p. 1.
8. Gabb, op. cit., p. 507.
9. Gabb, ibid., p. 514.
10. Mason, Otis T. Aboriginal American basketry, *Annual Report of the National Museum*, Washington, 1902, p. 332, fig. 205.
11. Fewkes, J. W. The aborigines of Porto Rico and the neighboring islands, *25th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 209.
12. Gabb, op. cit., p. 516.
13. Gabb, ibid., p. 517.
14. Gabb, ibid., p. 511.
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17. Guardia, Ricardo Fernandez. History of the discovery and conquest of Costa Rica, translated by Harry Weston Van Dyke. New York, 1913, p. 306.
18. Gabb, op. cit., pp. 519-520.
19. Ibid., p. 520.
20. Ibid., p. 497.
21. Ibid., p. 504.

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[p. 33-A]

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6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 107 (A)]
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6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to coagulate and turn black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 222 314 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes, axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot, and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell net-bags and hammocks to the Tiribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsaparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cocao, of which they might have enough and to spare for the mere trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race. 439 438

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadelphia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students. 114

Vol I. Chapter VII. p. 684, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 684 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Vallentes, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Ramas, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

114 Nicoya, where at present no Indians live, are placed Orotiñans and Gustaras. Further, no tribes are placed in South-western Costa Rica, where the semi-civilized Terrabas and Brunkas live; but on p. 748, the author states that "dwelling in the western part of the state are the Terrabas and Changuenas, fierce and barbarous nations, at constant enmity with their neighbors." Now the Terrabas, as well as their neighbors the Brunkas, or as the Spaniards call them, the Boruncas, live in one or two little villages, and are under the complete control of missionary priests, both ecclesiastically and municipally, and are rapidly losing their language, as they have their savage customs, and are approaching the civilized condition of the villages of Pacaca, Coa, Quiricot, &c., in Costa Rica, where the Indians speak only Spanish, and have even lost the traditions of their former state. Again, the Changuinas formerly occupied the valley of the Changuina or Changina River, the main branch of the Tilorio, on the Atlantic slope, and are either entirely extinct, or only represented by a handful of individuals, swallowed up by the neighboring Tiribis on one side, and the Valientes on the other.

In the proper place I have noted what can be said of the Guatusos; there is nothing to add, until a responsible observer has the good fortune to penetrate their country, and survive to tell his tale.

On p. 793 of Vol. 3, is a very short vocabulary of "the language of the Talamancas," copied from the publication of Scherzer. This traveler did not visit Talamanca, but from internal evidence I believe the words to have been obtained from some of the half-civilized Cabecars of Tucuriqui or Orosi, little villages not far from Cartago. In evidence of its unreliability, I note two or three of the most glaring errors of the list.

"Man *signa-kirinoma*. Woman *signa-arágro*."

Here *signa*, clearly a clerical error for *sigua*, means foreigner, and the word given for woman—*signa erákur* means foreign woman. So, the prefix *sa* and *su* before the names of parts of the body is the personal pronoun—our. *Sukus* is *su kus* "our house." "I *ba-ka*," is really *thou*, the error arising from the Indian answering *thou*, when he was asked, "how do you say I," the interlocutor doubtless pointing to himself. Fortunately the vocabulary is very short, but I am sure there are not more than three or four words in it that would be intelligible to a Costa Rican Indian.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF COSTA RICA

By Alanson Skinner

INTRODUCTION

BELONGING to the Chibchan linguistic stock are the Bribri Indians, a small but primitive tribe inhabiting the mountainous district watered by the eastern branches of the Teliri river near the central southern boundary of Costa Rica and extending into northern Panama. They have been visited by a number of observers, including Dr William M. Gabb[1] (whose valuable account we have not hesitated to quote extensively) and Dr Henry Pittier de Fabrega.[2]

The writer spent the months of March and April, 1917, in collecting among these Indians for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at which time the

131
[197]
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2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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following data and most of the specimens illustrated were gathered. His headquarters were at Suretka, then the terminus of the United Fruit Company's railroad, running inland from Bocas del Toro, Panama. From Suretka the Teliri was crossed by dugout canoe, and the Bribri were reached by horseback over the jungle trails leading to their small and widely scattered settlements on the Teliri, Uren, and Coen rivers.

000

The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of the local agents of the United Fruit Company at Suretka, of Señor Alejo Jimenez, Governor of the Talamanca district, whose hospitality and courtesy were unlimited, and to his own wife, the late Gladys M. Skinner, whose interest and zeal led her to endure the dangers and hardships of the Talamancan forests, and who personally collected many of the specimens herein described. The thanks of the Museum are due also to the United States National Museum for a photograph of a costume collected by Dr Gabb which is reproduced herein.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

648 As a result of these field trips, the Costa Rican Government set up, on December 6, 1945, a *Junta* or Committee to form a long-term educational program and to demarcate various aboriginal zones to be used as reservations.

177 114 Little or nothing has been written about the *Boruca*, who are by far the most Europeanized of the southern Costa Rican tribes, and who, because of this, are fast losing their aboriginal characteristics. The report which follows is 121 a series of facts concerning the life of the actual *Boruca* Indians; facts which, in a few years, may be obsolete or unknown. For this reason, they are offered here as part of the record of our knowledge of man's cultural changes, and, as stated before, do not pretend to represent a thorough ethnological study.

DORIS STONE

San José, Costa Rica, 1946

[p. v-b]
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3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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APPENDICES A-C

Acknowledgment is gratefully extended to the Botanical Museum and the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy for help in the verification of the botanical and zoölogical terms, appearing in Appendices A and B.

[p. 35]

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4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotes;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[776] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkuru*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon
773 each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[805] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

599 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

located in this city, where they are examined, and afterwards a duplicate of them is sent with the statements of results of such examination to the Tribunal of Accounts of *Santa Fé*, so that the officials there may approve or criticise the results of the audit by the *Contador* thereof.

This completes what was asked for in said Chapter 8 of the *Apuntamiento* and I refer to the Document No. 6.

ANTONIO GUILL Y GONZAGA.

Doc. 170 Report of Fray Manuel de Urcullu. Missions of Talamanca in 1763.

GUATEMALA, November 3, 1763.[1]

114 Fray Manuel Urcullu, in the regular service of Our Father San Francisco, Apostolic Preacher and Guardian of this College of the Holy Propaganda of Christ Our Lord Crucified, of the city of *Guatemala*.

121 In accordance with the request and charge made to me on the 10th day of the past month by the Superior Government of this Kingdom, that, in compliance with a Royal *cédula*, I should, within the period of one month, submit a list of the friars who are living under my direction, stating their names, ages and personal qualifications, the offices or positions they hold, and also the *reducciones* (settlements of converted Indians) and existing Missions which my said College has under its care; and giving the number of the missionaries engaged therein and those that are needed in each year, in order that the propagation of the Holy Gospel and the conversion of the heathen may suffer no detriment; the locations and sites of each mission; the settlements formed; the number and character of their inhabitants; the time during which they have been established; the missionaries who have died therein; and what settlements and *reducciones* are now being undertaken for curacies and secular parishes; I have to report as follows, making an individual statement of all that is asked me. * * *

[1] Archives of the Indies at Seville. Shelf 100. Compartment 7. Bundle 1. Peralta, *ubi supra*, p. 130.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Bicrylo;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymi.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

175 648 level lands of the great river *Estrella*,[14] where it joins the river *Coén*,[15] which comes down from *Cabécara*, and the *Arari*, which comes down from *Vicoita*.

175 648 797 Its destruction, according to the copy referred to, was in the month of August of the tenth year of the last century, and at the end of it. In the year 1680, the conquest and subjection of the heathen Indians of that province was undertaken by the venerable servant of God, the Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, founder of this College, who had good results in his apostolic work, for in a few years he succeeded in teaching and baptizing so great a number of Indians that they already made up sixteen settlements. But at the end of 1709, those barbarous tribes rebelled, together with those who were taught, baptized and settled, and they killed two out of the three friars who were there. There were Fray Pablo de Rebullida and Fray Antonio de Zamora, and nine or ten of the soldiers who were in the garrison, together with a woman and a boy, burning the churches and profaning the sacred vessels and the furniture thereof. Yet by the orders and the measures taken by the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia or Captaincy-General of this Kingdom, assisted by the good conduct of the Governor of the Province of *Costa Rica*, who at that time was Don Lorenzo de la Granda Balbín, and the military officers who accompanied him, and the Rev. Padre Fray Antonio de Andrade, a disciple of this College, who was saved out of that insurrection, they were successful in penetrating into the mountains and cap-

[114] "Among the papers relating to the foundation of the city of *Santiago de Talamanca* it appears that it was founded upon the banks of the *Tarire*, eight leagues from its mouth. Fray Manuel Urcullu is not mistaken as regards the site, but he falls into the same error already noted in the other reports of the missionaries, of calling the *Tarire*, *Tiliri* or *Sixaola*, the *Estrella* river. The latter is the one now designated the *Chánguene* on some maps, *Changuinola* upon others and, finally, the *Tilorio* river. The latter is the real *Estrella* river, discovered and made known in 1564, by Juan Vázquez de Coronado. Its course, instead of running towards the coast of the Sea of the Antilles, as it does today, turned at nine and a half degrees of North latitude and continued towards the East in a line almost parallel to the said coast, until it emptied into the Bay of *Almirante*. The ancient channel of the river is well known by explorers, and in particular by Don José María Figueroa, who traced it upon the map of Costa Rica. Note by M. M. de Peralta.

"The river *Coén* is a tributary of the river *Tarire*.

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

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[114]

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixsola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vásquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192]

[13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

184 197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [535] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

914 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 104 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą ilɔ*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ɔ is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, ị, ọ, ụ, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1922.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 10 (A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically distinct groups as each one demonstrates a different [177] stage of acculturation.

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. 489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In 491 most of the region, bridges are non-existent and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- 177 quest times and little attention was paid to the 648 Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
● 114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[118]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[184] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[118] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[627] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[692] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[681] usual method is for the family of the culprit
[184] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[423] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 74]

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

114 Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have
194 been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, é, ę, ę́, i, í, o, u, ú, ǫ, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a
193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, ko, kó, ki, kj, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, to, ɜa, ɜe, ɜi, ɜu, uk, ǫk, ɜe.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ŋa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use
194 of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and
114 Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[22]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental pho-
193 nemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

194 The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except j, ę, ǫ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *iɜ'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, iɜ, ią, ią, ʌi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, uą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the
195 medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also
583 generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred
*539 or curing chants of the *jawá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba
[198] (Tribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[22] Jones, 1959.

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[115] [30] Information given to the writer by Professor Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-6]

FOREWORD

121 THESE pages present the life of two indig-
101 enous groups, the Cabécares and the Bribri, who number among the first-known inhabitants of Costa Rican soil. They are [177] people in varied stages of acculturation, but many are now taking part in the national environment and life of the republic.

115 There are numerous informants who helped with the gathering of details which have contributed to the making of this book. Among these were two young teachers, Teofilo Mayorga, a Cabécar from Ujarrás, and Gabriel Figueroa, a Bribri from Salitre. Both took down the linguistic texts in phonetics and aided in the literal translations. Saturnino Ortiz and Marcos Ortiz, also from Salitre, and Herman Villanueva of China Kichá supplied much important data.

There were two medicine men whose aid was invaluable, Telesforo Figueroa, Bribri, and Victor Challe, Cabécar, and the late Bribri Burier, Jaime Ortiz.

To these, to Roger Thayer Stone, and to the countless others who cooperated in the preparation of this text, among whom figure Agnes Gamboa, Francisco Amighetti, and Naomi Stratton, the author renders profound gratitude.

Doris Stone

San José, Costa Rica, 1960

[P. V]

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail
487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUAYMI]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[535] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUAYMI]

[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

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ON THE INDIAN TRIBES AND LANGUAGES OF COSTA RICA.

BY WM. M. GABB.

(*Read before the American Philosophical Society, August* 20, 1875.)

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES.

The Indians of Costa Rica, with the hardly probable exception of the Guatusos, all belong to one closely allied family. I only make this possible exception in deference to the almost absolute ignorance which yet exists in regard to this isolated tribe. R T 101

Before entering on the consideration of the better known peoples of the southern part of the Republic, it may be as well to make a brief summary of what is known of the Guatusos up to the present time. They occupy a part of the broad plains north and east of the high volcanic chain of North-Western Costa Rica, and south of the great lake of Nicaragua, especially about the head waters of the Rio Frio. I have fortunately fallen in with various persons who have entered their country, and who have had an opportunity of seeing the people and their mode of life. The stories of some are so evidently exaggerated that I shall suppress them; but by carefully sifting the evidence and giving a due preponderance to the testimony of those whom I consider most reliable, I have arrived at the following results. R 131 R 114 124

Thomas Belt, the author of "The Naturalist in Nicaragua," says he has seen of them, five children and one large boy, "and they all had the common Indian features and hair; though it struck me that they appeared rather more intelligent than the generality of Indians." He also says that "one little child that Dr. Seeman and I saw in San Carlos in R 142

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142 1870, had a few brownish hairs among the great mass of black ones; but this character may be found among many of the indigenes, and may result from a very slight admixture of foreign blood." All the persons with whom I have conversed assert that the name Guatuso, as applied to the [101] tribe, is given on account of a reddish or brown tint of their hair, resembling the little animal of that name (the *Agouti*). This is also denied by Mr. Belt, who says that the names of animals are often applied to Indian tribes by their neighbors, to distinguish them. Allowing full weight to this opinion, supported by analogy as it is in North America, (*e. g. Snakes*,) I do not think it fully warranted in this case.

Of half a dozen persons with whom I have conversed; people who have been on the upper Rio Frio, all, with one exception, distinctly assert that they have seen people of light color and with comparatively light hair among them. One person went so far as to assert, that in a fracas in [648] which he nearly lost his life, his most valiant and dangerous opponent was a young woman, a mere girl, "as white as an Englishwoman," (tan rubia como una Inglesa). Another, who had a more peaceful opportunity of seeing a party of two or three women, himself unseen, used the same words in describing one of them. I believe, however, that these were exaggerations. Still another person told me that they were of all shades "from a rather light Indian color, to nearly white, the same as ourselves" (referring to the varying shades in the mixed blood of the Costa Rican peasantry). However, in an interesting conversation with Don Tomas Guardia, President of Costa Rica, I learned that when, some years ago, he headed a party passing through their country for military purposes, they encountered one or more bodies of these people and had some skirmishes with them. He says they are ordinarily of the color of other Indians, although rare exceptions exist, of individuals markedly lighter than the others, and really possessing a comparatively white skin and brownish or reddish hair. This is in keeping with the statements made to me by others whom I consider reliable, and must, I think, in deference to the authors be taken as final.

144 The origin of light complexions among an isolated tribe of Indians has, of course, been the source of much speculation, but General Guardia, and Don Rafael Acosta, an intelligent gentleman of San Ramon, not far from the borders of the Guatuso country, both suggested to me, independently, the same theory. They claim that when, a couple of centuries ago, the town of Esparza was sacked by the English freebooters, many of the inhabitants took refuge in the mountains, and were never afterwards heard of. These refugees were many of them pure whites, men and women. Now from Esparza, it is only about three or four days' journey to the borders of the Guatuso country, and it does not seem improbable that some of these poor wretches may have found their way there. If this is really the case, the admixture of blood, and consequent lightening of color is satisfactorily accounted for.

648 In consequence of almost uniform bad treatment, robbery and massacre

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included, to which these people have been subjected by the rubber hunters, who enter their country from Nicaragua, and their not possessing fire-arms to repel the aggressors, they have become so timid that they fly on the first approach of strangers. The few who have been captured are either young children, or persons taken by surprise. I have been unable to learn of any in Costa Rica, although a boy, now dead, lived for a while in Alajuela. A few are said to have been taken to San Juan del Norte, (Greytown,) and to Grenada, Nicaragua. The Alajuela boy, although he learned the meaning of some Spanish words, so as to know what was meant, when spoken to, was represented as sullen. When asked the names in his language of things that he was familiar with, like plantain, banana, &c., he always remained silent, and neither coaxing nor threats could extort a word. R 648

The people are invariably represented as of short stature, broad, and of enormous strength. They live in neighborhoods; they cannot be called villages, the houses being scattered over an extensive area and at distances of from one to several hundred yards apart. The houses are low, consisting of a roof, pitching both ways from a ridge pole, and resting on very short but very thick posts. This is thatched with palm leaf and is entirely open at the ends and sides, under the eaves. Their tools are stone axes set in wooden handles, good steel machetes (all agree that they have seen these, but where do they get them?) and planting sticks similar to those used by the Bri-bris. With these tools they cultivate great quantities of plantains, bananas, yuca, coco, (*Colocasia esculentum*,) besides possessing large plantations of the *pehi balla* palm and of cacao. Of the furniture in their houses, I was told of cord hammocks and net bags, similar to those of Bri-bri, and of blocks of light wood for seats. They seem to sleep on the ground floor of their houses, simply spreading down a layer of plantain leaves. Their bows and arrows are described as similar to what I have seen elsewhere, except that the arrows are not supplied with any harder points than those furnished by the pehi balla wood. The dress is described as identical with the old styles in Talamanca; mastate breech cloths for the men, and the same material, in the shape of short petticoats for the women. R 361 [147] 342 R 412 R 241 R 352 [513] 411 R T 291

The country of the Rio Frio is said to consist of broad fertile plains, unsurpassed in beauty and fertility by any lands in the Republic. The Rio Frio itself is large and is navigated by the large canoes of the *huleros*, or rubber hunters, to a point within three days' walk of Las Cruces on the Pacific side. But the poor inoffensive people who inhabit this region are now so intimidated by the "Christians" who have visited them, that they can only be approached by a foreigner by stealth. If they can escape they do so, but if driven to bay, or think they can overpower the strangers, they greet them with a flight of arrows. They are especially afraid of firearms, and a pistol shot is sufficient to depopulate a settlement. R 133 648

I believe the above short statement contains the most reliable informa- R 114

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R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Boruecas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

T [132] [137]

T [191]

T 609 648

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

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On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially, 101
politically, and religiously, but differing markedly in language. The 131
Cabecars occupy the country from the frontiers of civilization to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tilíri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bris occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquin and the valley lying around the mouths of these streams. The Tiribris, now reduced to barely a hundred souls, live in two villages on the Tilorio or Changinola River. It is said that on the head waters of the Changina, a large fork of this latter stream, there are yet a few individuals of the Changina tribe, but the other Indians report them as implacably hostile and their very existence is only known by vague reports of their savage neighbors. The Sholaba tribe, formerly living on the lower part of the same river is now entirely extinct. A few half-breeds are all who perpetuate the blood, and their language is utterly lost. Still further down the coast, beyond the Costa Rican boundaries is another allied tribe, partly civilized, in so far as that they trade and work a little and drink a great deal of bad rum, spending most of their earnings on that bane of the race. They are called by foreigners Valientes. Crossing over to the Pacific slope, the Terrabas are tribally identical with the Tiribis. The tradition still exists in a vague form, that they are emigrants from the Atlantic side; but when or why the emigration took place, is [173] forgotten. The home of the tribe is in a very narrow, rough cañon, traversed by a river that might better be called a torrent, a country strongly contrasted with the fertile plains and broad savannas of Terraba, and it is not improbable that under the press of a crowded population several migrations took place. They still tell how, twenty or thirty years ago, a priest came over from Terraba, baptized all who would submit to [797] the rite, and by glowing stories of the abundance of meat and other inducements that he shrewdly imagined would tempt them, carried off over a dozen of their best men, who never returned. A glance at the vocabulary will show how little separated are these two branches of the tribe in language. The Borucas or Bruncas, who occupy a little village, not far from the headquarters of the Terrabas, are apparently the older occupants of the soil; perhaps crowded into a corner by the invaders.

Other tribal names are mentioned by various authors, such as Bicel- 101
tas, &c. The name Bicsita is not known in the country, and, although used to the present day outside of the Indian country, is unknown to them, or at best, is supposed to be a Spanish word. The district of that name is probably the western part of Bri-bri, the most eastern point to which the slave-hunting expeditions from San José Cabécar penetrated. The Blancos are properly the Bri-bri tribe, but this word is rather loosely used, and is often applied alike to the Cabecars and Tiribis.

But little can be gathered of the history of these people. What hap- 173
pened in the times of their grandfathers is already ancient history and partly forgotten. All recollection of the first arrival of the Spaniards is now lost. They have no traditions of the use of stone implements before the introduction of metal. When asked what they did for axes before the traders

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173 came among them, I could get no more satisfactory answer than that they went to Cartago to buy them. I have been told a vague story, however, that long ago there were two bands living in the country now occupied by the Bri-bris. Those living in the valley, around the junction of the branches of the Tiliri were more powerful than the mountaineers, and forced the latter to pay tribute when they descended to hunt, or cut the material for their bark-cloth clothing. But gradually the lowlanders died out; the highlanders, becoming the more powerful, rebelled against these impositions, and eventually emigrated in such numbers to the country of the former, that the distinction became lost by an amalgamation of the two parties. Even now the Bri-bris, who occupy the lowlands [563] and most of the hill regions of the Sicsola, look down on their neighbors the Cabecars and treat them as inferiors. The Cabecars, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge even a social supremacy, and in a mixed party submit to assume the more menial occupations, like bringing water and wood; and are always obliged to wait until the last when food or drink is being served. Few of the Bri-bris speak the Cabecar language, but there are few of the Cabecars who do not speak Bri-bri, and they usually [622] use it in the presence of strangers. The Cabecars have no chief of their own, but are entirely under the rule of the Bri-bri chief, and have been, from time immemorial. Their subjugation is, in short, complete. At [793] the same time they have the honor of religious supremacy, in so far as that the high priest, the "*Uskara*," whose office will be explained further on, belongs to their tribe. The ordinary priests, the "*Tsugura*," who, like the "*Uskara*," are hereditary, come from a group of families on the Coen River, but belong to the Bri-bri tribe.

About the beginning of this century there was a bitter war between the 173 Bri-bris and the Tiribis. The youngest members of the war parties are 721 now mostly dead, and the few remaining survivors are very old men. The last of the warriors proper, mature men at that time, died about 1860, at an extremely advanced age. I have heard the traditions from both sides the question, and of course each party throws all the blame on the other. The Bri-bri story is that some people, a whole family, living on the extreme eastern portion of the Uren district, were found murdered, and no clue discovered to the perpetrators of the act. Not very long afterwards other murders occurred in an equally mysterious manner, which threw the whole country into a state of excitement. Afterwards a small party was attacked by some unknown Indians, a portion killed and some left to tell the tale. The tracks of the strangers were followed through the woods, always keeping to the east, until they were lost. Following this clue, the chief of the Bri-bris sent out a party of armed scouts, who climbed to the summit of the dividing ridge, overlooking the Tilorio. From here they discovered for the first time that they had neighbors; seeing their houses and cornfields in the distance. A large war party was fitted out; they passed the mountains, and without warning descended on the unsuspecting

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enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept 173
up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as
many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a 721
handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the
Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the
right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the can- [622]
didate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been
exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in
the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris.
In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children [563]
are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress
and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and
while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a con-
quered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, [582]
and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them.

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule 619
of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family
holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning 622
chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not
in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible mem-
ber of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is
passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present
chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor,
who was in turn a cousin to his.

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The
principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social
than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock
for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, cho-
colate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But
in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the [411]
long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last
decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the 622
chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him 648
with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. [177]
About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and
San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Gov-
ernment, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of
his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future suc- [624]
cessor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or
no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed
that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exagger-
ated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held
in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moín, a little settlement on the
Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz
against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to
assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

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622
648

It seems that Marchena's plan was to put a creature of his own over the Indians, so as to gain access to the supposed rich mines and thereby benefit himself. Instigated by a "Christian," the savage, nothing loth, conspired with his people, but Santiago learned of it and made efforts to arrest him. Learning of this, he fled to the mountain fastnesses of Bri-bri where, broken down by disease and hardships he died, leaving, Indian like, his revenge as a legacy to his adherents. Santiago, who was a drunkard and, when intoxicated, a tyrant, gradually enstranged his people from him, and his relatives, Birche and Willie, placed themselves at the head of the opposition. The occasion sought for was not long in being found, and one morning Santiago was shot in the woods by an ambushed party, who at once took possession of the government, burnt their victim's house, appropriated his effects, including his three wives, and defied his friends. Birche, as the oldest of the two cousins and claimants to the chieftainship, took precedence and Willie became second chief. Mr. John H. Lyon, an American from Baltimore, who had lived in the country since 1858, had acted as secretary to Santiago, and only their respect for an upright man who had always treated them justly, coupled with the fact that he was not a "Spaniard," prevented them from venting their resentment on him, in common with the other friends of the murdered man. He remained at his house for some weeks despite the storm. But at last, thinking discretion the better part of valor, he left the country with his Indian family and remained absent some months. On his return he found matters settled after a fashion: the Birche party in power, but by no means secure against an outbreak from the friends of Santiago, who only wanted a leader. They urged Lyon to head them but his better council prevailed, and they perforce accepted the situation. I visited the country first in March, 1873, accompanied by the Commandante of Limon, Don Federico Fernandez. He then formally approved of Birche as chief, Willie as second, and re-appointed Lyon as Secretary. This was a great step in advance for Birche who now, for the first time, felt himself secure. The assassination of Santiago was practically ignored, but they were told "to be good and not do it again." This was succeeded by an infinite number of petty quarrels between the two chiefs; each disliking the other, and each wishing the other out of the way. By dint of constant interference on the part of the foreigners, they were prevented from coming into actual collision, although one attempt was made by the friends of Willie to kill Birche, Lyon, myself and my assistants at a blow by planting an ambush for us on one of our journeys. However, in December, 1873, business taking me to San José, I induced Birche to accompany me. On my advice, Don Vicente Herrera, the Minister of Interior, gave to Birche a formal commission as "Jefe Politico" of Talamanca, confirmed Willie as second chief, and appointed Mr. Lyon "Secretary and Director of the tribes," fixing suitable salaries for each. This was the first time that the tribe had formally submitted to the Costa Rican government. The action of Santiago was purely an in-

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dividual affair, and looked on with great disfavor by the tribe. Matters went on very well for a few months under the new regime. But Birche, a man of little capacity, at the same time a coward and a tyrant, could not be content with his position. He began a system of ill treatment against which the people grumbled, but which they feared to resent. At first both Lyon and myself tried to quiet the complaints, believing that punishment had been justly inflicted, and knowing that 622 648

> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With just opinion of the law,
> Or held with judgment orthodox
> His love of justice in the stocks."

But it soon became apparent that his majesty (they are always called king) was abusing his power. The Indians dared not quarrel with Birche, for fear of offending the government, but came to Lyon almost daily with complaints. At last we decided to effect a change. Birche went to Limon to draw his salary, and at the same time to complain of a purely personal quarrel with Willie, in which he had fared worst. I arrived there a few days later, having completed my exploration, and being on my way to the Capital. On being asked for information and advice by the Commandante, I told the story and urged his removal. This could only be done by the minister, but he was suspended until the decision of that officer could be obtained. In a few days I saw Mr. Herrera, and after a conversation he decided to endorse the Commandante's action. Birche was accordingly removed, Willie was given a nominal chieftainship, and Lyon instructed to assume all responsibilities. Thus in less than two years the people have, without knowing how it happened, been deprived of their hereditary chiefs, and a foreigner placed over them. Willie remains with the empty title of chief without even the power to issue an order or punish an offender, except when ordered by Lyon. This gentleman has their entire confidence and respect, and many of the Indians begged to have even the title taken away permanently from the "royal" family. I have been thus prolix on this branch of the subject, because I was an eye witness, a participator, in the latter part of the events I relate. Trivial as they are, they may interest some, throwing light on the manner in which one tribe after another is subdued. [123]

A strange fatality seems to hang over these Isthmian Indians. Even when not brought into contact with the debasing influences of civilization, the tribes are visibly diminishing. Less than two centuries ago, the population of Talamanca, as Costa Rica calls her southeastern province, was counted by thousands, now barely 1200 souls can be found. The Shelaba tribe is extinct; the Changinas are at the point of extermination, the Tiribis number but one hundred and three souls, and Lyon tells me that the Cabecars of the Coen have diminished fully one-half within the last seventeen years, while the decrease in the Bri-bris is hardly less rapid. 161

During my travels in Talamanca I collected in each district an accurate 124 161

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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
[211] to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	179
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
[461] dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
146 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase with-
262 out care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

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of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribia, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bria. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell. 165 [163] 582

Physically, the people of all the tribes bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are of short stature, broad shouldered, heavily built, full in the chest, with well-formed limbs, and well muscled throughout. Their color is similar to that of the North American Indians, or, if anything different, perhaps a little lighter. There seems to be but little, if any admixture of foreign blood among them. Their history would hardly lead us to expect it. They have lived very exclusively, and it has hardly been half a century since they have ceased to live in a state of open war with all intruders from the coast side. The Spanish occupation closed so disastrously over a century and a half ago, was of too short duration, and and the whites were too few, to make a permanent impression on a then populous country. 142 144

The following measurements taken from my servant, a full grown man, who is not more than an inch, if so much, under the average height, will give a fair idea of their build. He measures in height, 5 ft. 1½ in., circumference of chest, under the arms 35¾ inches; of hips 34 inches, of waist 33½ inches, length from axilla to tips of the fingers, 24½ inches; leg, from the groin to the ground, 30 inches. Both sexes are marked by an almost perfect absence of hair from all parts of the person except the head; where there is a dense growth of coarse, straight black hair. This the women plait with considerable taste. The men wear theirs cut moderately long and of an even length all round; or a few retaining an older fashion, have it a little over a foot long, apparently its entire natural length, and either let it stream loosely over the shoulders, gather it into two plaits, or twist it into a roll, bound with a strip of mastate, and coiled at the back of the head in a round flat mass. 141 142 302

The breasts of the women are not conical, as occurs with many, if not most of the Indian races; but are fully as globular as those of the European or African. Nor are they directed laterally. They are not generally large, though some marked exceptions occur to this rule. But they have one strongly marked peculiarity. The entire areolar area is developed into a globular protuberance, completely enveloping and hiding the nipple. The development of this part begins with, almost 142

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142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Iri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that
827 which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the
843 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods
[343] and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *ba-ka-ru'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *uwa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

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ble for a stranger to learn the true name of an Indian, directly from the 551
person himself, although his friends may divulge it, and this is looked
upon almost in the light of either a breach of confidence, or a practical [522]
joke. After long acquaintance, they may be prevailed upon, but even
then are more apt to give a false name than to tell the truth, so great is
their reluctance. One fellow, who was my servant for over three months,
after always denying having a name, at last told me a pet name, or
"nick-name" that he had had as a child. It is customary for children
to have provisional names, or to be called only "boy" or "girl" as the
case may be, until the whim of an acquaintance or some equally arbitrary
circumstance fixes a title to them. Besides the native name, generally
derived from some personal quality, or not seldom the name of some ani-
mal or plant, almost all of the Indians possess a foreign name, by which
they are known, and which they do not hesitate to communicate. Among
themselves, when the name is unknown, a person is called by the name
of the place where he lives. Mr. Lyon says all the women have names,
as well as the men. But my experience with them is never to have heard
them called by other titles than "girl," "woman," "*wishy*" (applied
familiarly to young married women), or "so-and-so's wife" or daugh-
ter, except in the case of a few of the more civilized men, who have given
Christian names to their families.

Children are not generally weaned early. In case of the birth of a se- 862
cond child, the first is weaned perforce. But it is nothing strange to see
a child well able to walk, say even two years old, go to the breast as a
matter of course, although sufficiently accustomed to more solid food.

Small babies are carried on the back, astride the hips of the woman, 854
and supported by a broad strip of bark or cotton cloth, passed around
both, and secured in front by a dexterous tucking in of the ends. When
they become larger, they are carried on one hip, supported by the arm;
or are placed on top of the load, if the mother is traveling. They sit
perched on the bundle, with a foot dangling either over or behind each
shoulder of the mother, and soon learn to hold on like monkeys.

The training of the youth is left almost entirely to themselves. Among 866
the Tiribi they are taught to respect and obey their parents, but in the
other tribes they are more insolent and disrespectful to their parents than
to other persons. I have seen a boy of ten years old absolutely refuse to
obey some trifling command of his mother, and she seemed to have no
power to enforce her order. The little girls learn early to accompany the 868
older girls and women when they go out to bring water. Their usual
station, in the house, is at the side of the fire, where, as soon as they are
large enough, they assist in fanning the fire, preparing plantains for the
pot or watching the cooking. The boys will sometimes deign to hunt
fire-wood, but they are more apt to be playing by the side of the river
with mimic bow and arrow, learning to shoot fish under water. Their 524
toys are mostly diminutive copies of the tools and weapons of more ad- 868
vanced age. The machete of the man is represented by a good sized

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868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least [591] for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The 582 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two 614 persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

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764 768 The custom of burying or otherwise placing with the dead all of his valuables, evidently existed at one time with these people. The Tiribis, who bury their dead, did so, up to within the memory of persons still living, and all matters that could not be buried, like live stock, fruit trees, &c., were ruthlessly destroyed. A more practical method has grown up [428] with the present generation, and they now divide the property of the defunct among the heirs, with as much avidity as in more enlightened communities. So do the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but these compound with their consciences. Whether the Teribis have a similar custom, I am not prepared to say, not having seen a funeral, and having no information that I consider sufficiently trustworthy.

766 The next step after lighting the fire, was for the master of ceremonies, appointed by mutual consent, to cause to be collected some small scrapings of a peculiar wood, called Palo Cacique by the Spaniards. It is a wood used only for walking sticks, and will be again referred to in that connection. He also obtained a large lump of cotton wool, some seeds of a species of pumpkin, and a small root of sweet yucca. All the male friends of the deceased present, seated themselves on low benches in a double line, facing each other, with another bench between. A part of the cotton, spread out so as to make a bulk about the size of a man's hand, was placed in front of the principal person, who then began in a sing-song tone between a recitation and a chant, to relate the merits and deeds of their departed brother. As he proceeded, and mentioned for instance that he had planted much corn, he laid carefully on the cotton a piece of shaving which he said was the "planting stick" used in that operation. Another laid aside of it a piece of pumpkin seed, which represented the corn. Another taking up the song, related how he had shot fish, and another shaving was the arrow. An impromptu string a couple of inches long, twisted out of the cotton, and stained red with the powder from some annatto seeds, was a rope with which he had led a cow, bought years before in Terraba. This lasted for an hour, until every tool or weapon he had ever used was represented by a little pile of seeds and shavings on the cotton. But he was a great man and his "eagle" was not to be forgotten. A very rude imitation of it was cut out of the skin of the yucca root and placed on top of all his other property, and then the edges of the cotton were doubled over making all into a ball. This was placed on his breast, next his body, and he was thus armed and equipped with all he had used or owned in this world, ready for use in the other; and his heirs none the poorer.

The body was then enveloped in the piece of "mastate" or bark cloth that he had used as a blanket, together with the hammock in which he swung. A quantity of "platanillo" leaves, a leaf not unlike that of the plantain, but only half the size and much tougher, were placed on the ground, two or three deep. The bundle was laid on this, the edges of the leaf envelope, doubled over, and dexterously tied by strips of bark string and the whole turned out a very respectable Egyptian mummy done in

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green. By means of three strings, this was swung under a pole, ten feet long, raised on the shoulders of two men, who trotted off unconcernedly to the woods a mile or so distant. They were accompanied by two or three more, armed with machetes. 766

A little boy whom I had for a servant for a few months, died on one of my journeys. We watched by him and did all in our power to save him, and were assisted by two of our men, one of whom was an "*awa*" or doctor. As soon as we saw that he was dying, and I had given up the last hope, the *awa* took charge. He motioned us all off. From that moment the moribund becomes unclean and only the *awa* can touch him. As soon as we pronounced him dead, the doctor covered him up. Next morning, the death taking place about midnight, without ceremony he was bundled up in his blanket and the usual leaves, and carried off in the same manner to the bush. But he was of no consequence. Only a boy who was nobody and had done nothing. I mention this case to show the difference in treatment, according to the person. 764

Next to a woman in her first pregnancy, the most *bu-ku-ru'* (unclean) thing is a corpse. An animal that passes near one after it is placed in its temporary resting-place, is defiled forever, and must be killed, as unfit for food. Accordingly, an unfrequented spot is selected, where tame pigs or cattle never go. Here a low bench is made of straight sticks, about the size of a coffin, raised a foot or two from the ground; it is carefully fenced in; the corpse is laid on it, and the whole is then covered with another horizontal layer, making a sort of box, carefully bound together with vines. Over all, a pile of branches and brush-wood is thrown so that buzzards and other carrion-eating animals cannot obtain access to the body. The body remains here about a year, to allow complete decomposition. 764 783

In the meantime, the family, or next of kin, on whom devolves the responsibility, proceeds to secure a sufficient number of animals, pigs, or beeves, according to the importance of the defunct. He also plants a corn-field, to supply the material for the chicha. About a year, more or less, after the death, one or more priests are engaged. Generally one is sought and he selects his assistants. For an ordinary person, one is sufficient; while for a chief, or person of distinction half-a-dozen are hardly enough. The chief fixes the time when he will be ready. Another official, a steward, called *Ri-ka'-kra* is also engaged. This latter personage takes entire charge as commissary and master of ceremonies. Under his direction, the corn is ground for the chicha. The number of bunches of plantains that he orders, is obtained; the animals are killed and cooked as he directs; and the food and drink are served to whom, and in what quantities he designates. The host resigns all to him and becomes thenceforth merely a guest, until all is over. 764

When the day approaches, a party goes to the place where the body was deposited. One person, set apart for similar unclean work, opens the package, cleans and re-arranges the bones and does them all up in a

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764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the [123] death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an ob-
534 server are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one
535 or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

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dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same 766
manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened 535
calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, [534]
around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing,
but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of
the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and
then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries
them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep
on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes im- [533]
promptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a
series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, how-
ever, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall
have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the
funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an
hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chi-
cha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, 766
when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch,
that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These [584]
eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of
the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during
which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains,
several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been de-
voured, the *bi-ka-kra* or steward announced that the commissary had
given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according
to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished
guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where [123]
we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a [574]
little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader
in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line
facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried
from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the
principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their 533
rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, 766
which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other 775
world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators
lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path;
of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precl-
pices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared
with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous
butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of
his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have
nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead 533
of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 766

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766 [533] in part unintelligible to the uninitiated. At the end of each stanza was a chorus, where the priests, who during the stanza kept time with their rattles, now gave a peculiar twirl, and the lay singers joined in the chorus.

As the song approached its end, the leader was furnished with a big gourd of steaming chocolate, holding about a quart. As he finished, landing the dear departed safe beyond further troubles, he announced it with a most unearthly yell, in which all hands joined; he at the same time turning the chocolate over the fire, totally extinguishing it. The party at once arose and for a minute or two all was bustle and confusion of preparation.

[767] A person, whose office it is to handle the dead, endeavored to lower the bundle but it was a little out of his reach. Nobody else could touch it, for fear of defiling himself. To lend a hand would have cost an Indian [783] three days of purification. I drew my long knife, which all learn to carry in this country, as an actual necessity; and with a couple of blows cut the fastenings and brought the little cane rack, bundle of bones and all, tumbling into the outstretched arms of the official, with much more haste than solemnity. Nobody seemed shocked, and being a foreigner, and [723] withal a medicine man, who had made cures where their best doctors had failed, I was of course impregnable to *bu-ku-ru'*. The aforesaid official now lashed the package to its stick, and two long slender strings of loosely twisted cotton were tied to the head of the package.

[787] Santiago had had three wives. One of them had re-married to his successor; but there were two remaining in widowhood. A procession was formed. First came the priests with their rattles. Next the chorus singers with their drums. Next the corpse, borne by two men, and preceded by the two widows, each holding the end of one of the cotton strings, leading the dead, as it were, to his final resting-place. Next ourselves, as the most distinguished persons present, and escorted by the two chiefs. Behind us came the older men, and following them the usual rag, tag, and bob-tail of young men, women, boys, and persons of no account generally. Some of the boys however, true to boy nature, were as usual irrepressible, and instead of keeping decorously in place, skirmished ahead, and on the flanks of the procession, mounting stumps, logs, or other commanding points to take in the general effect of the pageant. As the procession filed out of the house, some old chicha jars [768] were carried out and ostentatiously broken; but I observed that nothing of real value was destroyed. As soon as the line got fairly under way, the priests struck up another song which was kept up until the procession halted.

Everybody had been on so long a debauch that it was decided to take a rest of three or four days before the party started off. But it was necessary that the bones should be removed from the house. A temporary ranch had therefore been built a few hundred yards distant; and to this the remains were carried and deposited until the bearers were in a fit condition to proceed.

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The final disposal of the remains is a matter of great care. The whole of the tribe goes to the district of Bri-bri for this purpose. The receptacle is a square pit, about four feet deep and ten feet square. This is paved on the bottom with stones, and is roofed over from the weather, by a series of heavy hewn slabs of a very durable wood, open on the front and ends, and sloping to the ground at the back. Each family possesses one of these pits and here, after the funeral feast, the bundle of bones is carried and deposited. After the rest, the remains of Santiago were carried to the "royal" pit and deposited without further ceremony. 764

The Cabecars, according to Mr. Lyon, have about the same ceremony, but their pits are mere holes, not paved, and covered by planks laid on the ground level.

The Tiribis have a death feast, but it differs in some respects from the others. The body is buried immediately after death, but no longer with the property of the deceased, and, of course, the defunct is not present at his final feast, as with the Bri-bris.

Mr. Lyon, to whom I owe much of the information in the present memoir, has described to me one circumstance, in connection with these death feasts, that I have not witnessed. The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribis were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with "old man's beard" moss, sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a "tree calabash," properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy of this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian museum. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, "to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm." Neither Lyon nor the Indians could give me a very clear account of what spirit, whether good or evil, this represented. But the people seemed to regard him as rather of the malevolent sort; to be classed under the general head of "*Bi*" or Devil. Doubtless this, at one time had a distinct meaning, now lost. 766 [532]

No strictly religious belief can be said to exist among these Indians, in the sense that it is usually understood among us. They have, however, a series of ideas or beliefs which affect their daily lives and are never lost sight of. In connection with the funeral feast, described above, I have referred to their idea of a future state. 771

During the year that the body lies in the woods, the disembodied spirit prowls around, living on wild fruits, of which the wild cacao is the only one of which I know the name, although others were also pointed out to me. At the end of that time, when the funeral fire is kindled, the spirit is thus attracted to the feast, whence it departs on its final journey. 775

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775 When I asked an Indian where it went, he responded, to the country of *Si-bu'*, and in reply to the question; where is that? he pointed unhesitatingly to the zenith. On inquiring where the road was, he told me it was invisible to the eyes of the living, but that the spirit (*wig'bru*) could see it.

In the other world there are no troubles, no cares. There is plenty to eat and to drink, of those things that the Indian loves most here. Plantains and corn are never wanting; meat and chicha are always to be had; and chocolate, the luxury, *par excellence* of the Costa Rican Indian never runs out, or becomes scarce as, alas too often, it does in Talamanca. He needs all his arms and implements, but it does not seem that he will be obliged to work. These little discrepancies, the wisest *Tsu-gur* does not attempt to explain. After death, the soul remains wandering about near the corpse until the burial feast. Then, by means of the songs of the *Tsu-gurs* or priests, it makes its journey to the "promised land."

783 Their superstitions are however, somewhat more definite and tangible since they affect their every day actions. There are two classes of uncleanness, *nya* and *bu-ku-ru'*. Anything that is essentially filthy, or that was connected with the death of a person is "*nya*," anything unclean in the Hebraic or Hindu sense is *bu-ku-ru'*. But *bu-ku-ru'* is even more powerful than it is supposed to be by the Orientals. It suffices not only [753] to make one sick, but even kills. In a party where *bu-ku-ru'* is excited, it does not affect all alike, but only attacks the weakest. *Bu-ku-ru'* emanates in a variety of ways; arms, utensils, even houses become affected by it after long disuse and before they can be used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a long time, the custom is to beat them with a stick before touching them. I have seen a woman take a long walking stick and beat a basket hanging from the roof of a house by a cord. On asking what that was for, I was told that the basket contained her treasures, that she would probably want to take something out the next day and that she was driving off the *bu-ku-ru'*. A house long unused must be swept and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short, every accessible part of the interior. The next day it is fit for occupation. A place not visited for a long time or reached for the first time, is *bu-ku-ru'*. On our return from the ascent of Pico Blanco, nearly all the party suffered from little calenturas, the result of extraordinary exposure to wet and cold and of want of food. The Indians said that the peak was especially *bu-ku-ru'*, since nobody had ever been on it before. Even we foreigners were sick from it, and had any of them gone to the summit, they would have surely died. On one occasion, while buying some implements, I pulled down off a rack, two or three "blow guns" that, from the dust on them, must have lain there undisturbed for weeks, perhaps months. As I reached out my hand, I heard the warning cry of "*bu-ku-ru'*" from all around; laughingly disregarding it, and telling them that *bu-ku-ru'* couldn't hurt us, I began examining them.

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Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I 783
would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three
weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant,
poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called [262]
variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that [761]
party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns
that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is
a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being
disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they
consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires.
But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first [843]
pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the
house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all
the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge.
In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it [689]
was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be
obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife.
Nya (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman
is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and
has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that
have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either
thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them,
but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing
the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even
accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be
purified.

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the
former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in [262]
his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man,
sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm [834]
water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is
complete.

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great 776
spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and
by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zi-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zi-bo'*
and by the Boruca, *Si'-bik*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be
feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship.
He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future
state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It
will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is
essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible
step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated
by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe
in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

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776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tiribi, *Auk* in Terraba, and *Ku-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bribris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these inhabit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are
776 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region,
778 make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who
[753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Urun, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-jum*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *bu-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to
776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Aiem* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck,
[226] breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

324 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak
[293] further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent
[481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

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accidental discovery at rare intervals, of a half-rotten trunk in the woods. 824
It is prized principally for its color, which is between that of old mahogany and rosewood, and which is probably in part due to seasoning, or to some change in the heart, consequent on the decomposition of the surface. When an Indian finds one of these sticks, he marks the spot, but dares not take possession immediately. He must purify himself by a [783]
three days fast before he can begin work on it. It is believed that these sticks are under the protection of a poisonous snake, and if the person has not properly prepared himself, the guardian will revenge the outrage by biting him.

The privileged classes, apart from the chiefs, are three. Two of these [565]
are hereditary. The *U-se'-ka-ra* is a sort of high priest, and is of nearly 793
as great importance in the eyes of the people as the chief. In fact, the time was, and not very long ago either, when the chiefs themselves made journeys to visit him as suppliants. The present incumbent is a youth of perhaps twenty-five years of age, and is not yet full fledged. His predecessor, his father, died recently, and, until after the funeral feast, he cannot enter fully into the exercise of his functions. The family lives far back in the hills of Cabecar, and, although a member of that despised tribe, has from time immemorial held undisputed sway over both it and the Iri-bris.

The former *U-se'-ka-ra* was very arrogant, and would hold no communication with foreigners. He claimed supernatural powers, and held frequent interviews with spirits. On these occasions he went alone to a cave, several miles from his house, and spent days together there. On his return he would not converse even with his own family. Nobody but his familiar, now a very old man, was allowed to serve him, or even to speak to him for a certain number of days after his return from one of these mysterious journeys. He rarely traveled about, or visited his neighbors. He lived by levying contributions on the people, or by voluntary presents. His only beverage was chocolate, and the cacao was contributed as voluntary gifts from people far and near. If he entered a house, and offered to buy, or expressed even admiration for anything, whether a chicken, a pig, or any other object, it was at once presented to him. It was considered as good as forfeited. If not presented, it would be sure to die anyhow, and his ill-will would be gained besides. In case of any public calamity, like an epidemic disease, or a scarcity of food from drought, the chief only must visit him, and beg his intercessions with the spirits. He would pay no attention to private appeals. In case he felt inclined to be gracious, he would retire to his cave, and in due time after order a fast. The young man who now holds the position, is one of the finest looking men in the country. He is tall and well formed, his good-natured looking face bears an expression of seriousness hardly in keeping with his youth; and his whole bearing is grave and impressive. I was forcibly struck by his manner, being so strongly in contrast with the light-hearted, talkative character of most of the people. When in

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793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace [124] of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

767 Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, 793 and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular, but many of the nouns are peculiar. *Si-ba*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they know. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

756 Finally come the *Awat*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profes- 791 sion, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

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believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the 756
Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take for- 791
eign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of
purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads
of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away
rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. 789
He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, [276]
calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever
place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two
swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford;
one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in
our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather.
He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke
would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Car-
tago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the
name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success,
and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he
had the effrontery to calmly claim it as his doing! They also claim to
"blow" a proposed route of travel, so as to drive away snakes and bring
good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically
the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming 755
away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sick- [123]
ness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one
to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he
made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any
small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are
used, and are said to be equally efficacious.

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew
tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about
diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt for a
day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated
under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular
periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addi- 756
tion to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would
have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the
other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmi-
ties. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic [778]
merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are
supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend,
who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One pur-
ported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other
animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they
were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamor-
phic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction.
My little knowledge of medicine, and a moderately well-supplied medi- 123
cine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon

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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-sé-ka-ra* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *bu-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *bu-ku-ru'*.

The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
474 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an
574 extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461] the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273] man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

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it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely
there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as
expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course;
but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with
tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse
and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatémalan
Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame
with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for
sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door,
and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and
"meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are
of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by
a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven
openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer
and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer
than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually
dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A
coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tiribi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tiribis,
in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but
much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente
nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost
every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open
bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin
it.

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286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a litle more then a foot wide [291] The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Be- [386] sides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [413] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

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axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two 484
or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since acci-
dents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person
alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before
he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are
simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the
neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They
are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to [251]
diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made
into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for
chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk,
carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the foot-
stalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded
with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as com-
pact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the fore- [482]
head by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the [481]
hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordi-
nary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used.
This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick,
but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking.
The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually [554]
carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong
nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is pre-
ferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the
stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are
always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of
chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to
a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that
they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, 574
the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where
most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the
house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person
approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I
have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If
a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat him-
self in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take
care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach
with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If choco-
late is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha.
This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of considera-
tion. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or
chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last,
when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the per-
son offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which
stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable,
and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the [431]

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574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been pre-
[431] sented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of choco-
late, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green
corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made
[123] friends, fed sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse any-
thing.

The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet
342 in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long
poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of
withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on
a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a
third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring,
if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not rest-
ing on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched
with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop
the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large,
squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes
made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark.
Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular
form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and
the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now
most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the
ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a
roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at
both ends. The Tiribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts,
sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon
told me that formerly the Tiribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses
like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness.
The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even
in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to
put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The
Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better fur-
nished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made
by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-
sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the
sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made
of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together.
In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends
of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by plac-
ing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as
they burn off. Over the fire is a barbacue or frame, sufficiently high to
let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way
of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient
protection from the latter

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protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

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411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio. never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to 534 them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

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savage Indians do not possess it. The drum is their greatest favorite. 534
It is from twenty inches to two feet long, cylindrical for half its length, with a diameter of six or seven inches; it then tapers convexly to near the other end and then widens out a little. The pattern is always the same, and the size varies but a few inches. The larger end is tightly covered with the skin from the belly of the iguana lizard. It is glued on by fresh blood, being held in place with string until dry. A cord tied around each end suspends it loosely from the left shoulder, and it is held under the left arm, being beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. It is used principally to accompany and keep time to singing and is an indispensable part of every feast or gathering of whatever kind. To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute m[illegible]dy. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, per- [321]
haps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribi made of a deer's bone. The priests use in their songs a rattle, made of a small pear-shaped tree calabash, lashed to a bone at the small end. This contains a few seeds of the "shot plant," or Cuma. It is held upright and solemnly shaken in time with the song until the end of the stanza, when, as a signal for the chorus to strike in, it is given a dexterous twirl, throwing the seeds rapidly around inside. On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above-mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it.

Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization 291
approaches. Formerly the dress of the men consisted only of a breech-cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the 287
inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with a roughened stick over a log. This loosens the fibre, and renders it soft and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is washed out. After drying, it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held 291
against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then falls over in front, for about a foot long, like an apron. When cotton cloth is used, it is simply caught up in front and behind under a cotton belt, with a similar apron in front. Sometimes, for warmth, a shirt of

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291 mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men
[177] have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly the hair
302 was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright-colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat.

291 The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of mastate. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo-blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe and wound round the waist by the midribs. With nothing above nor below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partially conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty dress, I must do these
291 people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both
834 men and women. In a year and a half of life in their country, traveling constantly with a body of them, bathing, fording rivers, living in their houses, and seeing more than strangers generally do of the intimate domestic life of the people they are among, I can only recall a single instance of carelessness, and not one of a wanton exposure of those parts of the person, that their ideas of modesty required to be kept covered.

291 The dress just described is that of the Bri-bris and Cabecars. The Tiribi men, where they do not wear pantaloons, always use the native cotton breech-cloth, never the mastate. The women wear a long strip of cotton cloth, made with a hole in the middle, like a poncho, and reaching before and behind, nearly to the ground. It is gathered up at the waist by a belt, and the edges are caused to overlap at the same time, so that the whole person is securely covered. I was also told that under this they wear a species of breech-cloth or drawers. They are much more retiring in their manner than their Bri-bri sisters; never speak

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to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

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622
301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most
[727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as
[422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might
293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long.
622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on
[532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt-
[251] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time.
[224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc-
[251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse
252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

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tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste 252
to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *mish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn [243]
is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. [412]
In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is [462]
always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If 273
it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uron. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

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273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejibalie* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwo, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kiliti*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

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Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A frame-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*si*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-ear'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may remain with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

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757 to apply to the traders for medicines for fever. All go to Mr. Lyon in case of snake-bite, and when taken in time, he says he has never failed to cure a case with either ammonia or iodine, as seemed to be indicated. It may be interesting to note that after obtaining no relief with one of these medicines, he has given the other, and with immediate good results. He gives the iodine in the form of alcoholic tincture in 10 to 15-drop doses, every 10 to 15 minutes. Some of them seem to believe in the incantations of the *Asus* or doctors, but foreign medicines are gradually gaining ground over sorcery. For rheumatic pains, headaches, &c., there are two remedies used. The simplest is counter-irritation by whipping with nettle leaves. The other is bleeding. The lancet is made usually from the tongue of a jew's-harp, broken off at the angle and sharpened to a point. This is set at right angles in a little stick for a handle, and is used by holding it over the affected part and striking it briskly with a finger. They never regularly open a vein and draw off a quantity of blood, but every stroke makes a separate puncture, from which only a few drops exude. At Borubeta I saw a man bled to relieve the aching of fatigue in his arms. He had been scraping *agave* leaves, to extract the fibre for hammocks. He had at least fifty punctures made over his two arms.

222 439 314 The natural products of the country are principally sarsaparilla root and india rubber. The sarsaparilla vine is green, angular, and covered with thorns. It grows very long and climbs over bushes and even trees in the more open parts of the forest. At short distances it is jointed, and if it touches the ground every joint sends out a new set of roots. The leaves are large and acuminately oval and have three longitudinal ribs, the midrib and two parallel ones, half way between the middle and the edge. The fruit is round and grows in a cluster something like grapes. The vine has a tap-root, and besides sends out a large number of horizontal roots near the surface of the ground, and from six to ten feet long. The sarsaparilla hunter first clears away carefully all the bushes and undergrowth with his machete. He then, with a hooked stick, digs into the ground at the base of the vine until he loosens the earth and finds where the best roots are. The tap-root is never disturbed, and it is customary to dig up only half the roots at a time, to avoid killing the vine. Having selected those that look most promising, he places his hand under one or two and gently lifting them, follows their course with his hooked stick, loosening the soil and lifting them out, following them to their ends. They are then cut off, the dirt carefully replaced around the vine, and the roots laid in the sun, or hung up to dry. A vine yields generally from four to nine pounds of green roots. When dry they are tied into cylindrical rolls a foot long and four or five inches thick, weighing about a pound.

India rubber is obtained by scoring the bark of the trees obliquely. Several cuts are placed one above another and in pairs converging downwards; the sap being directed in its flow by a leaf placed at the bottom, which serves as a spout, to direct it into the vessel placed to receive it.

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When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to coagulate and turn 222
black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into 314
cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the
purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton 439
cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes,
axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot,
and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell 438
net-bags and hammocks to the Tiribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsaparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cocoa, of which they might have enough and to spare for the mere trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race.

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir
was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadel- 114
phia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students.

Vol I. Chapter VII. p. 684, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 684 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Vallentos, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Blancos, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

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114 Nicoya, where at present no Indians live, are placed Orotiñans and Guatusos. Further, no tribes are placed in South-western Costa Rica, where the semi-civilized Terrabas and Brunkas live; but on p. 748, the author states that "dwelling in the western part of the state are the Terrabas and Changuenas, fierce and barbarous nations, at constant enmity with their neighbors." Now the Terrabas, as well as their neighbors the Brunkas, or as the Spaniards call them, the Bornoas, live in one or two little villages, and are under the complete control of missionary priests, both ecclesiastically and municipally, and are rapidly losing their language, as they have their savage customs, and are approaching the civilized condition of the villages of Pacaca, Coa, Quiricot, &c., in Costa Rica, where the Indians speak only Spanish, and have even lost the traditions of their former state. Again, the Changuinas formerly occupied the valley of the Changuina or Changina River, the main branch of the Tilorio, on the Atlantic slope, and are either entirely extinct, or only represented by a handful of individuals, swallowed up by the neighboring Tiribis on one side, and the Valientes on the other.

In the proper place I have noted what can be said of the Guatusos; there is nothing to add, until a responsible observer has the good fortune to penetrate their country, and survive to tell his tale.

On p. 796 of Vol. 3, is a very short vocabulary of "the language of the Talamancas," copied from the publication of Scherzer. This traveler did not visit Talamanca, but from internal evidence I believe the words to have been obtained from some of the half-civilized Cabecars of Tucuriqui or Orosi, little villages not far from Cartago. In evidence of its unreliability, I note two or three of the most glaring errors of the list.

"Man *signa-kirinoma*. Woman *signa-arágro*."

Here *signa*, clearly a clerical error for *sigua*, means foreigner, and the word given for woman—*signa arákur* means foreign woman. So, the prefix *sa* and *su* before the names of parts of the body is the personal pronoun—our. *Suka* is *su ka* "our house." "I *ba-ka*," is really *thou*, the error arising from the Indian answering *thou*, when he was asked, "how do you say I," the interlocutor doubtless pointing to himself. Fortunately the vocabulary is very short, but I am sure there are not more than three or four words in it that would be intelligible to a Costa Rican Indian.

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CHAPTER II.

THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN COSTA RICA.

SECTION I.—THE BRI-BRI LANGUAGE.

In the following notes, I have endeavored to embody such ideas and 124
conclusions as I have arrived at while studying the language and compiling the vocabulary. From the difficulty of obtaining information from ignorant people, and from my own, by no means perfect knowledge of the language, possibly errors may have crept in, but while I do not think any important ones will be found, I do not venture to claim infallible accuracy. For a year I labored to find some rule for conjugation, and was obliged, as it were, to educate my informers up to the point of being able to give me information about a subject they had never thought of, and could see no use for. Not content to accept their statements categorically, I watched carefully the use of the verbs in their inflexions, and by dint of cross-questioning a number of people, and rejecting everything that was contradictory, I think the few verbs I have selected are correctly given. I have had the advantage not only of a year and a half in the country, in daily contact with a fellow-countryman who spoke the language fluently, enabling me thereby to learn it; but for two months, in the meantime, while absent, I had several intelligent Indians with me who understood Spanish, and finally, after returning to civilization, I had with me for eight months a native, with whom I talked habitually in his own language, and from whom I obtained many corrections of the errors that a stranger must necessarily make. This boy became an apt teacher and voluntarily set me right whenever he heard me use an incorrect expression.

Counting the few abstract words which have doubtless escaped me, 192
and all the specific names of animals and plants, and many of the latter are made up of an adjective, or the name of some plant, combined with *wak* (tribe), I do not think the language can contain two thousand words, and perhaps not fifteen hundred. In preparing the vocabulary 128
I have rejected most of these specific names, because there is no corresponding English word, and a complete natural history collection, carefully studied by competent students, would be required, so as to obtain an equivalent. Even then it would have been useless, because the names vary locally as much as similar words do in English.

In compound words, I have in most cases pointed out the roots, and separated the component parts by a | sign. Although so much detail may have been unnecessary, the study was interesting to myself, and some of the curious results may also interest others.

There can be no doubt but that this and its allied dialects, like all 197
unwritten languages, are undergoing great changes. The language spoken in Terraba was formerly, and probably not long ago, the same as that of Tribi. There are marked differences between the Cabecar of Coen and that of the Estrella or North River, and even local differences in the use of *r*, *l*, and *d*, can be observed between the half of the Bri-bri

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197 tribe living on the Uren, and the others scattered over the rest of the country. In different districts "a little," *wi-ri-wi'-ri* is also pronounced *bi-ri-bi'-ri* and *wi-di-wi'-di*, and many other words especially those with *r* or *d* before a vowel, vary fully as much. As has been justly observed by Max Müller, laziness often helps this. The present name for rain *kon'-ni* for instance, is clearly derived from *konŋ'-li*. In fact the proof exists in the form of the word for dust *konŋ'-mo-li*. But *kon'-ni* is easier to pronounce than *konŋ'-li*, and has taken its place.

196 It would be an interesting study to trace out the ideas which have influenced the formation of compound words. In Bri-bri, a hill is *konŋ'-bĕ-ta*, the point of the country; in Cabecar it is *konŋ-tsu'*, the breast of the country, from *tsu*, a woman's breast. Again in Bri-bri a sharp knife is said to be *a-ka'-ta*, toothed (that it may bite, or cut), the beak of a bird is called its tooth; and the same root (*kwo*) is used for a finger-nail, a fish-scale, a bird's feathers, the bark of a tree, or the rind of a fruit.

Some few words are used in such varied connections that they warrant special notice. Among these are *wo*, *konŋ*, *i-tu*, *kin*, &c. *Konŋ* is a part of nearly all words relating to the earth, the sky, the atmosphere, in short the general surroundings. It means the country, the day, the weather. In composition it forms part of the word for a hill, valley, &c. *Wo* means originally round, either circular or globular. It is also applied to almost all masses or lumps; it further forms a component of words having a reference to entirety or completeness; thus alone, it means the human face, in compounds it forms a part of the names of the sun and moon, of many parts of the human body, of a drop of water, of a knot, of fruits, seeds, &c; and of verbs, such as to make, to close, to open, to extinguish, to tie, &c.; *i-tu'* means originally to chop, but is applied to shooting, striking with intention of wounding (in contradistinction to *i-pu'* to whip). It also forms part of the verbs to shut, to extinguish, to lie (or throw one's self) down, and, in the latter sense is also used for to pour (to *throw* out of a vessel). *Kin* means a region, or district, and is always used in connection with some qualifying word; thus *Lari-kin*, the country or region of Lari; *dō-je'-kin* the salt region or sea; *tsong'-kin* the sand region, or beach; but *nye-re'-kin* means in or on the road, and *bĕ-ta'-kin* on top (of a hill or mountain). *Ki-cha'* means originally a string; derivatively a vine to tie with is *tsa' ki-cha*, or a string vine. Veins and tendons are called by the same word on account of their resemblance to strings, while the joints of the limbs are called *ki-cha'-wo* or the lump of strings. *Pa* and *pe*, mean people; the former combined with the 3d person, singular, personal pronoun *ye*, makes *ye-pa*, the 3d person, plural. It is also used combined with *wak*, tribe; thus, *Lari-wak*, means the people of Lari; *sa wak-i-pa*, our people; in this case used probably as much for clearness as anything else, since *tsa-wak*, ("*vine-tribe*") means ants! *Ha-wak-i-pa*, your people. *Pe*, used alone means somebody; whose is it? "*pe cha*;" "somebody's," *cha* being the sign of possession.

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There are several words which change their form, or which are even substituted by others, according to the sense or connection; thus *u'-te-kin*, sometimes pronounced *ku'-te-kin*, means out or outside of the house or of anything else in all ordinary cases; but for a person to go out of the house is not *mia u'-te-kin* or *mia ku'-te-kin*, but *miâ ku pa'-gi*. This *pa'-gi* is used in no other connection; and the sound occurs nowhere else in the language except as *pagi-chi-ka* (sugar) and *pagi*, the numeral eight, with either of which, it is obviously not related. But the numerals illustrate this most markedly. For instance three is *m-nyat*, and as such it is used in counting all *things*; three houses, *ku m-nyat*; but three men are *pe m-nyal* and three days are *kosp m-nyar*. *Bit*, how many, becomes *bil*, how many persons, &c. Old, fat, to grow, pregnant, &c., change in a similar manner when applied to animate and inanimate, or to human and lower objects. 196 193

It is remarkable that in a language otherwise so poor, at times it should go to the other extreme. In civilized languages, notably in Spanish, there is a great variety of words to express the shades of colors of animals, particularly the horse. These words, originally adjectives, are often used as nouns. But in Bri-bri we have eight nouns to distinguish pigs, six of which are for color; viz.: 192

white,	*mu-lush'*.
black,	*do-losh'*.
gray,	*bish'*.
red,	*mash* (*a* as in *far*).
half-white, half-black.	*bi-tuse'*.
black, with white face,	*kü-jos'*.
with throat appendages,	*bu-lish'*.
short-legged,	*na'-na* (Spanish *enana*, a dwarf).

These words are in every sense nouns only, and are just as correctly the names of the respective animals as the generic term "*cocha*." Chickens and dogs have similar distinguishing names, but I have never been able to learn that horned cattle (*saca*, whether bull or cow,) are so honored. Horses are comparatively unknown. The only representative of the race in the country being Mr. Lyon's old yellow mare, there has never arisen the necessity for the additional tax on their inventive powers. Words expressing physical qualities of matter are as abundant as in more civilized languages, and their use is as strictly limited. Hard, strong, or stiff, is *dö-re'-re*. Soft, like a cushion or fresh bread, is *b-jo'-ö-jo*, while soft like cloth it is *a-ni'-a-ni* or *a-ni'-ni-ö*. Weak or fragile, like a string, or a vessel, powerless like a weak person, or tender like meat, are *to'-to* or *to-tol'*. Elastic, like caoutchouc, is *ki-tsung'-ki-tsung*; when like a switch, it is *kras'-kras*. Plastic, like mud or putty, is *i-ne'-i-ne*. Pasty, like dough, is *i-tu-ue'*. When more fluid, like very wet mud, it is *a-bas'-a-bas*. Viscid, like syrup or honey, is *kü-nye'-kü-nye*; while very fluid, watery, is *di-se-ri-ri*.

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192 Plantains, bananas, maize, and beans must have been in use by the Indians before the arrival of Europeans, since they have specific names for all of them, but all domestic animals have only the names that came with them.

I have found very few words that I can trace clearly to foreign sources. The names of introduced animals, mentioned above, articles of clothing, and foreign utensils make up almost the entire list. We have *ar'-res*, Spanish arroz'; *sombre'ro*, Sp. sombrero; *sapato*, pure Spanish; *pana*, English pan, all hollow vessels of thin metal, of whatever form; *cuchara*, Spanish; *bi-ro*, English bead, so native word for anything round; *tigera*, Spanish; *pussy*, English; *chi-chi*, Aztec *tochichi*, the edible dog of Mexico (*fide* Belt), a word used all over Spanish America, and adopted by the Bri-bri and adjoining tribes in the Spanish form; *cachimba*, vulgar Spanish; *da-wa'*, probably corrupted from tabaco; *ko-no'*, corrupted from canoe; *vaca*, *caballo*, and *coche*, Spanish. *Alma*, a corpse, bears a suspicious resemblance to the Spanish *alma*, the soul. *Do-ko-ro'*, a chicken, seems to be derived from the crow of the cock; *i-a'-na*, is probably not the Spanish *llena*, with which it corresponds in meaning, but is derived from *e'-na*, finished. *Ese*, that, and *es-es* (= Spanish *eso es*) are probably derived from the Spanish.

202 The enumeration is decimal, and is simple in structure. Few pretend to count beyond ten, and in counting loose objects if the number is considerable, they are set apart in groups of ten; thus forty-six would be four tens and six. In speaking of numbers the fingers come into play. It is as common to see three, four, or more fingers held up, with the remark "so many" as to hear the numeral mentioned. Beyond ten, the toes are called into service, and the surplus over the ten toes is counted on the fingers, held downwards in this case. The word for five, *skang*, is clearly (*u-ra*) *ska*, the fingers. Beyond ten we have "ten more one," &c., but from twenty upwards I found so much confusion of ideas and contradiction that I strongly suspected my informers of politely trying to invent compounds to please me. By careful questioning, and still better, by watching conversations, I found that twenty is "ten two times," &c., after which the form of the "teens" is repeated; so that twenty-one is "ten two times more one," *d'bob but juk ki ei*. There is no word for one hundred unless we use *d'bob d'bob juk*, which would be legitimate and intelligible, although I confess I never heard it used.

Wa, *ka*, *ke*, and *ta* added as suffixes are equivalent to the English *ed*.
193 Thus *i-da-ro'*, to die; *i-da-wo'-wa*, dead; *lin'-a*, crazy; *ya lin'-a-ka*, he is crazed; *pat'ya*, to paint; *pat-yet'-ka*, painted; *su-tat'*, flat; *sut-tat'-ka*, flattened; *boi*, good; *boir'-ka*, healed; *bö-ta'*, a point; *bö-ta'-ta*, pointed, &c.

Kli used as suffix is equivalent to our *ish*; thus *boi*, good; *boi-kli*, goodish (*i. e.* pretty good or well); *tyng*, large; *tyng'-kli*, largish; *mat'-ka*, red; *mat'-kli*, reddish. *Ung* and *ong*, which in Terraba and Tiribi are almost the universal signs of the active verbs, are represented by the termination

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ung in nearly a dozen Bri-bri verbs, where it has about the same value as English affix *ate*. 193

Articles and conjunctions do not exist in the language, the other parts of speech being however present.

Nouns have no inflections for gender, number, person, or case. If it is desired to express sex, the word male or female is used; thus my daughter is called *je la e-ru'-kur*, my woman child; a bull is *vaca wo'-nyi* or male cow. The only exceptions to this rule are the few words referring to the human race, like man, woman, and some of the family relationships. Beyond this no distinctions of gender occur.

Number is always indicated by a numeral or by such words as much, many, &c. Two or three words occur that may be considered as apparent exceptions. *Di-cha'* means a bone; *di-che'* is bones. *Di-ka'* is thorn and *di-ke'* is thorns, not two or three, but all the thorns on a tree, in a collective sense. *U-ra'-ska* (*u-ra* arm) is a finger, while *u-ra-'hkwe'* (? fingers) is the hand. The coincidence in the termination of these isolated plurals, if they can be so called, is worthy of note.

Person is only indicated by the addition of a personal pronoun. The only semblance of inflection for case, is the addition of *cha*, the sign of possession, alike to nouns and pronouns; or of the prepositions, *wa*, *ta* (with), &c., as suffixes, making an ablative.

The personal pronouns are all monosyllables except *ye-pa* (they), a compound of *ye* (third per., sing.) and *pa* people. Although normally of one syllable, they are often used with the termination *re* (except *ye-pa*) for either emphasis or euphony; thus it is equally correct to say *je* or *je'-re*. *Me* (yourself) is used only in connection with a verb, like *me-sku*, move yourself; *me tu is*, lie (yourself) down. The sign of possession, as stated above, is added alike to the pronoun, or to the name or title of a person; *je-cha*, mine. *Ese* (that) is probably derived from the Spanish, and with *i* (literally *what*) does duty for the neuter. Where the nouns in a language are so simple, it is hardly to be expected that the adjectives and adverbs should suffer many changes. *Boi*, good or well, used either as an adjective or adverb, becomes *boi-na*, better, and a sort of superlative is formed by adding very; *boi chukli*. *Tyng*, large, is in an increased degree either *tyng chukli*, very large, or *tyng bru*; *bru* meaning also large but adding emphasis when the two words are combined. To *boi* and *tyng*, *kli* is added as a suffix to qualify the sense, like *ish* in English; *boi-kli*, goodish, pretty good, and *tyng-kli*, largish, or somewhat large.

The short *i* which begins most of the Bri-bri verbs, is not specially the sign of the infinitive, but is almost universally used where the verb is not preceded by another word, and is sometimes used even then for euphony.

There are four well-defined moods: the infinitive, the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. The subjunctive is as simple as in English, being formed from the indicative by *mi-ka-re'* (if) placed at the beginning of the sentence.

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193 Humboldt,* in speaking of the language of Venezuela, says: "The Chayma and Tamanoc verbs have an enormous complication of tenses," and adds that "this multiplicity characterizes the rudest American languages." It certainly does not apply to the Costa Rican family, which is equally remarkable for the simplicity of its inflections. The present tense does duty for the present participle, and the perfect for the perfect participle; besides which we have the past and but a single future. There is no variation for number or person.

The auxiliaries used are not constant. For the imperative, *ju* is sometimes prefixed, and *mia* is often the sign of the future. It is generally a prefix, but in *i-haw-na*, to fall, it is added to the end of the word. *Etso* (from *etso-si*, to be,) is the sign of the present tense in *pat-yu*, to paint.

The following examples will give a better idea of the conjugations than a lengthy explanation. They were selected from a large number, and have been verified with as much care as the difficulties of the case would admit. I believe they may be safely trusted, inasmuch as they are words that I have heard in constant use for over two years, and not trusting to categorical information, have watched their habitual use in conversation. The first example, *i-mi'-a*, is the most variable verb in the language. The forms given in each tense are usable interchangeably. It is equally correct to say, "*je mit-ka*," or, "*je mi-at'-ka*," I go. The past *re*, and *ra'-re*, are used everywhere except by a few people on the Coen River, where the more regular form, *mi-a'-na*, is used.

CONJUGATIONS.

To go.

Inf. I-mi'-a.

Ind. Pres., { mi-at'-ka, mit'-ka, } used interchangeably.

Past, { re, ra're, } from the verb, *ra'-tskí;* the forms ordinarily used.
mi-a'-na; used only on the Coen River.

Perf., mi-cho'.

Fut., { mi'-a, affirmative.
(ke) mi'-na, negative (*ke*, not.)

Imperative, ju. When in combination with an object expressed; *be* JU *i-tu*, "thou go shoot." This is the almost universal auxiliary sign of the imperative mood.

ju-ahka, *ju*, as above; *ahka* (*ahku*), to walk.

mi'-ahka, confined to the first person plural. It means, "let us go," or, "come," and can be used as an auxiliary to almost all the other verbs; *mi-ahka du tu*, "let us go birds shoot."

* Trav., vol. i., p. 327, Eng. Ed.

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To barn.

Inf. I-nyor′-ka.
Ind. Pres., I-nyor-ket′-ke.
Past, I-nyor-no′-ka.
Perf., I-nyor-no′-wa.
Fut., I-nyor-wa′-ne-ka.

To cook.

Inf. I-lu′.
Ind. Pres., I-luk′.
Past, I-li′-na.
Perf., I-let′-ke.
Fut., I-lu′.
Imper. I-luk′.

To speak.

Inf. I-ähtu′.
Ind. Pres., I-ähtuk′.
Past, I-ähte′.
Perf., I-ähtet′-ke.
Fut., I-ähte′.
Imper. I-ähtuk′.

To walk.

Inf. I-shku′.
Ind. Pres., I-shkuk′.
Past, I-shke′.
Perf., I-shket′-ke.
Fut., I-shku′.
Imper. shku′-ta, walk to (come).
ju′-shka, walk from (go).

To this verb we must add the following irregular forms: *shkat′-ke*, to walk ahead; its derivative, *it-kat′-ke*, has gone ahead, and *mi′-shka*, for which see the note to the first verb, *i-mia*.

To shoot, to chop.

Inf. I-tu′.
Ind. Pres., I-tuk′.
Past, I-te′-na.
Perf., I-tet′-ke.
Fut., (mia) I-tu′.
Imper. (ju) I-tu′.

To paint.

Inf. pat′-yu.
Ind. Pres., (etso) pat-yuk′; (*etso*, to be).
Past, pat-ye′.
Perf., pat-yet′-ke.
Fut., pat-ye′-ke.
Imper. pat-yuk′.

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To eat.

Inf.		I-kū-tu'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-kū-tet'-ka.
	Past,	I-kū-te'.
	Perf.	I-kū-te'-wa.
	Fut.,	I-kū-te'.
Imper.		I-kū-tuk'.

To start.

Inf.		I-bē-te'
Ind.	Pres.,	I-bē-te'.
	Past,	I-bē-te'.
	Perf.,	I-bē-tet'-ka.
	Fut.,	I-bē-te'.
Imper.		I-bē-ti'-nuk. Only used in a negative sense, "*ke bē-ti'-nuk,*" do not start (or move); *i. e.*, "keep perfectly quiet."

To roast.

Inf.		I-ku-ke'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-ku-kuk'.
	Past,	I-ku-tu'-na.
	Perf.,	I-ku-ket'-ka.
	Fut.,	I-ku-ke'.
Imper.		I-ku-kuk'.

To exchange.

Inf.		I-mne'-wa.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-mne-wet'-ka.
	Past,	I-mne'-nũ.
	Fut.,	(nū'-a) mne'-wa.
Imper.		I-mne'-nũ.

To sleep.

Inf.		ki-puk.
Ind.	Pres.,	ki-pa-wet'-ka.
	Past,	ki-pe'.
	Perf.,	ki-peg'-wa. ki-pet'-ke; third person plural only.
	Fut.,	ki-put'-ka.
Imper.		(ju) ki-put'-ka.

To lose (inanimate objects).

Inf.		I-che'-wa.

There are no changes in this verb, except that nuk is added to the Ind., Fut. There is no Imperative.

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To lose (animate objects).

Inf.		I-cho-rai'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-cho-rai'.
	Past,	I-cho-rai'.
	Perf.,	I-cho-rat'-ke.
	Fut.,	I-cho-ret'-ke.

To listen.

Inf.		I-ähtsu'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-ahtsuk'.
	Past,	I-ähtse'.
	Perf.,	I-ähtset'-ke.
	Fut.,	I-ähtse'.
Imper.		I-ähtsuk'.

To count.

Inf.		I-ahtaung'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-ahtaunk'.
	Past,	I-ahta'-we.
	Perf.,	I-ahtaung'.
	Fut.,	(mia) ahta'-we.
Imper.		I-ahtaunk.

To fall.

Inf.		I-haw'-na.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-haw'-nuk.
	Past,	I-haw'-ne.
	Perf.,	I-haw-net'-ke.
	Fut.,	I-haw'-na (mi), (*mia*).

To push.

Inf.		pat'-ku.
Ind.	Pres.,	pat'-kuk.
	Past,	pat'ke.
	Perf.,	pat-ket'-ke.
	Fut.,	pat'-ke.
Imper.		pat'-kuk.

To feed.

jö-ku' has the same terminations as pat'-[ku.

To want.

Inf.		I-ki-a'-na.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-ki-a'-na. / I-ki-et'-ke, third person only; when "he *wants* you."
	Past,	I-ki-e'.
	Fut.,	I-ki-e'.

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193 The place of the accent is strictly determined by the structure and
194 etymology of compound words. In words composed of a noun and an adjective, the accent is placed on the adjective; thus *di+ki-bi'*, large water, *i. e.*, river; *chi-ka+tyng'*, large substance, *i. e.*, stout; *sa-wi'+juk*, cotton substance or raw cotton. This applies equally to the emphasis in a similar phrase like *pĕ how'-ri*, other, or different people. When the word is composed of an adjective or adverb, with a verb, the accent goes with the verb; thus, *I-ewung+pu'*, to spread; *I-we+tu'*, to shut. When composed of a noun and a verb, it follows the same rule; thus, *bĕ-ta+en'-te*, the remainder (*i. e.*, the end stays or remains). When composed of two nouns, one in an adjective sense, the accent is on the qualifying noun, like *mo'+we*, navel; *du'+ku*, nest or bird-house; *tsu'+di-e*, milk or teat-juice; *tsu'+we*, a woman's breast; *tsu-we'+bĕ-ta*, nipple. This rule is almost universal in Bri-bri, and obtains generally in the other languages; the greatest number of exceptions being in Terraba.

198 In the simplest sentence, the nominative begins, followed by the object, and the verb comes last. When a noun is qualified by an adjective, the adjective follows the noun. In the same way the adverb follows the verb; and the verb closes the sentence, unless it is accompanied by an adverb, or adverbial phrase. In case there are, in addition to the nominative, object, and verb, another noun, governed by a preposition, these latter close the sentence. I strike you; *je be pu, I thou strike.* I strike you hard; *je be pu dĕrere.* The strong man chops the wood well; *wewi dĕrere kar tu boi.* Will you go with me?; *be mia je-ta*, thou go I with. *Ta*, *wa*, and *wung* (see notes on the nouns) are always added as suffixes to the nouns or pronouns which they qualify, and form a sort of ablative case. But where *wung* is used in the sense of "where is," it begins the sentence. Whose hat (is this)? *ji sombreno?* Mine; *je'-cha.* How many people are there in your house? *pe bil tsosi be ku-wung?* people how many are thy house-where? Where is he? *wung ye 'tso?* where he is? He remained in the middle of the road; *ye onte nyoro shong*, he remained road middle. Give me a chair (or bench), *krŭ-wa' mu'-nya;* chair give me. Give him, *mu'-ya.* Reach me my hat; *je sombreno be ura reska*, my hat thou hand reach. Heat the water; *di be-wng*, water make hot. The water is hot; *di be be-na*, water warm heated (is). Put out the fire; *bowo we-tu'*, fire extinguish (or close). The fire went out; *bowo ĭ-to'-wa.* Shut the door; *ku ĭkku we-tu'*, house door shut. Unfasten the door; *ku ĭkku we-jet'-wa.* Open the door; *ku ĭkku we-ku'-wa.* Where is my knife? *wung jatabe?* where my knife (*et se*, to be, understood)? Your knife is there; *be tabé tsosi diya*, thy knife is there. Give me my knife; *je tabe munya*, my knife give. My knife is very sharp; *je tabe akata boi*, my knife toothed good. Go shoot a bird, or go shoot birds; *be ju du tu*, thou go bird shoot. What with? *i-wa?* With a gun; *mokkur wa*, gun with. What kind of a gun? *mokkur is?* gun what kind? Our country gun (blow-gun); *sa kaska mokkur*, own country gun. There are no balls (the clay balls or pellets); *mokkur we ke ku*, gun round (things) no more

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(are understood). Why do you not make some? *i kuenke be ke mokkur* 193
we juwe? why thou not gun round (things) make? There is no clay (or material); *mokkur wechika ke ku*, gun round (things) material no more. Is your gun a good one? *be mokkur boi?* thou (thy) gun good? Does it shoot well? *itu boi?* shoot well (or good)? Good morning; *be shke'na?* thou art awake, or arisen (literally, straightened up). Reply; *je* (I) *shke'na. Be ratski;* thou hast arrived (salutation on a person entering a house). *Je ratski*, I have arrived. How are you? *is be 'tso?* how thou (*st-so'-si*) art? I am well; *je 'tso boi.* Where did you come from? *wesig be bete'?* where thou start? Who went with—? *ji re —ta?* who went— with? I did not see; *ke je wai suna*, not I (*wai* idiom) saw. I do not know; *ke je wai uphchen.* This *wai* occurs nowhere except in these two instances. What did you go for? *iub be re?* why thou went? I went to call my people; *je re je wakipa ikiu*, I went I (my) people to call. Are they coming? *yepa ratski?* they come (or arrive? No; I think they have gone away; *au; je kenbeku ye micho*, No; I think they have gone. Let us go too; *mishka hekepi*, let us go alike. Where is —? *wesig—?* He has gone ahead; *ye 't-kutke*, he has walked ahead (see note on *i-shku*, in conjugation). Put on your clothes; *be sa-wi' i-u*, thou clothing (cotton) put into.

SECTION II.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Although the tradition exists that the people of Terraba are a com- 197
paratively late emigration from the region of the Tiribis, and although the tradition is sustained by the general resemblances of language, and [174]
by the fact that the Brunkas (or Borucas), evidently older occupants of the soil, are crowded into a corner like the Celtic tribes of Europe; yet there are marked differences between the idioms spoken in Tiribi and in Terraba. The Dialects of Southern Costa Rica can be divided into three groups: First, the Bri-bri and the Cabecar; second, the Tiribi and Terraba; and lastly, the Brunka. The three divisions possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. The first group is strongly marked by the short i before nearly all verbs and by a generally more musical sound; while the second is harsh, in consequence of the frequent repetition of sound of *s*. The Cabecar i before the verb is not so persistent as in Bri-bri, but is more strongly pronounced, approaching more nearly the ordinary Latin or Spanish *i*. The terminations *ung* and *ong* are as marked as the sign of the verb, in the second group, as i is in the first. The *s* which almost invariably accompanies this termination, is rarely a part of the last syllable, but is usually sounded at the end of the penultimate, unless when abbreviated into *su* or *so*.

A gradual process of change is clearly discernible in these languages. As yet the Bri-bri and Tiribi have been but little affected. But the Cabecar of Coen is absorbing many Bri-bri words because the people of the Coen, although they use their local dialect among themselves, all speak Bri-

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197 bri also, while the latter, as the conquerors, despise the Cabecars and never attempt to learn their language. The Cabecars of Estrella rarely speak Bri-bri, but nearly all understand it, as well as Spanish and some speak English, and words of both these latter languages are gradually being adopted. The Tiribis are too isolated to acquire many foreign words; but their near relatives the half-civilized people of Terraba as well as the neighbors of these latter, the Borucas, are rapidly acquiring Spanish at the expense of the corresponding words of their own language. In a party of five Borucas, there was not one who could count except in Spanish; and one of my Terraba friends could remember no word for girl, except *muchacha* (Spanish), until I suggested (supported by analogy) the word *we-re'* (woman), when he remembered that he had heard some of the old people use *we-we-re'!* In like manner, he persisted in giving me the Spanish, "*lucero*" for star, besides many other words.

Many roots run through the entire group of languages unchanged, or with changes so trifling that they are not worthy of note. Again sometimes the root varies while the ruling idea is the same. An illustration of this last case is the following: In Bri-bri, to forget is *kĕn-i-cho*; to remember is *ke kĕn-i-cho*, from *ke* not, *kĕn* the liver, and *i-cho* to lose. To think is also *kĕn be-ku* (probably from *be kot-ke*, ready). Liver in Tiribi is *wĕ*, in Terraba *we*, and in Cabecar *her*; while to think is, in Tiribi *we tuizung*, in Terraba *wei-du*, and in Cabecar *her-wik*. The acts of thought, memory, &c., have been attributed to the liver, with about as good reason as we yet place the seat of sentiment in the heart.

In Bri-bri, to lie down is *tu ta*, to throw down; imperative *me* (yourself) *tu ta*. In Terraba *tuak ke* (down) is used in the same manner; *fu tuak ke*, thou sit down, and *fu bu tuak-ke*, lie down (*bu*) long.

Changes of roots are illustrated by the following. In Bri-bri, *ki-puk'* is to sleep, and a hammock is *ki-pu'*. In Cabecar a bed is *ku-pu'-gru*, in Tiribi and Terraba it is *ku'-kru*; and in Brunka *kap* is to sleep.

In Brunka a ghost is *i-wik*, and a shadow is *ku-wik'*, and a devil or evil spirit is *kag'-kru*. In Bri-bri, a ghost, or spirit of a dead person is *wig'-kru*. In Cabecar, a shadow is *wig'-ru*, while in Tiribi it is *gu'-gro*, and in Bri-bri, *si-ri-u'-gur*, thus connecting the word in Bri-bri for ghost, or departed spirit, with that for shadow by means of the allied idioms, although without the intermediate changes of the root, it would not have been demonstrable.

It is evident that the Cabecar *wag-i'*, straight, and the Bri-bri *maw'-ki*, true, are identical. Although the Bri-bri word *si'-gua*, foreigner, has been replaced in the other languages, by other words, it remains in the Terraba, as a compound, in the name of the banana, *bin-sigua*, evidently "foreign plaintain," from *biag*, a plaintain; because it may have been introduced at a later date than the larger fruit, and when the word *sigua* was yet in current use.

Again, the idea changes, and with it, words from other roots come in, thus: lightning, in Bri-bri is *ara wo'-nyu*, "the thunder flashes;" the

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Tiribi *shgu-ring'* and the Terraba *shu-ring'*, seem to be specific; but the Cabecar, *kong-so-ker'-ka* is "the atmosphere burns," while the Brunka *ji'-kra* is simply "fire." 197

Like the two or three cases of imperfect plural in Bri-bri, already mentioned, the Terraba has a single plural word; or rather only an approach, a sort of transitional form. *Shgring* is a rib, and *shgring'-ro*, the ribs in their collective sense, rather as the bony case of the thorax, than as the several bones

As stated above, the compound words in the vocabulary of Bri-bri are divided by a + sign between the component parts. In the other languages, there are doubtless many that have not been properly separated, because I have not ventured to make theoretical divisions, and have only separated those that were obviously compound. My less perfect acquaintance with them has not warranted me in this step, nor in the probably unnecessary detail of analysis to which I have subjected the language of Bri-bri.

In Terraba the 3d person, singular, pronoun *kwe*, while not varying for gender or number, has three forms which always appear according to a peculiar condition, thus:

he, she,	(sitting or lying down)	so'-kwe.
" "	(standing)	shou'-kwe.
" "	(going)	her-shou-kwe'.

In Brunka, I, thou, he, (or she) and we, (*a-di-bi'*, &c.,) are used with the termination *di-bi'* whenever they occur alone. When combined with other words in a sentence, the first syllable only (*a*, *ba*, *i*, and *ja*) is used. The termination is almost an integral part of the word and must be used when alone. This is the reverse of the termination *ro* in Bri-bri, which is rarely used except in a sentence, and then only for euphony or emphasis, and at the option of the speaker.

Chapter III.

VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRI-BRI INDIANS.

[Note.—In this, and in the accompanying vocabularies, the vowels have the same sounds as in Spanish, unless marked with a special sign; *e* is pronounced as in English *met*; *i* as in *pin*; *ü* as in *mum*. *J* has the sound as in *John*; *ng* as in *thing*; *ñ* like the French nasal *n*; *kh* like *ch* in the German *ich*; *h* is aspirated as in English. A few words having unusual vowel sounds are noted separately, not to add unnecessary complication of conventional signs; like *si-ñi'*, blue and *ku-ku'*, ear. 104 128 194

Compound words are written with a + sign between the component parts. Accent is of great importance, the change in position of the ac-

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104 128 194 cent sometimes changing the sense of the word entirely like *i-juk'* to drink, *i'-juk* earth, soil.]

to ache	i-dō-lī'-na	See *pain*.
192 to adhere	i-ka'-tsu-wa	See *against*.
afraid	aō-wa'-na	
afterwards	e'-wa	Not *i'-wa*, interrogative, "what with."
again	i-aō-ka'	See *also*.
against	i-bō-tsu'-wa	See *to adhere*.
ago	er'-a-ja	Immediately past time.
	en-i-al',	Hours ago; this morning.
	nyo-nyo'-ni	Very long ago; days, months, years.
to agree	i-shun'-lu	See *to arrange*.
	nyi'+wo-yu	*Nyi*, together.
to aim	i-shun'-an-u	
air	kong'+shu-wang	*Kong*, see country; *shu-wang*, from *si-wang'*, wind.
alike	nyi+ke'	*Nyi*, together.
	nyi+ishtsei'	Exactly alike; *tsei*, much, applied to words or two people speaking alike.
alive	tse'-ka	See *awake*.
all	seng	
	o-ri-to-ne'	
alligator	to-rok'	
alone	e'-kur	*E* (*ei*) one.
	e'mi	Used in the sense of *only*.
alongside	i-yaw'-mik	
already	ju-bak'	
also	i-aō-ka'	See *again*.
always	shu-ar'-i-a	
angle	bō-ta'	A point; the angle of a surface or the corner angle of a solid.
	si-chi'-a	The angle of a prism; see *square*.
angry	o-ru'-na	
ankle	o-ra-bo'	
ant,	tsa'+wak	*Wak*, people, tribe. *Myrmecophaga jubata*.
ant-eater	u-ri'	*Tamandua 4 dactyla*; *ie*, a forest-clearing; from its being often found in such places.
	te'+u-ri	

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to arise	I-ku'-ku	
arm	u-ra'	
	u-ra + krong'	Upper arm
	u-ra + nya'-we	Fore-arm, *nya'-we*, belly; see *calf of leg*.
to arrange	I shun'-lu	To arrange, or agree on a question.
	I-mu bol'-kil-na	There is no one word for to arrange *things* in their places; *i-mu*, to put, *bol'-kil*, pretty good; see introductory notes.
to arrive	ru'-taki	
arrow	ka'-but	Of the various forms of arrows in use, each has also a specific name.
ashes	mu-nu' + chi-ka	*Chi-ka*, material.
to ask	I-cha'-ku	From *i-chu*, to say?
aunt	mi' + a-la	*Mi*, mother; *la*, diminutive.
awake	tse'-ka	See *alive*.
to awake	I-ahko'-na	*Shke*, straight.
away	I-mi' + bak	*I-mi'-a*, to go; *bak* (*ja'-bak*) already; already gone.
axe	o	Also *shoulder-blade*.
back	shung' + wo	
small of back	ju' + wo	
backwards	taink'-a	
bad	su-ru'-i	
	su-ru'-na	Used to express disapproval.
bag	taku'	A native net bag.
bald	chu-i'	
banana	chi-mu'	
bare	sum'-ó	See *naked*.
bark	kar + kwo'-lit	*Kar*, tree; *i-kwo'-lit*, skin.
basket	shku	
bat	da-kur'	
to bathe	a-kwok'	
to be	bt-so'-si	In a place; also *to have*.
beach	tsong' + kin	*Tsong*, sand; *kin*, region.
bead	bi' + wo	*Bi*, (?) corrupted from English *bead*; *wo*, round.
beak of bird	du' + ka	*Du*, bird; *ka*, tooth.

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*192 bean	a'-tu + wo	
to bear	su'-na pa'-na	To bear young (human). To bear young (inferior animals).
beard	ka'-luk	
beast	du bi bi'-wak	*Bi*, the devil, or anything mysterious; *wak*, tribe. There is no word exactly equivalent to ours for "beast." Each animal (as well as plant), has it specific name, and *du*, properly belonging to birds, is usually applied if the species is unknown; *bi-wak* is only used in a collective sense.
to beat	I-pu' I-bu-ra' + ung	To strike, to whip. To beat, as on a drum.
bed	a-koug'	
bee	bur bur' + wak	*Wak*, tribe.
before	keng' + wo	*We*, where.
behind	diu' + shent bō-ta' + ka	Behind in the abstract; see *in front*. At the tail of a line; immediately behind; *bō-ta'*, a point.
belly	nya' + wo	*Nya*, see *dung*; *wo*, where.
below	is' + kin	*Is*, down; *kin*, region.
belt	ki-pam' + wo	*Ki-pam*, from *ki-pur*, waist.
bench	krū-wa'	
to bend	I-wo + shki' + ung I-chung' + wa I-ko-kut' + wa	Into a ring; *shki*, a circle. To bend at an angle without breaking. To bend into a curve.
bent	ko-kutk'	
better	boi' + na	*Boi*, good.
between	shu + shong'	See *middle*.
beveled	sho-utk'	Equally applied to a prismatic solid, or to the cutting off the corner of a surface; see sloping.
bird	du	
to bite	I-kwo'-wa.	
bitter	bi-chow-I-choi'	

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black	do-ro-rol′	Also very dark blue. 192x
blade	i-wa′	
blind	wo-ju-+-be′-le	
blood	pe	
to blow	wol-ku′	With the mouth; *ku* the tongue.
	be-tsir′-ke	*Si-wang be-tsir′-ke*, "the wind blows."
blue	si-al′	Last syllable prolonged.
	do-ro-rol′	(Black) very dark blue.
blunt	ke-+-a-ka′+ta	*Ke*, not; *a-ka′*, tooth; not edged.
	ke+bŏ-ta′+ta	*Ke*, not; *bŏ-ta′*, point; not pointed.
body	wak	Also *tribe*, *race*, *people*.
bog	doch′-ka	See mud.
boil	squok	A furuncle.
to boil	i-tu+wo′	
bone	di-cha′	
bones	di-che′	For notes on this plural, see introduction.
border	in-ku′	
both	et-+-et	*Et*, one.
bottle	ko-ku′	See calabash.
bow	shkum-me′	
boy	kŭ-bŏ′	
branch of tree	kar′+u-la	*Kar*, tree; *u-la* (*u-ra*) arm.
brave	we′-bra	
bread	i-nya′	See cake.
to break	i-pu-na′-na	Hard things.
	bu-tsa′-na	A string; *tsa*, a string.
breast	be-tsi′	
breast of woman	tsu′+wo	Also teats of lower animals.
breath	si-wang	Wind.
breech-cloth	ki-par′+wo	*Ki-par*, the waist.
bright	du-ru′-ru-i	
to bring	i-tsunk′	See to carry.
broad	sho	
broom	wush′+kru	
brother	yil	Always preceded by a proper name or a pronoun.
brother-in-law	ar′-ŭ-wa	

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bug	——	There is no generic word. Every prominent species has its name, usually consisting of an adjective, combined with *wak*, tribe.
bundle	dil	
to burn	i-nyor'-ka	
to bury	i-bru'	
bush	kar+tsi'-la-la	*Kar*, tree; *tsi-la-la*, little.
"bush dog"	ro'-buk	*Galictis barbata*.
butt	nyuk	See ru[illegible]
butterfly	kwa	
to buy	tu-ong'-ke	
cacao	si-ru'	Also chocolate.
cake	i-nya'	
calabash	ko-ku' / kyong	Applied to entire calabashes with a small opening, for water bottles. Cut in half for cups.
calf of leg	klu+nya'+we	*Klu*, leg; *nya'-we*, belly.
to call	i-kiu'	To summon, to name.
to call out	i-ya'-na-tsu	The accented *a* like *a* in far.
cane	kar / u-ka'+kur / u-pa'+kur	A walking cane, or stick. River cane. Sugar cane; see *sugar*.
caoutchouc	si-ni'+chi-ka	*Chi-ka*, material.
care (take)	e'-no-e'-no / me+haw'-na-mi	*Me*, yourself; see future tense to fall.
cataract	jol	Also a spring.
to catch	i-krung	
centipede	ko	*O* very long.
chaff	i-ku'	
to chase	i-tu'+tiung	
to cheat	wo'-ju	
cheek	onk	
chicha	bo-ro'	A light beer made from maize.
chief	bo-ru'	
child	la'-la	(*Tsi'*) *la-la*, little.
chin	a-ka'+tu	*A-ka'*, teeth.
chocolate	si-ru'	
to chop	i-tu'	Also *to shoot*.

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clean	me-ne'-ne jl'-jl I-shung+bol	Also *smooth*. *I-shung*, inside; *bol*, good.
to clean	I-pa'+skwo I-tu'+skwo	*I-skwo*, to wash; the outside of anything. The inside of a vessel.
clearing	to'	A cleared space in a forest.
close	tal'-net ku-ku'-ni	Near.
to close	I-wo+tu'	
cloth	dl-tal' sa-wl'	Made from bark. Made from cotton.
clothing	sa-wl'	Cotton.
cloud	mo shi	The generic word for all clouds. A very dark rain cloud.
club	kir'-u	A long stick for fighting.
coal	bo'-wo+ka	*Bo'-wo*, fire.
cold	se se-seng'	Only applied to the atmosphere, as *kong+se'*, a cold day. Used in all other connections.
comb	kash	
to comb	kash'+kru	*Kru*, to scrape.
to come	i'-na I-shku'	(Imperative) "come here," To walk.
to complete	o-ro'-na	
compressed	su-tat'+ke	*Su-tat'*, flat.
to consider	be-köt-se'-ke	
constricted contracted	su-litk'	Applied to a constriction between two larger parts.
to converse	la'-ri-ke	Only used in the sense of a present participle, conversing.
to cook	I-lu'	
corn	tai	*Nasua*. There are specific names for the two species, formed by adding adjectives. There seems to be no name for *P. lotor*, which is very rare.
corn	i-kwo'	Maize.

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192	corpse	al'-ma	Can this be Spanish, *alma*, soul?
	cotton	sa-wi'+juk	*Juk*, material.
	to cough (v)	to	The resemblance to the Sp. *tos*, a cough, is probably only a coincidence.
	cough (s)		
[103]	country	koñg koñg+aka	*Koñg* is used in innumerable compounds. Not only is it used in the same manner in all the allied dialects, but in Brunka, it occurs as *kak*, the sun. Nearly all words relating to country, air, day, atmosphere, sky, earth, in short, the general physical surroundings, contain it as an integral part, *Koñg+aka* is the country inhabited by any people.
	cousin	——	Cousins are called "brother" and "sister," even if several degrees removed.
	to cover	pa+bō-ku' i-shku+pa+bō-ku'	*Pa*, skin, covering, surface; *i-bō-ku*, see to pack; to cover a solid object. To cover a vessel to shut a book.
	coward	sū-wa+na	See afraid.
	crab	ju-wi'	
	crazy	i-li'-na	*Ye li'-na-ka*, "he is crazed."
	crooked	ki-tunk'	
	cup	kyoñg	See calabash.
	to cut	i-nyu' i-tu'	Without chopping. With chopping.
	cylindrical	a-ra-bo'+wa	
	damp	mong'-mok	
	to dance	klu'+ptu	*Klu*, the foot; *ptu*, the sole.
	dark	tsat-tsai'	Also any dark color, especially dark brown.

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darkness	koŋ̃g+tu-i'-na	"The day darkens" (either from clouds or towards night). 192x
daughter	je+la+ra'-kur	*Ja*, my, *la* (*la-la*) son; *ĕ-ra'-kur*, woman. For note on *je*, see *son*.
daughter-in-law	jak'+ŏ-ra	See father-in-law. *ĕ-ra*, (*ŏ-ra'-kur*.)
day	nyi'+we	Contradistinguished from night. 192x
	koŋ̃g	Used in all other connections; as *koŋ̃g se*, a cold day. 805
to-day	in'-ya	
to-morrow	bu-le'	
day after to-morrow	bui'+ki	This *ki*, is apparently "more."
3d day future	m-nyar'+ki	*M-nyat*, three.
4th " "	keng'+ki	*Keil*, four.
5th " "	skang'+ki	*Skang*, five.
6th " "	ter'-i+ki	*Terl*, six.
7th " "	ku'-gi+ki	*Ku'-gl*, seven.
8th " "	pai'+ki	*Pa'gl*, eight.
9th " "	koŋ̃g+su-ni'-to	*Su-ni'-to*, nine.
10th " "	koŋ̃g+d-bob'	*D-bob*, ten.
11th " "	koŋ̃g+d-bob+ki+et'	See eleven.
yesterday	chi+ki'	
day before yesterday	bo'+kli	*Bo* (*bui*), two.
3d day past	m-nyon'+li	
4th " "	ka'+ri	
5th " "	skan'+i	
dead	i-da-wo'+wa	See *to die*.
debt	mu'+i	See *money*. 192x
deep	i-shu+tyŋ̃g'	*I-shung*, inside; *tyŋ̃g*, large; large inside.
	(di)+tyŋ̃g'	Deep water.
	wo+kŭ-chutk'	Applied to a *deep* vessel, when the mouth is contracted.
	wo+bli	The same, with the mouth not contracted.
deer	su-ri'	Large species.
	su-ri+ma-ru'	Small species; *ma-ru'*, reddish.

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to depart	mi+cho′	Also perfect, indic., of verb, *i-mia* to go.
to descend	I-u′+mi	I-*u*, to put in; *i-mi′-a*, to go.
devil	bi	Also ghost, or evil spirit.
dew	mo′+wo-li	*Mo*, cloud; *wo′-li*, drop.
to die	i-da-wo′	
different	hau-′ri	
direction	wong	See *where*.
dirt	ka′-mu-ni	
disordered	cho+ri′-li-ŏ	
to dissolve	di+a′-na	*Di*, water.
district	kiu	See *region*.
	kong	See *country*.
to disturb	ting′-we	
to dive	tsant′-kuk	
doctor	a-wa′	
done	o-ro′-ni	Applied to a completed business.
	o′-na	"There is no more."
door	hu′+shku	*Hu*, house.
double	bit+ung′+wa	*Bit* (*but*) two; *ung*, to make.
to double	I-wo+pung′	
down	in	In compounds.
	in′+kin	*Kin*, region (used alone).
to drag	I-ku′+mi	*Mi* (*mi′-a*) to go.
dragon-fly	ki-bi′-a	
to dream	kab′+suong	*Ku-pak′*, to sleep; *suong*, to see.
to drink	I-juk′	
to drive	I-bŏ+ku′	*I-ku*, see to drag.
drop	wo′-li	
drum	so-bak′	
dry	si	Like wood, fit for burning.
	si′-na	By evaporation, like clothes after washing.
	po-poi′	Wiped dry.
	mong′-mok	In a less degree than the other words; but more or less applicable in all cases (partially dry *i.e.* damp). The above are the common usages but are not absolute, the various words being sometimes used interchangeably.

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dung	nya	See cake.
dust	koñg'+mo-li	*Koñg*, see note to country; *mo*, cloud; *li* is used in two or three connections with objects in, or derived from the atmosphere, like dew, rain, &c. 192x
eagle	sar'+puñg,	*Sar*, red monkey; *puñg*, hawk.
ear	ku-ku'	*U*, like the German ü.
early	bu-la'-mi	*Bu-le'*, to-morrow?
earth	i'-juk	(Soil). Not *i-juk'*, to drink.
earthquake	i	English *e*.
to eat	i-kŭ-tu'	This word is never used in the sense of eating a meal; then *jĕ-ku'*, to feed, is always used.
echo	i-o-ro'-te-nu	
eddy	ir-a-mo'	
edge	iu-ku'	
egg	du'+ra	*Du*, bird. In place of "bird," the specific name of the animal is generally given; thus: *to-rok'+ra*, alligator egg.
elastic	ki-tsung'-ki-tsung kras'-kras	Like rubber. Like a switch.
elbow	u-ra+ku-ching'+wo u-ra+knyl'+nyuk	"Knee of the arm." "Heel of the arm."
empty	wu'-ji-ka wa-ko'-ta	See naked.
to empty	i-wu'-ji-ka i-wa-ko'-ta i-tu+tsung	To pour out.
end	bŏ-ta'	Point.
ended	e'-na o-ro'-ni	"It is all gone." Applied to affairs.
enough	wed	
enemy	bo'-ruk	
to envelop	i-bŏ-ku'-wa	
equal equally	nyl'-ke-pi	*Nyl*, together; *ke'-ke pi* alike.
equivalent	ske	
erect	ske'-ka	Perpendicular; see straight.

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even	nyi+ähke	*Nyi*, together; *ähke*, level; in a straight line.
	taki-taki′-a	Even in a pile.
	d-ra-d-dal′	Both of these words mean equal on the edges in a pile, like bricks in a wall, or the cut leaves of a book.
	nyi′+ee	
evening	taon′-ni	Also late.
to exchange	mne′-we	
to expect	ka′-ble	
to extinguish	I-wo+tu′	Also *to shut*.
eye	wo′-bra	
every	o-ri-ten-e′	See *all*.
	seng	
face	wo	See *round*.
to faint	si-wang+e′-na	*Si-wang*, wind; *e′-na*, to finish.
to fall	I-haw′-na	
family	di-jam′	
far	ka-mi′-mi	
fast	bot′-ku	Rapid.
	dē-re′-re	Secure, hard.
fat	ki-n′	Fat, grease or oil of any kind.
	yol′-ta	A fat animal.
	chi′-ka+tyang	Fat person; see stout.
father	ji	Always used with a personal pronoun or the name of the person; *je ji*, my father; or with an exclamation, *aä ji*, oh father.
father-in-law	jak	
to fear	su-wa′-na	
fear	su-wa′-na	
feast	sa+bū-ra′+ung	*Sa*, we. To feast, to dance and to beat drums are ideas so intimately united in the minds of these people, that the same word is generally used indiscriminately for all three.
feather	du′+kwo	*Du*, bird; *kwo*, see scale, skin, nail, &c.

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to feed	jĕ-ku′	See *to eat* and *food*.
female	la′-ki	*La* = *ra* in *ĕ-ra′-kur*, woman.
fever	tak	Spleen.
few	et′+ket wa-wa′-ni	*Et*, one. Also *less*.
fierce	bu-kwe′-wa	
to fight	nyi′+pu	*Nyi*, together; *i-pu*, to strike.
to fill	i-u′	Also *to put in*.
to find	I-kwon′-ju	
fine	wis-wis′-i	Like either a thread, or powder.
finger	u-ra′+ska	*U-ra*, arm.
to finish finished	e′-na o-ro′-ni	See ended.
fire	bo′-wo	
fire-fly	ku′wo ka-tu	Specific. The small flies. The large phosphorescent *elater*.
fire-wood	bo′-wo+tak	*Bo′wo*, fire; *tak*, a piece.
fish	ni-ma′	This is at the same time generic, and is the specific name of the best food fish in the country; the other 15 or 16 species bearing other names.
fish-scale	ni-ma′+kwo	*Kwo*, see skin, nail, &c.
flash	wo′-nyn	
flat	su-tat′ shke	Like a board, table, &c. Like a floor, a tract of country.
flea	ki	
flesh	du′+ra chi-ka′ du+ra′+chi-ka	*Du*, animal; *chi-ka′*, material; often both words are combined, and more often the name of the animal is used with *chi-ka*, thus *vaca chi ka*, beef.
floor	hu+shiung	*Hu*, house.
flower	ma′-ma	See plaything.
fluid	di+sĕ-re′-re a-bas′-a-bas	Watery. Like thin mud.
fly	si-chu′	
to fly	i-un′+e-mi	*I-mi′-a*, to go.
fog	mo	See *cloud*.

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192 to fold	I-wo+puñg′	See *to double*.
folded	chu-no′-wa	
to follow	I-ju′+ki	
food	jĕ-kuk′	
foot	klu	
force	ko′-sin-kwa	
to forget	hĕn+I-cho′	See introductory notes.
forehead	wo′+teoñg	
foreigner	si′-gua	
forest	koñg′+juk koñg+yi′-ka	*Koñg*, see country; *juk*, material.
fragile	to′-to	See *tender*, *weak*.
free	ha′-si	
fresh	pañg-ri	
friend	ja′-mi	See *family*.
to frighten	sŭ-wa′+ung	*Sŭ-wa-na*, afraid; *ung*, affix, to make.
frog	ko-ru′	
tree-frog	wĕm	
front	ai-u′-shent	In front, see behind.
froth	i-shu-ll′	
fruit	kar+wo	*Kar*, tree; *wo*, round, a lump.
full	chik-ll i-e′-na	This is probably not the Spanish *llena*, but *e′-na*, ended; *i. e.*, "no more can be put in."
gall	shko	
genitals	ko ma-lok′	Female. Male, human; see *penis*.
to get	I-kruñg	
ghost	bi wig′-bru	See *devil*.
gift	ti-o′	
girdle	ki-pam′+wo	See *belt*.
girl	ta′-ji-ra ă-la-bu′-si	Before puberty. After puberty.
to give	I-mu′	"Give me," *i-mu′-nya*; "give him," I-*mu′-ye*, or *i-mu-ye-ta*. This is the same word as I-*muk*, to put. To give anything to a person is consequently to put it with him, I-*mu*, to put, *ye*, he, *ta*, with.

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glad	ïlh-tain′-ö	
to go	I-mi′-a I ju	For notes on this word see introduction, and especially the conjugation. 192X
God	si-bu′	
good	boi	Also clean, pretty. Emphatic *boi′-hi.*
to grab	I-krung	
grandfather	re-wu′+je-ke	*Je-ke;* see *old.*
grandmother	nu-wi′+je-ke	
to grasp	I krung	
grass	kong′+chi-ka	*Chi-ka,* material, is here used contrary to the sense explained, (see material) because *kong +juk,* having the same etymological meaning, is applied to forest.
grasshopper	di′-talk	
gravel	tsong′+wo	*Tsong,* sand.
grease	ki-u′	See *fat.*
green	tsö-bat′-tsö-ba	See *wet.*
grief	hed-i-a′na	See *sad, sorry,*
to grind	I-woh′	
to grow	de-tyng′+eh I-tar+an′-o I-tar+ar′-ke	A plant. A person or animal.
guatuso	shu-ri′	*Dasyprocta cristata.*
gun	mok′-kur	
hair	konsh′-ko ko+juk	Of the head. Of the body; *juk,* material. See *leaf.*
half	shong′+buts	*Shong,* see *middle, between; but,* two.
hammock	kI-pu′	See *to sleep.*
hand	u-ra′+ïshkwe	See *finger;* also introductory notes.
handle	kut+a′	*Sister; tabe kuta,* knife handle; the sister of the blade!
to hang	ki-chat′+ku I-mo+wo′+ka	By tying, like a hammock; *ki-cha′,* a string. By simply hooking up, without tying; although *i-wo′-mo* is a knot.

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192x hard	dō-re'-re	This word has as many significations as its equivalent in English. It applies to substance, strength, rapidity, and difficulty.
to have	et-so'	See *to be*.
hawk	puñg	
he	ye	Also *she*.
head	wo'-ki	
to heal	boir'+ke	*Boi*, good.
heap	i-ru-pu'	
to hear	läh-tau'	
heart	me'+wo	
heat	ba	
to heat	i-ba'+ung	*Ung*, affix, to make.
heavy	nyots	Usually used with *very*: *oru+nyots*.
heel	klu+knyi'+nyuk	*Klu*, foot; *nyuk*, butt.
here	i'-nya	In this place.
	i-o'+ku	In this direction; see *there*.
to help	chū-ki'-a-mu	
high	koñg+shke'	*Shke*, perpendicular.
hill	koñg'+bō-ta	*Bō-ta*, a point; the point of the country; also a mountain.
	u'jum	Applied to all hills or peaks not covered with forest.
hilt	kut+a'	See handle.
hip bone	to'+wo	
hip joint	di-che'+wo	*Di-che*, bones.
to hold	i krung	
hole	i-wo'+an	Any hole, whether a perforation or a cavity.
hollow		
honey	bur'+di-o	*Bur*, bee; *di-o'*, juice.
hook	bi-ko-ru'	
horizontal	ki-pak'	See *to sleep*, and introductory notes.

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hot	ba ba′-ba	But one syllable is used when in combination with another word, as *kong ba*, hot day; when used alone the syllable is repeated.
	ba+shki-ri′-ri	*Shki-ri-ri*, (*tski-ri′-ri*) yellow; this is used in exaggeration, "yellow hot," as we say "red hot," and is often applied to the weather, food, &c.
	pa+ll′-na	(*Ba+i-ll′-na*) "boiling hot," similarly used when one is perspiring freely.
house	hu	
how	im′-a	
to hum	I-bor+a-ru′	*Bor*, (*bur*) bee?
humming-bird	bé-tsung′	
hungry	dó-wo-be-ll′-na	
to hunt	I-je-bu′-rik I-ju+lu′	To hunt game. *Ju*, auxiliary; to hunt anything lost.
husband	je+wim′	*Je*, my. See note to son.
hush	sú-wang+bru′-wo	*Sú-wang*, wind.
I	je je′-re	*Re* is a sort of emphasis, added occasionally to all the personal pronouns except *ye-pa*.
if	mi-ka-ro′	
to ignore	bru ch′ko	*Bru ji*, "I do not know who." Used only alone, as a reply, while *bru* takes its place in a sentence, as above.
iguana	bwah	
immediately	er′+a-pa sir′+a-pa	In the past. In the future.
in	i-shung′	
inclined	o-utk′	See sloping, beveled.

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inside	wŏah'+kin hu'+shuñg i-shuñg	These two words are applied to the inside of a house; while i-shuñg is restricted to the inside of a vessel, the interior of the body, of a hollow tree, a box or any other comparatively small space.
instead	ske'	
instep	kin+taing'	
to interpret	ju-ate'+chu	*I-chu*, to say.
intestines	nya'+kŏ-bi	*Nya*, dung; see *belly*; *kŏ-bi*, snake.
iron	ta-be'	Also knife; anything made of iron; see *pot*.
it	ŏ-hi'	
jar	ung	
jaw	ka'+ju-a	*A ka*, tooth.
to jerk	i-kunt'-sa	
jigger	ki'+la	*Nigua*; *Pulex penetrans*; *ki*, flea; *la* diminutive.
to join	nyi'+wŏ-ju	*Nyi*, together; see *to make, to sew*.
joint	ki-cha'+wo	*Ki-cha*, a tendon, a string; *wo*, a lump.
juice	di-o'	Any fluid expressed, like whey from curd; milk from the breast, honey, &c.
to keep	i-bru'	
kidney	hak	
to kill	i'-da-wo'-wa	See to die.
kind	boi'+sen wak	*Boi*, good; in disposition. Class: see *tribe*.
knee	kŭ-chi'+wo	
knife	ta-be' ta-be'+la	See *iron*. *La*, diminutive; a small knife.
to knock	i-pa'+pu i-bu-ra'+ung	*I-pu*, to strike. See *to beat, feast, to dance*.
knot	i-wo'+mo	*Wo*, round; *mo* (*i-mao'*) to tie.
to know	aph-chen'	
lame	mu'-ya	
language	ŭ-ähta'	

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large	ki-bi′	Simply large. When applied to a stream (*di-+ki-bi′*,) it means river, "large water."
	tyŋg	The commonest form; when applied to water it means deep.
	bru′-bru	Oftenest applied to animals and to domestic utensils.
	tyŋg′+bru	Very large; more emphatic than the preceding forms.
last	bö-te-+ka	*Bö-ta*, point.
late	tson′-ni	See *evening*.
to laugh	ma-nyu′	
lazy	jö-ke′-i-a	
to lead	u-ra′+yu+mi	*U-ra*, arm; *mi* (*i-mi′-a*) to go.
leaf	sig	Of a plantain, or other large leaf used for wrapper, or for a receptacle for food, &c. The Mosquito word *sic*, from the same root, means a banana.
	kar′+ko-juk	Of a tree, in a collective sense; *kar* tree; *ko′-juk* see *hair*. The idea is the same and the distinction is made by *kar*, the name of a person, a pronoun, &c.
	kar′-ku	*Ku*, tongue; a single leaf.
to leave	i-hu′+unt	*Hu*, house.
left hand	u-ra+bü-knick′	*U-ra*, hand, (arm).
log	klu′+kö-cha	
to lend	dö-pe′-te-ju	
less	wa-wa′-ni	Really *few*; there is no other word.
to let	on′-si	Imperative; *on′-si tso-si*, *tso-si* (*et-so-si*) to be; "let it alone."
to lick	i-ku′+juk	See *to suck*.
to lie	kon′-shu	
to lie down	i-tu+is′	*I-tu*, to throw; *is*, down.

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to lift	I-ku'-ku	
light	su-ru'-ru-i	(White), light colored.
	lu	*Kong+lu*, daylight; *bor+lu* (*bowo+lu*) fire light.
	ho bo'-bra	Light in weight.
lightning	a-ru+wo'-nyn	*A-ru*, thunder; *wo-nyn*, flash.
lips	ku'-kwo	*Ku'*, tongue; *kwo* (*i-kwo-lit*) skin.
to listen	ilih-tsu'	
little	tsi'-la-la	Applied to a child.
	la'-la	Diminutive; used with various nouns; *di+la*, rivulet.
	la	
a little	wa-wa-ni	Local pronunciations.
	wi-ri-wi'-ri	
	wi-di-wi'-di	
	bi-ri-bi'-ri	
liver	hên	
long	bi-tsing'	
to look	I-saung'	
to look for	lu	Always used with the auxiliary *ju*; *ju+lu*.
to loose	ip-tsu'	See *to untie*.
to lose	I-cho'	This is rather a verbal root than an independent word; see to remember and forget. In other cases it carries the terminations *wa*, and *rai*; see notes on the conjugations.
lost	cho'+wa	
	cho+rai'	
louse	kung	
lump	wo	See round.
macaw	pa	Green species.
	kû-kong'	Red species.
maggot	hu'+nya	
maize	I-kwo'	
to make	I-ju+wo'	*Ju*, auxiliary; *wo*, complete.
male	wo'-nyi	
man	wo'-wi	

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many	tsrl	See much.
how many,	bit bil	Impersonal. Personal.
so many	ish'-ko	
marsh	doch'-ka	See *mud, bog,*
material	juk	Any fibrous, or not compact material; as cotton, *su-wi'+juk;* leaves of a tree, or hair of the head *ko+juk.*
	chi-ka'	Any homogeneous substance; as *si-ru'+chi-ka,* cake chocolate; *sü-ni'+chi-ka,* deer meat; *si-ni'+chi-ka,* caoutchouc. Only one exception to this rule exists, see note to *grass.*
meadow	sok	
measure	ya-ma-un'-ya	
meat	du'+ra chi-ka'	See note to flesh.
medicine	kü-pu'-li	
metal	nu'-kur	Applied derivatively to money. I have heard quicksilver called *nu-kur'+dio,* metal juice.
midday	di'+bö-ta	*Di-ico,* sun; *bö-ta,* point, summit.
middle	shu+shong'	*Shu* is used in nearly all words where the width is a component idea; see *wide, narrow, between, inside;* *shong,* see *half, between.* In a combination, *shong* only is used; thus *nyo-ro'+shong,* the middle of the road.
midnight	kong+shong'+buts	*Kong,* see day; *shong'+buts,* half.
milk	tsu'+di-o	*Tsu,* breast; *di-o,* juice.

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mine	je′+cha	*Je*, I; *cha*, sign of possession.
mistake	hën+cho′+wa	See to *forget, remember, think*.
mole	skwe,	Also rat, mouse, &c.
money	nu′-kur	See *metal*.
monkey	sar	*Ateles*.
	wib	*Mycetes palliatus*.
	hyuk	*Cebus hypoleucus*.
month	si	*Si-we*, moon. In counting, *si+et* one month, &c.
moon	si′+we	
more	ki	
	ku	
morning	bu-la′-mi	See early; *bu-le′*, to-morrow.
	en-i-ai′	"This morning," already past; see *to-day, here, now*.
mosquito	shku-ri′	
mother	je+mi′	*Je*, my; see note to *son*.
mother-in-law	wa′-na	
mountain	koñg′+bë-ta	See *hill*.
mouse	skwe	Also *mole, rat*.
mouth	ku	Of an animal.
	nyuk	Of a river; see rump.
to move	i-sku′	
much	tsot-tsei′	Restricted to quantity or number.
	chuk′li	Although these refer rather to quality than quantity, they can be used in either sense. When combined, as is sometimes the case for emphasis, they become *o-ru-i chuk′-li*. Although both have the meaning of much, or very, each is used, according to custom, with particular words, although with no difference of sense; *o-ru*
	o-ru′-i	

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		nyeta, very heavy; *tyuŋ chukli*, very large; *pe rataki orui*, many people are coming; *pe taosi taot-iosi*, there are many people there. 192 x
how much	be-konge'	*Chi-ka*, material.
need	dosh'-ka	
mute	mō,	
nail	u-rate'-kwo	*U-ra+aka*, finger; *kwo*, scale, skin, &c.
naked	sum'-ō wu'-ji-ka	Both words are used for bare or naked; but the latter ("empty" q. v.) is usually applied to naked children who, according to local custom are yet too small to wear clothing. [291]
to name name	i-kye' kye	Probably both derived, with i-ki-a'-na, to want, from the same root as *i-kiu*, to call. These three verbs run into each other in conjugation.
narrow	shu+tsi'-la-la bō-sutk'	*Shu*, see middle; *tsi-la-la*, small. Anything hollow; also a stream. Anything solid.
navel	mo'+wo	*Knot.*
near	tsi'-net ku-ku'-ni kot'-ke	In place or time. In time only.
neck	ki-li'+kō-cha	This *kō-cha*, does not seem to be connected with *ki-cha'*, a string or tendon. It occurs again in leg.
necklace	na-mu'+ka pu-li'+ki-cha bi'-wo+ki-cha	Tiger's teeth. Made from shell beads; see *shell* and *string*. Made from beads q. v. There are other less common names, all taken from the material

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492X needle	kush di-ka'	Thorn.
negro	t'ot-tse'+wak	*Tsot-tse*, dark; *wak*, race.
nest	du'+hu	*Du*, bird; *Au*, house.
new	pa'-ni	
night	nê-nyo'-wi	
nipple	tsu+wo'+bê-ta	*Tsu-wo*, breast; *bi-ta'*, point.
no	au ko	Negation. Not.
nobody	ko'+ji	*Ko*, not; *ji*, who.
noise	lin-lar'	
noon	di'+bê-ta	See *midday*.
nose	ji'-kut	
not	ko kam	*A* as in father. Used only as follows—"*kam je bowo' betse'*" (not I fire prepared). "I have not kindled the fire."
nothing	ko'+ku shun'-tai	*Ko*, not; *ku*, more. Nothing whatever. Only used for "absolutely nothing."
now	i'-ya	See *here*, and *to-day*.
[482] [147] nuchal lump	ku-li'+duk-wo	*Ku-li*, see neck. The enlarged nuchal ligament caused by carrying heavy loads suspended from the forehead.
numerals		
192X 1	ot	
802 2	but bul bui bo	Impersonal. Personal. Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
3	m-nyat' m-nyal' m-nyar' m-nyon'	Impersonal. Personal. Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
4	keil keng ka	Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
5	akang akan	Counting days, past.

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6	tori tor'-i	Counting days. 192x
7	ku'gl ku'gu	Counting days, future. 802
8	pa'-gl pal pa	Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
9	su-ul'-to	
10	d-bob'	
11	d-bob+ki+et'	*Ki*, more; *et*, one.
12	d-bob+ki+but'	
13	d-bob+ki+m-nyat'	
20	d-bob+but'-juk	*But juk*, twice.
21	d-bob+but'-juk+ki+et	
old	ki-u'	
old	i-ou' ke'jl-ko	Old and worn out, or decayed. 192x Old person.
on	bé-ta'+kin	*Bé-ta'* summit; *kin*, region.
once	et'+ó-kur	*Et*, one; *o'-kur*, alone.
ace, at a time	et+kot'-ko	See *only*.
only	o'-ml kot	See *alone*. *Et+kot*, only one; *but+kot*, only two,
open	ha'-si	
to open,	i-shku+ku'-ka	To uncover a vessel, to open a book; see to cover.
	i-wo'+wa	To open a door; see to shut.
	i-shung+pu' i-pu	To spread, to unfold. Also to strike, to push.
	i-wo+pu'	They sometimes say *ka shku pu*, literally, "push the door (open)," but *i-wo-ua* is better.
to oppose	iu-mu'-ka	
other	sá-ka' hau'-ri et'+ó-kur	*Alsa*, *Different*, *Once*, } There is no nearer way of approaching the idea.
other	ha-wa'	*Lutra Brazilienseis!*

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out outside	u'+te+kin	*Kin*, see region. *u* is probably from *ku*, house. The expression (literally outside of the house) is applied to the outside of anything.
over	bŏ-ta'+kin	See *on*.
oyster	shuk'-te	
to pack	I-be-ku'	See *to drive, to envelop, to cover*.
package	dli	
pain	dŏ-li'-na	See *to ache*.
to paint	pat'yu	
palm of hand	u-ra'+ptu	*Ptu*, palm or sole; see *foot*.
pantaloons	klu'+yo	*Klu*, leg; see shirt.
part	ek'-ain-e	
to part	I-bra'+tu	*I-tu*, to cut.
to pass	I-ru'+mi	*Mi* (*i-mi'-a*) to go.
pasty	i-tu-wo'	Like dough or stiff mud; see *viscid* and *fluid*.
to pay	pa-tu-en'-ke	
pebble	ak'+wo	*Ak*, stone; *wo*, round, lump.
peccary	ka'-sir si-ni	*Dicotyles torquatus*. *D. labiatus*.
penis	ma-lek' kĕ-be'+wo	Human; see *tail* *Kĕ-be'*, snake; applied to all the lower animals.
people	pe wak wak+i-pa	As individuals. As applied to tribe or race. Collective, thus *sa wak-i-pa*, our people; never *sa-wak*, to distinguish from ant (*tsa+wak*).
perhaps	bru	See *to ignore*.
perpendicular	shke'-ka	See straight.
person	ji ke'-ki	See who; *ke-ji* nobody. Person of consideration, used like *sir*, in English; probably from *ke'-ji-ke* old.
petticoat	ba'-na	The native dress of the women; a cloth tied round the loins and reaching to the knees.

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to pick up	I-ahtuk I-ku'ku	To gather. To lift.
piece	tak	
pile	I-ru-pa'	A heap.
to pile up	I-ru-pa'+ung	
piled up	I-ra-pa'+na	
to pinch	I-ku-ni-tsu'-wa	
pine apple	a-nu'+wo	
pipe	ca-chim'-ba	A borrowed word found all over Spanish America.
place	ake, i-to' koñg	In *place* of; see *equivalent*. *Place* for a thing. See *country*; *ima koñg kye?* "what is this *place* called?"
plain	koñg+ähke'	*Shke*, flat.
to plait	du-ki',	
to plant,	I-taung'-bo I-kyu	Seeds. Roots.
plantain	kö-rub'	
plastic	i-no'-i-no	
to play	I-nuk'	
plaything	ma'-ma uu'-kur	See *flower*. See *metal*, *money*, and to *to play*.
plenty	o-ru'-i ahkon'-ten-e	Much, many.
point	bë-ta'	Also summit, top, end.
pointed	bë-ta'-ta	
polished	u-ria-u-ria'-i	
possession	cha	See note to *mine*.
pot	ta-be'+ung	*Ta-be'*, iron; see *iron* and *jar*.
to pound	I-wo+tu	
to pour	I-tu'+tsung i-tu' I-u'	To pour out. To pour in.
precipice	ak'+tu	*Ak*, stone, rock.
pregnant	nya'+ye bo'-bo-kye	Human; see *belly*. Lower animals.

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to prepare	i-be-ket'-ke	See *ready*.
pretty	boi	See *good*.
price	town'+ske	See *to buy*; *ska*, value, equivalent.
priest	tau'-gur	*Ish-tau*, to sing; a singer.
proof	cha'gu	
to prove	I-cha'-gu.	
to pull	I-kung.	
to pull out	I-shung'+kung	To straighten; to spread out.
pulse	si-wang'+ki-cha	*Si-wang*, wind; *ki-cha*, string.
to push	I-pat'-ku	
to put	I-muk'	See *to give*.
to put into	I-u'	See *to pour*.
quarter	I-ju-wa'	Applied only to the quarters of an animal; for a fourth part of an inanimate object, they only say *tak*, a piece.
quick	bet'-ku dē-re'-re bou'-i	Rapid, sudden, to hurry. Applied to a rapid stream. Very quick.
rain	kaw'-ni	This word is now in a transition state. *Kong-+li*, the original form (see note on *dust*) is still sometimes, though rarely, used; and is equally understood.
rainbow	kē-be'	Snake.
rat	akwe	Also mouse and mole.
ravine	kong+be-li'-na	
raw	ha'-ki	
to reach	I-ru'mi I-re'-ska	In going to a place. With the hand; always used with *u-ra*. (arm, hand); thus "I cannot reach it" *ke je u-ra re-ska*.
ready	on'-a bē-ket'-ke	To prepare.
red	mat'-ki mat'-kli ma'-au	Reddish. Brownish red.

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region	kin	*Kin* has a double meaning. It is used thus, *Lari kin* the region, or district of *Lari; dĕ-je kin*, the salt region (the sea). Besides it signifies on, or in, a place or direction; *is kin*, below; *bĕ-ta kin*, on the point or summit of a hill; *nyo-ro kin* on the road.
to remain	on′-te	
remainder	bĕ-ta+on′-te bĕ-ta+tso′+nya	Bĕ′-ta, see end, point. *Tso*(*et-so-si*) to have, to be.
to remember	ke+hŏn-i-cho	*Ke*, not; see *to forget*.
to resemble	suŋ̃g	To see, to look.
to reside	se′-ne-ke	
to rest	he′-ne-ke	
to return	re′me-li	
ribs	chi-ne′	
ribbed	bŭ-chĕ-no′-noi	
right	boi.	Good.
right hand	u-ra+bwa′	*U-ra*, arm; *bwa*, right, in sense of direction or side only.
rim	su-su′-i	
rind	i-kwo′-lit	See *skin*, *bark*.
ring	shkit′-ke	See *shki*, round.
ripe	ri	
to rise	i-ku′-ku	
river	di+ki-bi′	*Di*, water; *ki-bi*, large.
rivulet	di+la	*La*, diminutive.
road	nyo-ro′	
to roast	i-ku-ke′	
rock	ak	Stone.
to rock	a-lik-a-lik′-e	As a cradle, or a round-bottomed vessel.
to roll	i-wo-be-tru′	See *to twist*, *to turn*, *to shake*.
roof	hu+ku	*Hu*, house.
roots	wi′+nyuk	*Nyuk*, rump, butt.
rope	bus′-kr	A twisted, or "laid" rope.
	du′-ki	A plaited rope.
	tsa	A common, roughly made rope, a bark string, or a vine used in tying; see vine.

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rotten	ĕ-nu′-nĕ-wa	See *old*.
rough	a-ten-ĕ-ten-e′	
round	shki wo	Circular. Used for anything rounded, like the face, a seed, a lump in the flesh, a rounded hill, the sun, moon, and in the names of various parts of the body.
rump	nyuk	See *butt*, *roots*, *river*, *mouth*.
to run	I-nen-e′	
sacrum	ju′-wo+di-cha	*Ju′-wo*, small of back; *di cha*, bone.
sad	hed-i-a′-na	See *grief*, *sorry*.
saliva	wi′-ri	
salt	dĕ-je′	
sand	tsoñg′+chi-ka	See *beach*, *gravel*, *material*.
sap	wu′-li	This root, probably derived from some allied dialect, is now adopted into Isthmian Spanish as "uli," "hule," etc., *lex* caoutchouc.
savannah	sok	
to save	I-bru′	
to say	I-chu′	
scab	I paah′+kwo	*Kwo*, scale; not i-pa+*skwo* to wash.
to scare	sŭ-wa′+ung	See *to frighten*.
scattered	taki′-taki	
scorpion	bi-cho′	
to scrape	i-a-pa′+si-u I-kru′	Like to scrape the bark from a stick; to scale a fish is *i-kwo′+si-u*. To clean a dirty surface.
to scratch	i-lu′-u	
sea	di+dĕ-je′ dĕ-je+kin	*Di*, water; *dĕ-je′*, salt. See *region*.
to search	I-ju+lu′	See *to hunt*, *to look for*.
to see	suoñg	
seed	wo′	See *round*.
to sell	I-me′-rir	

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to send	i-pat-ku+mi	*I-pat-ku*, to push; *i-mi-a* to go.
to sew	i-wo+ju+wo	*Wo*, besides round, means in this and similar connections, whole, together, complete or closed. See *to close*; *i-ju-wo*, to make, "to make closed," or "to make together."
shadow	si-ri-u'-gur	
to shake	i-wo+ti'-u i-woñg+ju	A violent motion like shaking dust out of a cloth. A gentle motion, like leaves in a breeze.
shallow	i-si' bu-litk'	Applied to water; *di+si* a shallow stream or pond. A shallow vessel, like a pan or dish.
sharp	a-ka'+ta bē-ta'+ta	*A-ka*, tooth, sharp toothed or edged; like a knife edge. Sharp pointed.
to sharpen	a-ka'+ung bē-ta'+ung	
she	ye	Also *he*.
shell	jok'se-rɔ pu-li' su-ri' sa-ra'	Flat univalves; *helix*, *cyclostoma*, *helicina*, etc. Long univalves; *melania*, *bulimus*, *glandina*, etc. *Donax*. Large bivalves.
shield	so'gur	
shin	tañg'+wo	
to shine	du-r'u'-ru-i i-lu'+gur	*Lu*, light; to shine like a fire, to give light.
shirt	pa'+yo	*Pa*, skin, covering; see pantaloons.
to shoot	i-tu'	To cut, to chop.

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short	hu′-ye hu′-shi-a	This was explained to me by the person holding his hands but a few inches apart; saying this was *hu′-ye*; with his hands about a yard apart he said *hu′-shi a*, while any greater length is *bi-tsing*, long.
shoulder	so′-bri	
shoulder blade	o	See *axe*.
shrimp	so′	
to shut	ĭ-wo+tu′ ĭ-ăhku+pa-bĕ-ku′	See to close, to cover, to open.
sick	ki-ri′-na	
side	wo′+su-li. u-ra′	Of the body. Right or left hand; *u-ra*, arm.
silence	bi′-nĕ	
similar	he′+kĕ-pi nyi′+ke-pi di-u′-si nyi+ăhtset′	Alike, also, thus. Equal, alike. "Like that." Exactly alike, in speaking
to sing	ĭsh-tsu′	See *priest*.
sister	kut+a′	
sister-in-law	bo′+kut	
skin	i-kwo′-lit pa	Cuticle, bark, scale, nail, feather, &c. Cuticle, surface, or any soft outer envelope.
skull	wo′-ki+dicha	*Wo-ki*, head; *di-cha*, bone
sky	hoñg′+kut-tŭ	See note to *country*.
to sleep	kĭ-puk′	
sleepy	kĭ-pu+wet′-ke	
sloping	o-utk′	See beveled.
sloth	sĕ-noñg′ se′-ri di′-ra	*Cholœpus Hoffmanni.* *Arctopithecus castaniceps.* *Cyclothurus dorsalis.*
slow	en-ai-en-al′	
small	tsi′-la-la	See *little*.
small of back	tsiñg-wo	
to smell	la	
to smell good	a-mas-a-mas′ m-nas-m-nas′-i	Like flowers and fluids. Like food.
smoke	shkon-o′	

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smooth	ji-ji jia-jia u-ria-u-ria′-i	Both syllables equally accented. Not necessarily polished. Polished.
snail	pu-ll′ jok′-se-ro ki-pe	See shell Shell-less species.
snake	kŏ-be′	A curious coincidence exists in the fact that in the Island of Santo Domingo, where there are no venomous reptiles, a poisonous plant, retaining its native name, is called by the people *ki-be′*.
to sneeze	chi′-na	
so	i-nyes′ he′-kŏ-pi	"So, or thus, he says." Alike, or similar; it is also used in the sense of "do it *so*."
soft	a-ni′-ni-ŏ b-jo′-b-jo	Like cloth. Like a cushion, or soft bread.
soil	i′-juk	Earth; not i-*juk′*, to drink.
sole of foot	klu+ptu	*Klu*, foot; *ptu*, also palm of hand.
solid	me′-ye	
sometimes	mi-kle′	
son	je+la	*Je*, my; *la*, or *la-la*, from *tsi′-la-la* little. Father, mother, son, &c., are always used with either a personal pronoun, or the name of the relative.
son-in-law	na-wa′-ki-ra	
soon	sir′-a-pa tsi′-net	See immediately. Near.
sore	su-me′+wo ki-nung	Ulcer. Proud flesh.
sorry	hed-i-an′-a	See grief, sad.
sour	shku-shku′-i	
to speak	i-ähtu	
spirit	bi wig′-bru	See *ghost*; also introductory notes.

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192* to spit	wu-ri+tu+wo'	See *saliva*.
spleen	tak	See *fever*.
to spoil	I-nu'-nō	See *old, rotten*.
spotted	kro'-ro	
to spread	I-shuñg+tau	Loose objects, as grain, cocoa, &c.; also to unroll.
	I-shuñg+pu	A cloth, &c.; see to open.
spring	jol	Also a cataract.
sprit	su-ro'+wo	
spy	I-tut'-kuk	
square	shki-shki'-a	This word applies equally to a triangular or a polygonal surface, and means rather *angular*. There are no specific names for figures of different numbers of sides, the exact shape being designated by such phrases as "four-sided," &c.
	si-chit'-ki-a	A square prism; like a beam; see angle.
to stab	I-tiuñg'+wa	
to stand	I-mar'-dwo	
star	bek'+wo	
to start	be-to'	
to steal	hog'-bru	
stick	kar	
to stick to	I-ba'-tsa-wa	
sticky	bi-ti-bi-ti'	
to sting	I-tko'-wet	
to stink	o-ru'+ha-ra In+su-ru'-i	*O-ru'-i*, much. *La*, to smell; *su-ru'-i*, bad.
to stir	I-shu+I-kruñg	*Shu*, see middle; *I-kruñg* to grasp, to hold.
stone	ak	
stool	kru-wa'	See *bench*.
stop	pa-pa'	Second person, imperative, present. This verb is used in no other mood, tense, or person. In all other cases, *kin'-tau*, to wait, is used.
stout	chi-ka+tyñg'	*Chi-ka*, material; *tyñg* big

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straight	shke+we′	
to straighten	I-shung′-lu	
to strike	I-pu	To beat.
	I-tu	To strike with the intention of cutting or wounding; see *to chop*, *to shoot*, &c.
string	kl-cha′	
strong	dō-re′-re	
to suck	I-ku′+Juk	*Ku*, tongue; *i-juk′*, to drink; also to lick.
sudden	bet′-ku	Quick.
sugar	pa′-gl+chi-ka	See sugar cane; *chi-ka*, material.
summit	bō-ta′+kin	*Bō-ta*, point; *kin* region; the summit of a hill or road.
to summon	I-ki-u′	To call.
sun	dl′+wo	
sure	Je′-na	See *true*.
to swallow	I-mru′+mi	
sweat	pa+ll′-na	See *hot*.
to sweep	I-wush′+kru	See *broom* and *to scrape*.
sweet	bro-brol′	
to swim	a-u′-ku-ri	
to swing	I-ung′-ke-a	
tail	ma-lek′	
to take	I-tsu	
	I-tsu′+me	*Me*, yourself (take from me).
	I-Ju′+tsu	*Ju*, auxiliary (go and take.
	I-tsunk′	Take it up.
to talk	I-shtu′	To speak.
tall	tyng′+bru	See large.
tame	hu′+ru	*Hu*, house.
to tangle	ish-chou′-a-ga	
tapir	na-l′	
to taste	I-quash′-tse	
to tear	I-krush′-a-na	Like cloth.
	I-schi′-na-na	To tear open, like splitting a piece of sugar cane with the hands, or tearing open the skin of an orange.
test	tsu′+wo	

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192x teeth	a-ka′	While other tribes have special names for the molars, the Bri-bris call them *a-ka+di-u′-shent* (back teeth).
temples	wo′+ki+cha	*Wo-ki*, head; *kĕ-cha*, see leg, neck.
tender	to′-to	See *fragile, weak.*
tendon	ki-cha′	*Sirîng.*
testicles	kyak	
that	es′-e	Apparently Spanish, *ese.*
that (is it)	es′-es	" " *eso es.*
then	o′-wa et′-to	Also afterwards.
there	di-ya′ di-ya′+e-ku	"In that direction;" see *here.*
they	ye′+pa	See *he.*
thick	bu-ri′-ri	
thief	hog′-bru+ru	See to steal.
thigh	tu	
thin	si-bu′-bu-i	
to think	hĕn′+bĕ-ku	See *forget, remember,* and introductory notes.
this	i′-sa hi	Not *e′-se,* that.
thorn	di-ka′	*A-ka?* tooth. Derivatively applied to a needle.
thorns	di-ke′	Plural; see introductory notes.
thou	be be′-re	*Ite,* see note to I.
thrice	m-nyat+juk	
throat	bi-do′-nya	
to throw	i-hu′-juk. i-tu	See *to shoot, to pour, &c.*
thumb	u-ra+ska+wong′-wi	See *finger.*
thunder	a-ra′	
thus	he′-kĕ-pi i-nyea′	See *so.*
tick	bur-ir′-i-e	This is one of several specific names for the same insect.
to tickle	se-cho′-ne	
to tie	i-mao′	

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tiger	di-ko'-rum	*F. concolor.*
	na-mu'	Generic.
	na-mu+kro'-ro	*F. onca.*
	du-ro'grub	
	se-an'-um	*ditto, black var.*
	ish-tsa+na-mu	*F. pardalis.*
time	nyo-nyo'-ne	Past; it means "a long time ago."
	ŏn-o'-ri-ŏ	Future time, also remote.
tired	shti-ri'-na	
toad	bu-ke'	
tobacco	da-wa'	
toes	klu+rut'-ska	*Klu*, foot; *rut-ska*, see finger.
together	nyi'-ta	See *with*.
	odj'-ka	
	nyi-shke'	See *even*.
to-morrow	bu-le'	
tongue	ku	
top	bĕ-ta'	See point, end, summit.
top of head	man-o'+bĕ-ta	*Bĕ-ta*, summit.
torch	kirk	
tortoise	kwi	
to touch	i-ku'+wa	
tree	kar	Also stick; see forest, &c.
top of tree	kar+ko'+bĕ-ta	See *tree* and *summit*.
trunk of tree	kar'+ŭ-ku	
tribe	wak	
true	jo'-na	In the sense of "yes, that is so."
	maw'-ki	Absolutely; as contradistinguished from false.
truth	maw'-ki	
to turn	i-wo+tru	See to *twist*, *to roll*, *to shake*.
ugly	su-ru'-i	See *bad*.
ulcer	su-me'+wo	
uncle	yĕ-nong'	Maternal.
	yĕ-nong+juk	Paternal.
unclean	nya'	Dirty, filthy; see *dung*.
	bu-ku-ru'	In superstition.
under	in'+kin	See *below*.
to understand	ish-tse'-bo	
unlike	han'-ri	
unripe	ha'-ki	
	pan'+ri	*Ri*, ripe.

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to unroll	I-shuñg+tsu	See *to open, to spread.*
to untie	I-wo′+tsu	
until	la-pau′-a	
to unwind	I-shuñg′+tsu	See *to unroll.*
up	shko	See straight.
	a-koñg	
upon	a-koñg	
	kó-ta′+kin	See *point, under,* and *summit.*
upper arm	u-ra′+krob	*U-ra,* arm.
upright	shko′+ka	See *perpendicular.*
to use	I-wa′-tu	
valley	koñg′+bli	
value	sko	See *equivalent.*
vein	ki-cha′	String.
very	o-ru′-i	See much.
	chuk′-li	
	tu-ru′-ru-i	Applied only to *very* hot water.
vertebra	ko′+wo	
vine	tsa′+ki-cha	*Tsa,* any vine or strip of bark that can be used to tie with; *ki-cha,* a string.
	kar′+ki-cha	*Kar,* wood; generally, one that *cannot* be used to tie with.
viscid	kū-nyo′-kū-nyo	Like syrup or honey.
voice	or′-ko	
to vomit	cho′+li	*I-cho,* to lose.
to wag	I-wo+tsi′-tsi	Like a dog's tail.
waist	ki-par′	
to wait	I-kin′+tsu	To wait for anything or person.
	I-pau′-a	To wait until another time.
to walk	I-shku′	
to want	I-ki-a′-na	See *to call, to name.*
warm	ha	See *hot.*
to wash	I-skwo′	
wasp	bu-kra′	
water	di	
watery	di+so-ro′-ro	
wax	bur′+nya	*Bur,* bee; *nya,* dung.
we	sa	

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weak	to'-to to-tol'	See *tender; fragile.* 192[X]
well	ble bol	Noun. Adjective and adverb; good.
to weep	ma-lu'	The person, as in a rain.
wet	nu-ne'-ga taš-bat'-taš-ba	See green; applied to inanimate objects.
what	l ed-l' wea jl	"What is it," or "what is the matter." "What did you say?" Personal; who.
when	ml'-ka	"Where is ——?" Used in a sentence.
where	weñg we'-du	Used alone.
whisper	sa'-sa	
whistle	šbka'-kuñg	*Ka* (*a-ka*) the teeth?
white	su-ru'-ru-l	Also light colored.
who	jl	
whole	wan'-yi	Entire.
why	lub l-kuen'-ke in'-u-l	Used alone, or at the beginning of a sentence, *i-kuen'-ke* means "that is the reason," as well as being used interrogatively. Used alone.
wide	shu+tyñg'	See *middle, narrow,* and *large.*
wife	je+ra'-kur	See *woman* and *son.*
wild	ka+nyi'+ru	See tame; *ka* (*kar*) tree (forest); *nyi*, together.
wind	si-wañg'	
wing	i-pik'	
to wipe	i-pa+kru	See *to scrape.*
with	ta wa	Accompanying. By means of; *i-wa?*, "what with?"
woman	š-ra'-kur	
wood	kar	See *tree, stick.*
to work	ka-nš'-bruk	
worm	nya+bus'-šri nya'+wak	*Lumbricus; nya*, dung.

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192 to wrap	I-bĕ-ku′-wa	
to wring	I-wo+bĕ-tru′	See to roll.
wrinkled	jŭ-ku-nu-jŭ-ku-nu′	
wrist	u-ra+wo′+bak	
[205] year	da-wau′	The year is counted by the dry seasons when the flower stalks of the river cane are ripe and fit to cut for arrow shafts.
yellow	tekl-rl′-rl	Bright yellow.
	dŭ-ku′-lum	Brownish yellow.
yes	ho	Synonymous; *hŏ* is most commonly used.
	tu	
yesterday	chi-ki′	
you	ha	
young	pu′-pu	
yourself	me	Only used in compounds; see note on pronouns.

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Chapter III.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE CABECAR, TIRIBI, AND TERRABA LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN COSTA RICA.

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.*	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka (called by the Spaniards Boruca).
to ache				ban	za-o-ra
to adhere				to-mok′	
afraid	su-wa′-na	———	ban-kret′	ko-ban-kret′	kong′-li
afterwards				dun′-i-ha	ne-nyi′
again	i-shu′-ne	ska-shu′	roz-o′-bi	o-ro-roi	e′-je
against				krū-boi′	
ahead			zhug′+ung		
to aim				doz′-ung	
air	kong+shan-ka	kong+shung	kok′+zeng	koñg-mosh′-ko	
alike				lin-ko-yos′-o-sa	do-she-ri′
alive	kai	———	si	se	
all	be′-na	———	pir′-kru	tue′	o-ge′
alligator	do-rok′	———	ku	———	ku′-u
alone	e′-kra-bu	e′-kra-i	tok′-sa	———	i-le-shi′
alongside	kot-ke′-mi	———	a-sor-go′		
also				no′-ma	mo-reng′-li
angry				yir′-ke	dre-ha′-lan
ankle	wir-in′-a-kru	———	ton′-kwo	ko-gi-o′	
ant	kaa′+wak	———	sum′-gwo	sou′-gwo	jak
anteater (large)	ur-i′	———	shu-go′	———	

* To avoid unnecessary repetition, where the same word occurs in the two dialects of Cabecar, or is the same in the Tiribi and Terraba, a ——— only is used.

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribbi.	Terraba.	Bruc-ka.
anteater (small)	sa′-sa-ra	———			
any	i-kue′-na	———			
to arise				yir′-ke	
arm	u-ra′	———	erk′-wo	or-og′-o-dok	ju-re′
to arrive	sri′-ska	———	o′-tong		
arrow	u-ka′-wŭ	———	su-re′	———	tun-kas′-a
ashes	mnu′-tu	———	prun′-abuk	prun′-abo	brung
to ask	i-cha-gu′	i-cha-ge′	kag-ra-koz′+ung		tek-ahik′
aunt	wai′-bu	———	me′-d-bog-wo	tia (Spanish)	
awake				po-zhem′-e	
axe				o	
back	ahŏ-be′	———	kok-so′	———	ching-kwa′
small of back	tsi-wŏ′	———	si-yek′		a-du-ran′
backwards				i-le′-kung	a-che′
bad	se-ru-i′	———	oi′	so-oi′	sa-i-jen′
bag	ha-mĕ′-tu	———	hru	———	
banana	chi-mu′	———	kei+bing	bin+si′-gua	bri′-dwa
bare	wu′-ji-ka	———	kwor	———	but-sa-ahe′
bark (of tree)	kar′+kwo	———	kar′+kwo	kor′+kwo-ta	krang′+kwas
basket	ku	———	h-nu′	———	ko-kra
bat	d-kur′	———	i-gur′-gwo	i-gur′	kush-tai′
to bathe	bo-ku′	———	we	———	
beach				la-go′	
bead	sa-wa-wu′	sa-wi′-wu	o′-bri	o′-bri-kro	
beak of bird	i-ka	———	sin′-wa+ko-wo	———	ka-sa
	du+ka	———			

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beard	kar'-gu	———	song	———	ekh'-tal
beast	bi	———	no generic word	no generic word	
bed	kŏ-pu'-gru	kong	bu'-kru	bu-kru' / i-ong'	
bee	bur+wak	———	or	———	
before	mi-ga'-che	———	bom'-gung	———	a-wah'-i-gi
behind	bŏ-ta'+ha-mi	———	ir'-ung		ku'-a
belly	nya'+wi	———	bo-wo'	———	
below				tush'-ko	
belt				kro-ten'-m	suamp'-ka
bench	kru'-wa	———	kruk	kru	te'-kra
better	boe'-si	———	kob'+ko	kob'-i	
between	shas'-ka	shus'-ka	jig'-rai	zig'-ro	
bird	du	———	sin'-wa	sen'-o-wa	du-tsut'
to bite	i-gu-tu'	———	tun-ez'+ung	we'-a	tu'-li
bitter	b-chin'-a	———	kak-teng'		
black	do-ro'-na	———	zi	sok'-si-ĕ	tu-li-nut'
blade				drung'-wa	
blind				bo-kwoi-zhem'	tu-ĕt'
blood	pi	———		sring	ji-bi'
to blow	wu'-kwa	———	bu-kwaz'+ong	ba-kwoz -ung	i-bu-hu-gran'
blow-gun	mok'-kur	———	mok'-ru		
blue	siu	———	ding-ding'-eh	ding-ding'-ĕh	wa-a-gat'
blunt	kai+bu-rin'-a-wa	———	beg-jim'-ĕ		
body	wa'-ki	wa-ge'	i-do'	i-dob'	
bold	i-han'-ĕ	———			
bone	di-cha'	———	d-bo'-gro	———	det-kra'
both	bor+ki'	———			

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
bow	u-ka′+bē-ta	———			
boy	ber+je′	har-a′	du-met′+wa	kwa-zi:′	jas-rok
branch (of tree)	kar′+u-ra	———	kor′+ko-wo		
to break	i-pan-o′-wa	———	toz′-ung		
breast	her′+bē-ta	———	wor-bu′	———	bi-dran′
breast (of woman)	tsu	———	nok′-a	nok′-o	i-ka′
breech-cloth	ki-par′-wo	———	shwong+kin′-go	shwong-king′	
bright	d-ra′-na	kan-yi-na′	kro′-shing	———	
to bring	tsum′-be-te	———	tek+suz′+ong		
bread				ba-mi-om′-so	
broom				shto-ko′-kra	
brother	ser′-a	ja-mi′	shi		
brother-in-law	shoo-wa	———	ban′	———	
bug	*nya′-hru	———	*guk′-sha		
bundle				pfon-n′	
to bury	i-tu-bi-u′-wa	———	pnoz′-ong	pfron′-so	
bush	kar+tsi′-lash-tu	———			
bush dog†	rob-gu′	———		o-ru-bu-gu′	
butterfly	kwa	———	kwong′-wo	———	kwash′-ka
to buy				tun-ez′-ung	
cacao	tsi-ru′	———	kau	ko	kao
calabash	d-ka′	———	yi-guk′	———	jun′-kra
cane (sugar)	pash-tu′	———	se-ror′+bo	———	bah+je-ra′

* These words are probably specific. The genius of this group of languages is not to have generic words like bug, beast, palm, &c.; though there are some exceptions, like bird, butterfly, &c.

† For the technical names of these animals, see the Bri-bri vocabulary.

ease (river)	u-ka'-gru	u-kwa'-gru	se-ror'+gro	s-ro'-gro	bah+kra'
eastehous				sŭ-ru'	
to carry	tsum'-mi	———	hek+sur'+ong		
entarnot				her-pig'-te	
entarrh	to	———	tau'		
to catch				shar'-nng	
to cheat	i-hag'-bra	i-kon'-ju-wa	yab-goz'+ung	———	
cheek	hog-o-tu'	———	kwog'-do	kwog'-ro	pshu-gran'
chicha	bro	———	o	———	jĭ-wo'
chief	bo-ru'	———	pu-ru'	———	
child	jo-ba'	jo-ba-ra'	wa	afg'-wa	
chin	ska'-jua	———	o-ro'	———	ksha'-di
to chop	i-bi-ku'-hŭ	———		zog'-ung	
clean	ma-nen-ai'-re	man-em-en-e'		krung'-zo	trut'-ka
cloth (cotton)	sa-wa'+ba-gna	sa-wa'	shkwe'+shwong	shkwe'+bor-shwong	
" (bark)	dŭ-tsi'	———	keb'+kwo	———	
cloud	ño	———	pong	———	bok
coal (of fire)	ji-ko'+wa	ji-ko+wo'	yuk+kur'-kwa	kur'-gra	
cold	tse'-na	———	smo	sa-mo'	tsa'
color	ia-wa-kir'		kro-zher'-ba		
comb		i-aĭ-wa-gir'		kun'-chi	kash
come	hi'-ga	———	pa-teg'-ŭn	———	
to complete				ton-oi'	
coon	si-rak'	———		si-luk	
corn (maize)	i-kwo'	———	ep	———	kup
corpse	i-shen-a'-wa	shin'-a-wa	shin'-no	———	
cotton	su-wi'+ji-ku	———	shkwi	shwke'-sho	

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
cough	to	———	tau	———	
to cough	kor'-har	kor'-her	shtenz'+ung		
to count	kansh'-ta-wa	———	kok-shtoz'+ung		
country*	kong	———	kok	kosh'-ko	kak
cousin	ta-ra'	———	shtob		
to cover	i-ki'-tu-wa	———	kim-yoz'-ong	kin-yoz'-ung	
crab	ju-wi'	———	ye-beg'-wo	———	
crazy	ri-na'-ka	———	skwĕ	———	
to cry	mi-o'	———	so-loi'-wi		
to cut	i-tu'	———	zoz'-ung	———	tza-a-ran'
to dance	b-klu+tu'	———	zron	———	kwi-gri'
dark	stu-i'-na	———			
daughter	ba'+bu-si	———	wa'+wa-re	———	
day	kan-yi-na'	kan-yi-na'-wa	d-ba'	da-boi'	kak'+a-ba-ra
to-day	hir	———	er'-i	———	eha
to-morrow	bu-ri'-ri	———	i-bong'	i-bon'-a-ga	sek
day (after to-morrow)	boi-ki'	———	kun-ma'	kur+ma'	bwek
third day future				mi-an+ma'	mang-ek'
fourth day future				kin+ma'	
fifth day future				shkin+ma'	
yesterday	jĕ-ki	———	knb'-kĕ	kub-kesh'-ko	bi-ik'
day (before yesterday)	bo-ri'	bo-kri'	pong-wo'	pong-wosh'-ko	ki-bi+buk'
dead	dū-wa'-wa	———	ke-tong'	———	kolht'-ka
deep (water)	di-kru+tyng'-ru	di-kru+tyng'-bru	i-rong'		
deer (large)	mno-dū-bi'	———	prun'-mi	shu-ring'	su-tu-rik'

* In the same wide sense as in Bri-bri.

deer (small)	do-ē′	———	shu-ring′	shu-ring′+ma	buih
to depart				to′-to	
devil	bi	———	au	auh	kag-bru′
dew	mo′+ri-u	———	tom-bor′-ia		
to die			ba-ke′-to		
different	hau′-ri	———	o′-bri	ba-bok′-so	bu-i-shi′
to dig	i-biu′-ga	———	koz′+ung		
direction	wo′-mo	———	jou′-re	yow′-re	
dirt	i′-shku	———	wri-wri′-a		
to dive	b-tsat-ku′	———			
doctor	ha-wa′	———	i-bi′	———	
dog				shi′-ti	auih
to drink	i-ju′	———	i-oz′-ong	———	i-jang′
drop	i-wo′+riu	———	si-ra′		
drum	sŭ-bak′	———	zhung	———	
dry	si′-na	———	i-dog′-i-do	i-dog-roi′	tsen′-ka
dust					ta-brung
eagle	sar′+po	———	do+pung′	———	
ear	zgo-ku′	kwush′-ki	kwong′-wo	kwong′-wa	kwa′-ga
early				ko-o-bi′-ta	
earth (soil)	hi′-zhuk	hi′-zhku	krung	krung′-aho	tap
earthquake	i	———	yo	yo-yan′	
to eat	jĕ-ka′-gri	jĕ-ku′	i-e′	———	ja-ĭ-de′
eddy	di+ha-ra-mi′	di′+men-e	hi-rung′	pŏ-rung′	
egg	i-si′-a	———	sen′-wa+wa	———	kup
either	mĕ-ne′	———			
elbow	u-ra+o′-gu-chi	———			chuih-cho′-wi

192x
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192x
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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
empty	wu'ji-ka	———	i-ro-ri'	i-ro-re'	
end	i-bĕ-ta'	———	kok+shur'-bo		
ended				fir'-kru	
enemy	sĕ-na-ma'-ru	bor-gi'	mor-i-mos'-kwo		
enough	wir'-u	er-u'	kwont'-soi	i-ont'-so	
evening	tsa'-na	tsan'-li	kok+sing'-ĕ	———	
every	ben'-a	se-hen'	pir'-gru		
eye	wo'-bra	———	bok'-wa	———	kai'-ish
face	wo'	———	bok-woi'	bok-wo'	kai'-ish
to fall	i-han'-a	i-han-a-te'	ro-noi'	bo-go-noi'	tru-ü-lin'
family	jai'-wa	———	pei'-ga	wai-you'-sa	
far	ka-mi'-mi	———	krong'-e	fo-lai'	ka-wi-gri'
father	i-ji'	ji	kok	———	je-bet
father-in-law	dü-bai'	———	ke'-gi	———	
fat (grease)	or'-i	ur	kio'-yo	———	i-bu'
" (animal)				sho-shoi'	
fear				ko-ban-kret'	
feather	i'-ku'	———	kor'-ga	———	ka
to feel	pa-su'	———			
female					i-ra-matk'
fever	kro-na-bi-te'	———	b-gun'	swo-ro'	che
few					ble-a'-dri
to fight	nyak+pu	———	ing'-kwi	i-no-kwe'	
finger	u-ra'+sku	———	sak-wo'	sak'-wo	ku'-skwa
fire	ji-ko'	———	yuk	———	ji'-kra
fire-fly			skon'-kwa	skon-kwa'	ki-us'

first	suk′-u-tu	———	bom′-gung	———	ung
fish	mi-ma′	———	ma′		
fish scale	ni-ma′+kwo	———	ma+zre′-kwa	ma+kwo′-ta	
flat	shpat′-ke	———	beg′-ē	———	
flea	d-ki′	———	kiung	———	chik
floor	har′-ka	hu+ha′	u+pkwe′-ru	u-i′-ro	
flower	kar+wus′-kwa	———	kor+i-a′-gru	kol′-ong	krang+sret
fly	shi′-bu	———	ji-wir′-wa	———	srung
fog	mo	———	pong	———	
to follow			ir′-gu		
food	jĕ-ku′	———	dli	———	
foot	kru+kwe′	———	shkor′-mo	shkon′-mo	kras′+kwa
forehead					wa-tush′
foreigner	jĕ-ku′-sŭ-wa	———	po-las′-o	fo-las′-o	
forest	kar′+ga	———	kor′+go-rui	krosh′-ko	
free			tok′-sai	———	
friend	her′-bui	———	pei	pfei	
frog	bur′-bi	———	ō-rung′		
tree-frog	d-cha′-bu-kwi	bu-kwi′	knos	kro-wem′	
from			i-res′		
full	tŭ-ri′	———	tu′-nai	ta-bo-tu′-nai	kut-ka′-li
to gather	nya′-ska	———	sha-ras′-o		
ghost					i-wik′
girl	bu-si′*	a-la-bu-si′	wa+wa-re′	———	i-ra-matk′
	je-ba′*	———			
to give	i-mak′	———	twoz′+ung		
glad			wo-ko′bi		

* Same distinction of age as in Bri-bri

192x
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192x
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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tirribi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
to gnaw			po-we'-a		
to go	shku	———	pan-o'-ma		
God	si-bu'	———	zi-bo'	zū-bo'	si'-būh
good	boe'	boi'	kob'-e	kob'-soi kob'-ē	mo-reng'-ri
grandfather	ta'-chi	———	bog-un'	———	
grandmother	ho-jē-ku'	———	ter	———	
grass	ta'-tsik	———	jit-sho	kro'-sho	
green	spa	spa-na	ke-song'	ke-song'-ē	
to grind			zguiz'+ung	ā-we'	
to grow			kun	———	
guatuso				shku-re'	chelīht
gun	mok'-kur	———	krik	———	bot
hair	to-kung-gu'	———	kog'-zn	kong'-zn	sīh'-ka
" of body				zo	shi
half	mos'-ka	———	wen-son'	wor-bish'-ko	sīh-ta'
to hallo	m-han-o	———			kung
hammock	ki-pu'	———	po'-gro	———	ju-re'
hand	u-ra'	———	ork'-wo		
back of hand	u-ra'+shi-bi	———	ork-wo+king'		
palm of hand	u-ra+ktu'	———	ork-wo+kwo'-broi		
handle	i'-ka-ta	———	krong	ba-sor'-ko	
to hang	i-kar'-sai	———	priz'-kom-o		
hard	d-re'-ra	———	kong'-ko	kang'-kwe	
to have	krir	———			
hawk	pung	———	u-re'+pung	pung	scūg

he	bé	———	we	kwa	i+a-bi′	
head	dzē-kung	———	kog′-o	———	sa-gra′	
head of tree	kar′+a-ra	———	kor′+de-woi-rung			
to hear	his′-ka	———	kur′+ung	ko-kur′-ung		
heart					kwi-sih	
heat	ba	bar	bol-o′	kli-kli′-a	ji+ong′	
to help			kim-tox′+ung			
here	is′-ka	———	husk′-ko	ir-ish′-ko	we-eh′	
high	hu-i′-ne	kong+shu′-ki	kok′+shko	kok+shko′-i	aśht-kar-e′	
hill	kong+tsu′	———	drub	———	kak-tuśht′	
to hold	i-kru′-ku	i-kru′	shar′+ung			
hollow	har	———				
honey	bur	———	or	or′+di-o	but+cha	
horn	i-du-ra′	———	sa			
house	hu	———	a	———	uh	
how	m-ne′-kē-pi	———	so′-je-ra	zhi′-ri-a		
husband	(bē+)ji′-ji	———	(bor+)do-met′	(bor+)do-ben′		
hunger	bē-chi′-na-te	ka′-gre	pli′-do			
I	jis	———	ta	———	a+da-bi′	
idle	bi-ki	———	pag-je′-me			
iguana	bo′-a	ba	wong	fwang	ā-lit′	
inside	hi′-na	———	ir′-or-e	ir-esh′-ko		
intestine	nya	———	jang′-ko-gru	zhang	su-a′	
iron	ta-be′-ri+ji-ka	ta-be′+ji-ka				
jar	hung	ung	zhi	———		
jaw	kab-sha′	———	o-ro′	———		
jigger	d-ki′+tain-la	———	kiung′-wo	———		
juice	i-diu′	———	di-o′	———	cha	

192x
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192x
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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribbi.	Terraba	Brun-ka.
just			so-kob'-so		
knee	k-chu'-wu	———	ko-kwo'	ku-wă'	
knife	ta-be'-ri+je-ba	———	su-gro'	drung	man-kra'
knot	i-wo'-moa	———	ki-bosh'-kwe	———	
to know	hu-nyer'	che-mi'	mi-dep	mi-der'-a	
language	suk-tu'	———			
large	kŏ-bi+bri-wi'	———	tu-e'	kwon-e'	
very large			kiz-bong'-ă		
last	shin'-a-wa	———	jam-o'		ok-aha-re'
late	ka-mas'-kra	tsan'-li	kok+sing'-e	———	
to laugh	m-han-ya'	———	har		
lazy	bi-ki	———	pag-ji-me	kar-a-gung'-e	king'-ahu
leaf (of tree)	kar+gu'	———	kar+kor'-gu	kor-o'-ga	krang'+ka
" (broad)	sik	———		zor'-go	
lean	j-kai'-bŏ				
to leave			ber-i-oz+ung		
left hand	shu-rĕ'	———	mir'-e	———	
leg	kru+kra-be	———		kwos-bo	
lemon	sah'-na	———	i-gen-moh'		
to lend	pel'-te	———	poz-kwoz'+ung	———	
level	shpat'-ke	———			
to lie	b-kan-ju'-wa	———	nyor'-ke	———	ka-tu-a-ri
to lie down	m-he-bĕ-kru-wa	———	tush'-ko	bu+tush'-ko	ja-ung
lid	i-kush'-tu-gru	———	bong-za'-kru		
to lift	i-bĕ-tsu'-ku	———	po-yo'-zu	po-yong'-zo	
lightning	kong+wo+hor'-ku	———	zhgu-ring'	zhu-ring'	ji'-kra

lips	ko′-kwu	———	kap′-kwo	———	
to listen	i-ken-su′	———	kuz′+ong	ko-kuz′-ung	
little	tsi′-nĕ-kra	———	ti′-ra	so-ti′-ra	i-sta-mu′-ra
liver	her	———	wŏ	wo	kok
long	kar-kwe′	b-tsi′		bu	
to look	sŭ-wa′	i-sung′	i-zung′		wa-izh′-da
to loose	i-kuk′+tu-wa	———	kŏngz′+ung		
to lose	i-kit′-sen-a	———	hen-oi′	———	a-ring′-ra
louse	kung	———	———	———	
lump	wo-wut-ser-e′	———	zo-i-ring′	kwo-i-ring′-soi	
lungs	jo	———			
macaw (green)	kwa+si-an′-e	pa	yĕ-mos′+kwong	———	
" (red)	kwa+mat′-ka	ku-kwa′	kus′+kwong	kish′-kwong	
maggot	d-chun′-ya		shto′	———	
to make	i-jo-wŭ′		she-ri-oz′+ung	sho-ri-oz′-ung	
male					kong+ad′ra
man	hĕ-ji-ji′	wi′-pa	dŭ-met′	do-ben′	kong+roh′
many	o-ru-i′	———	et′-o	yon′-soi	et-sush-ta′-ri
how many?					bi-ik′
mark			i-ya′		
marsh	do-ri′	———	krung′-sho	———	
meat	jĕ-ku′+gru	jĕ-ke′	sing	dŭ-li	i-u-ran
medicine	buk′-pu-ri	k-pu′-li	du-ro′	———	
to mend	i-wo-yŭ′	———	yĕ-woz′+ung		
middle	shas′-ka	shus′-ka	wor-be′	wor-be′-shko	ish′-ta
midnight	nĕ-nye′	kong+shong-shong′	kog-rong′-ĕ	ko-i-rong′-i	kag+ish-ta
milk	tau′+dia	———	nau′+ri-o	———	tur-i-ka′

Gabb.

192x
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1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Gabb. 592 Aug. 8,

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribbi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
mine				to-nya'	a-rek'
monkey (red)	sar+mat'-ka	———	du'-i+go	do	nong
" (howler)	d-ka'	———	bib'+go	bib	u'-li
" (white face)	kuk	———	yai'+go	———	ok
mouth				mok+ra-ra'	
moon	to-ru'	tu-ru'	m.'k	mok	tō-be'
more	i-ki'	———	o'-bi	———	
morning	si-nyi'-ra	———	kok+shrung'-to	kok+shrung'	
mosquito	di-kii'	———	kwis'-king	kwis'-kwing	srun-sit
mother	mi	———	meh	———	ba'-bi
mother-in-law	jak	———	aim	———	
mouse					kwi
mouth	ko'-kwu	ku'-a	kam'-o	———	kas'-a
mouth of river				di+sor'-go	
much	bi-ku'	———	et'-o	yon'-so	
mud	do'-ri	do'+ji-ka			so'-ra
nail (finger)	u-ra+sku+sho'-kwa	———	sak-wo+drung'-yo	———	drig'-i
narrow	si-ma'-na	———	pro-tir'-a	———	ku-ba'-dri
navel	mo'+wo	———	tu'-wa	tu'-wong	
near	ko-ku'-na	———	sosh'-ku	———	ek-chish'-ē
neck	ku-ri'+ki-cha	———	kring'-duk	———	ing-a'
necklace	ku-ri'	———	bra		
night	nē-nye'	———	shke	———	big-at'
nipple					ka
no	kai	———	je'-mē	zhe'-mi	
noise	ko'-ju-gē	———	tu-e-et'-o	i-rong-ke'	kubis'-ka

1. Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

noon	mo'-ki	———	dlo-drub		kag+i-buih'-ta
nose	jik	———	ne'-kwo	———	kshis'-ka
not	kai	———	zham'-ko	zhe'-mi	
now	hir	———	er'-i	———	cha
numerals					
1	et'-ku	———	kra-ra'	kra'-ra	et-sik
2	bot'-ku	———	pug'-da	kra'-bu	bug
3	m-nyar'	m-nyat'-ka	mya'-re	kra-mi-a'	mang
4	kier	kil	p-kegu'-de	kra-bū-king'	buih'-kan
5	aker'a	———	shkegu'-de	kra-shking'	kshi-ekan'
6	ter'-lu	———	ter'-de	kra-ter'	tesh'-an
7	kul	———	kog'-ū-de	kra-kok'	kushk
8	pagl	———	kwog'-ū-de	kra-kwong'	oib-tan
9	te-ner'-lu	———	shkow'-ū-de	kra-shkap'	
10	d-bom'	———	dwow'-ū-de	kra-ra-wab'	
11	d-bom+et'+ku	———	king-shu+kra'	king-sho+kra'-ra	
12	d-bom+bot'+ku	———	king-shu+pok'	king-sho+kra-bu'	
13			king-shu+mya'	king-sho+kra-mi-a'	
14			king-shu+p-kegn'	king-sho+kra-bū-king'	
20			dwow-ū+pug'-da	sag+puk'	
30				sag+mi-a'	
oil	ki-u'	———	ki-o'	———	
old (thing)	i-ken'-a-wa	———	ke-ge'	zan-fe'	so-gro'
" (person)	i-ken'-a-wa	———	yi-no+ke-ge'	zan-fe'	
on			hong	ū-li'	
once				fra-ra'-soi	
other					e'-je

192x
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192x
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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribd.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
otter	di'-bu-a	———	won-yuk'	wan-yŭ'	
our			shi'-ya		
out	i-we'-ten-ŭ-wa	shi-bi'-ga	kok'+su	hu'-ga	
outside	wi'-tu-ki	———	kok'+sur-e	hu'-ga	
over	king'-ga	———	kin'-go		
to own			toi		
package	dŭ-li'	———	shwong'+i-do	d-bok'-tan	ets-ong'
pain	di-ka'	di-li'-na	du-re'	ban	sa-o-ra
peccary (wary)	sir-bi'	———	shi-ri'	———	kra-mi-shuk
" (small sp.)	kas'-ri	kas-i-ri'	shtuk'-o	———	si-ni'
piece	i-wu-ku'	i-wu'-gi-tu	ba-ja-mo'	bo-kwa-ra'	
pile	i-dŭ-pan'-a	———	drub-par'-a		
to pinch	i-bĕ-tsu'	———	shoz-goz'+ung	———	
pine-apple	ka-ru-ru'-bui	ha-mu'-wa	pong'-wa	———	bwat
plantain	kru-bi'	———	i-bing'	———	mwa
point	i-bĕ-ta'	———	d-woi-rung'	d-bor-ong'	i-dru'
pot	ta-be'+wi	ta-be'+ung	droz'-bi		kwa-le'
precipice	hak+en'-a	———	i-geng'	i-geng' / skin	
priest	ksu'-gru	———	tang'ra		
to pull	si-ku'	si-gu'	shiz'+ung	———	
to push	i-nya'-tu-wa	pat-ku'-ju-mi	poz-rez'+ung	———	
quarter	i-ju-wa'	———	ba-bog'-yu	bob-wo-king'-de	
quick	ho-ru'-si	———	mal-ish'-tĕ	mal-e'	do-do'
quiet	kai-wa-shu'-ya	———	king'-e		
rain	kan+i'	———	shu-nyo'	shu-nyong'-wa	jo

rainbow	shko-ba′	———	dün			
raw					taňb-ka	
ready	bi-ka′	b-tsi′	ta-pid′-zung			
red	mat′-ka	———	sri-zriň′	kro-sri-zri-ren′-e	kru-bat′	
reddish	b-tse′-na	———		sri-ren		
region	sar′-as	kin	kosh′-ko	———		
to rest	he-ru′	———	wosh′-ti	wosh′-to		
to return	re′-mi	bra′-ni		zwor′-kwoz-ung		
rib				zhgring		
ribs	pre′	———	sheng′-ro	zhgring′-ro (special plur.)		
right hand	mo′-ki	———	kil-e′			
ripe	nri′-ru	———	kwi	———	brot-ka′-li	
to rise	ku′-ka	———	shwo′-zu*	———*		
river	di-kru+e-na	di-kru+tyng′	di-kes′	———	di+kak′	
road	nya′-ra	———	ir′-o-bo	———	neng-kra	
roof	hu′+tsang	———	ur+bo	———		
roots of tree	kar′+gi-cha	———	kor′+su-wo	kor+sreng′	kahas	
rope	ksa	———	kyung			
rough	pa-nen′-e-ir-a	pa-nen′-e	ŏ-nos′-teng			
round	bri′-na		ki-ring′-ĕ		phi-gi-dst	
to run	b-ton-o′	bi-ton′-n-mi	ti-ti-ĕh′	———		
sad				wol′-di		
saliva	kus′-kwa	———	trung	———		
salt	dĕ-ji′	———	drung	———	ki	
sand	kwong	———	ĕra-sho′	———	up	
sap	i-di-kli′	kar′+diu	kor′+di-o	———		
to say	i-shu′	———	o-ros′	tre		

* Imperative singular.

192x
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192x
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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bruz-ka.
fish-scale	ni-ma′+kwo	———	ma+zre′-kwa	ma+kwo′-ta	
to scatter	sho-ti-a-wa-mi	tu-ru-mi′	zhduz′+ung	———	
scorpion	bi-che′	———	di-ye′	———	
to scratch	ben-biu′	biu	zhguz′+ung	drung′+shko	ki
sea	dĕ-je′	———	drung	———	
to see	sü-wa′	———			
seed	kar+wa′	———	kor′+kwo-wo	———	
to send			i′-ri-os	i-ti e′-ba	
to sew				sez′-ung	
shadow	wig′-ra	———	ya′-gro	sen′-te	ka-wik′
to shake	i-wuk-bu′	———	yoz′-ung	———	
shallow	pre′-na	pre′-rĕ	ir-o-ti′-ra	———	
sharp	i-wu-ku′	a-ka′+ta	su-ret-eng′	(edge) peg-you′-soi (point) su-ret-eng′-e	
she	he	———	we	kwe	
shell (bivalve)	su-ri′	———	wu-rir′-kwo shung	(murex) flin′-kwa dü-ram′-kwa	
shield	so′-gru	———	sob′-kwo		
shin	kra-be′	———	sh[illegible]gro		
to shoot	i-tiu′	———	io[illegible]	———	
short			kw[illegible]	———	
shoulder	ko′-ka	———	d-w[illegible]ok		
shrimp	sok	———	kuz′-gwo	———	
sick	kri-na′-wa	———	sur-o-eh′	sur-o′	che-at′
similar	he′-kĕ-pi	———	en′-i-yü	sog-bsk-teng′-e	i-dosh-ĕ-re′
to sing	bk-su′	———	toz′-ung	———	

to sink	i-wo-tun-a	———	piz′+ung		
sister	ko-ta′	———	dor	———	
sister-in-law	shdo-bu′	———	kak	———	
skin	kwo	———	kwo′-ta	———	kwas-kwa′
woman's skirt	ba′-na	———	shwom′+zring		
skull	tsu-ko+du-chi′	dze-kung+du-chi′	ka′-dre-a	kog-wo′+dŭ-bo	
sky	du-ra′-bru	———	kob′-kwo	kom-ong′	
to sleep	sku-ri′-na	i-skwu′	poz′-ung	———	kap
sloth (brown)	si-na′-si	———	sho-rong′	———	
" (gray)	se′-ri-a	———	ki-a′	———	
" (little)	di-klu′-ji-ba	———	suz-bo′	———	
slow	hen′-a	———	wor′-a	———	ŭ-wa-ta′
small	tsi′-nĕ-kra	———	tĭ′-ra	so-tir′-a-wa	i-sta-mu′-ra
to smell	ha-rar′-ge	———	i-ro′-shis		
smoke	shkon-ĕ′	shkon-o′	nyo′	———	ji-l-ja′
smooth	jes′-na	je	tu-it′		
snail	*bu-ri	———	*pu-le′+na-kwa	shku′-ra-kwo	
" shell	*jok′-sĕ-ro	———	*j-wi′-bru	du′-kwa	
snake	kĕ-bi′	———	b-gur′	———	ta-bek′
to sneeze	tser′-gĕ	———	shor-ke′		
soft	do-ru′-na	———			
sole of foot	kru+ptu′	———	shkon′-kwo	ku-kwo′-woi-ro	kras-kwa+plang
solid			kong′-e		
son	jĕ-ba′	———	wa	———	
sour	shkun′-a	———	shpo-et′-o	shpo-yon′-soi	
spider	si-s′-mu-nya	———	ting		
to spit	kar-i′	———	trung+woz′+ung	trung+twoz′-ung	

* Probably special names of *Helix Bulimus, Melania*, &c., as in Bri-bri dialect, *kwa*, in Tiribi evidently means shell.

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192x
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English:	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Green River.	Tribbi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
spleen	ko-u'	tak	wong	———	num
to spread			kwob-toz'+ung		
spy	ju-jet'-kuk	———	prob'-a		
to stand	her-wu'	———	jon'-ke	zhong-zhong'-ke	
star	koũg+wu'	———	d-bar-bo'	d-be-ra'-kwo	um'-ra
to steal	hog'-bru	———	ru-kez'+ung	rur'-ke	a-jaũg'-li
stick	kar	———	kor'+lo	———	krang
to sting	m-her'	ka'-wa	ta-wa'-ru	shor-ke'-so	
to stink	sa-ru-i+ha-rar'	su-ru-i+hrar'-ge	o-no'-et-o	o-no-oi'	
stone	hak	———	ak	———	kang
stool	krũ-wa'	———	kruk	kru	
stop	ĩ-re'-re	he-re-re'	ko-shoz'+ũ	———	
straight	mog-i'	———	i'-teng	kro-bek'-oi	du-u'-ka
to strike	it-pu'	———	i-ruz'+ong	sphoz'-ung	
strong	d-re'-re	———	d-bo-e'-to	kang'-ku-i	a-du-ru-re'
sugar	pash-tu'+chi-ka	———	jir'-bo-sho	sror'-bo-sho	
sun	di	di'-wo	do-ro'	———	kak
sure			zog'-u-de		
to swallow			d-kwoz'+ung	d-woz'-ung	
to sweat	pa-re'-na	———	sho'-ri-a	sho-ri'-na	
sweet	bro'-na	bro	pre'-bre	———	
to swim	bo-wo-ku'	bo-kwu'	ah-weh'	we	a-bu'-ũ-li
tall	i-m-nek'	———	proc	frac	kwan-tsa'
to take	i-tsa'-mi	i-tsu'-mi	kroz'+ung	———	
to talk	bk-tu'	———	tnoz'+ung	———	
tall	b-tsi-br-wi	———	kok+shko'	———	

tame			un-e'-bi	———	
tapir	na'-i	———	so	———	na-i'
to taste	tsoŋg-sir'	———	kuz'+ong		
teeth	ka	———	ko-wo'	———	kas'-a
" (molars)		ka+nyuk	ap	———	kam'i
to tell	i-shu'	———	ir-o-tos'		
then	he-re'-re	he'-re-re	en'-i	er'-a-ga	
there	wa-ji'-ga	di-ya'	kem'-nĕ	kim'-rish-ko	
they	he'-wa	ye	kweb'-ga	eb'-ga	i-roĩhk
thick	kro-na-bi-ti'	hu-re'			
thief	hak	hak-bru'-gi			
thigh	tu-bru	———	kwor'-wo		
to think	her-wik'	———	wo-tniz'+ung	woi'-du	
thirst	her-ba'-na	her-si'	baum'-gung		
thorn					kwa
thou	ba	———	pa	fa	ba+a-bi'
throat				beng'-so	
to throw	i-hu-wa-mi'	i-tu'	d-buz'+ung	———	
thumb	u-ra+sku+in'-ga	———	sak-wo+kes'-yu	sak-wo+kes'-i	
thunder	hũ-ra'	a'-ra	krik	———	kak'+an-te-gra
tick	ban'-o-wa	kas'-o-wa	tri'-gua		
to tickle	gi-pa'	———	yi-gru-woz'+ung		
to tie	i-mo'-a	———	kro-di-oz'-ung	kro-tenz'-ung	
tiger (spotted)	na-ma+kro'-na	———	d-kro+tong	d-boŋg+tan-tan'-e	ku-ra'
" (black)	na-ma+do-ro'-na	———	kro+zi'-a	d-boŋg+kro-si'-a	
" (red)	na-ma+mat'-ka	———	kro+sri-zrin'	shu-ring+d-boŋg'	
time (future)	ma-nya-ni'	nya-nya+si-nye'-ta	pĕs-ir'-e	de-nash'-ko	

192x
197.

192x
197

Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
time (past)	bé-ha'-si	nya-nya'	den-al'	po-nyash'-ko	
tired	bé-ré-be'-na	———	sen-ol'	———	j-ro'-sha-ra
toad			krok	kro'-we	kshuk
tobacco	dú-wa'	———	do-wo'	———	du-a'
to-day	hir	———	er'-i	———	cha
toes	kras'-ku	———	sap'-kwo	———	
together	mya'-ra	———	hu'-nó	sha-ra'	
to-morrow	bu-ri'-ri	———	i-bong'	i-bou'-a-ga	sok
tongue	kok'-tu	kuk'-tu	kior'-kwo	ker'-kwo	kwat'-kwa
top of head	tsú-kung'+bó-ta	tsong'+bó-ta	kwa-dru-i-bo'		
tortoise	kwi	———	kwe	bog-o'	ba-eg'-ri
to touch	bú-rat-ku'	———	por-wor'+ung		
tree	kar	———	kor	———	krang
tribe	wag'+ó-ru	———	io-no'	———	
trunk of tree	kar	———	kor+i'-do		
to try	he-man'-i	———	tú-uit'		
to turn	men-e'-wa	———	wor-kwo'+su		
twice					bug-ú-dak'
to twist			doz'+ung	zhu-iz'-ung	
ugly			so-o'-wa	———	
ulcer	shum-e'	———	sbing		
uncle	no-wa	naung	ke'-ga		
under	d-king'-ga	———	i-dor'-ko	tush'-ko	a-de'-bi
to understand	je-na-he'-ra	te-sa'	ku'-rob-dó	ko-kur'-ong	
unripe			kro-pro-pru'-gi		
until			po-ai'-ra		

valley	kong+d-choi′	———	ztomb	zdam	
vein	ham-e′	———			
vine	ksa	———	kij′-wo	———	san-kwa′
voice	har′-ke	———	krun		
to vomit	i-tu′-wa	———	yar-we′	ya′-twe	
waist	ki-pa′	———			
to wait	kin-su′	———	ko-shoz′-ung	———	
to walk	i-shku′	———	hik	ik	
to want	ki-a-na′	———	woi-det′	———	
wasp	bo-kra′	———	wŏ-ro′	wo-rok′	srung-wa′
water	di-kru′	———	di	———	di
wax	har	bur′+i-nya	sot	on′-cham	but
we	sŏ-ha′	———		shing	ja-a-bi′
well	boe′	———			
wet	kis′-u	nun-a′-ga	puk-tong′-ŏ	pu-hu′-i	se-kar′
what	hi-ru′-in	er-hi′-i	kon-e-kro′-ti	zhe	
when	mi′-ga	———	jon′-wro	zhon′-wa	i′-ik
where					je
which	men-ŏ′	———	kon-e-de′		
to whisper	ka-kwa′	ji-kwa′	ba-tnez-wor′-a	kob′-wo+ba-kwoz-ung	kos′-wa
to whistle	ka-kun′-e	ka-kun′	b-ko′-ba-kwe		taiŋh-kung
white	su-ru′-ru	———	plu-blun′	kru-ru′-ni	su-wat′
who	ji	———	i	e	di′-a
whole	har-e′-bu	kra-be′	kwo-bik′	i-don′-hi	
why					io′-ge
wide	shon′-a	shon	ba-met′-o	star′-e	wan-ka-li′
wife	(je+)ŏ-ra′-kra-wa	(je+)ŏ-ra′-kra	(bor+)iok′	(bor+)wa-re′	i-ra-rok′

192x
197

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

192x
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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
wild	kar+ŭ-bu′	———	kro-hi′	———	shung
wind	si-wang	———	pruc	———	i-ra-matk′
woman	č-ra′-kra-wa	č-ra -kra	wa-re′	———	
worn	d-cho′-nya	———	chus′-kro		
worse	se-ru-i+si′	———			
to wring		diu′-tru	zhguiz′+ung		
wrist	wu′-gĕ-cha	———	ork-wo+ŭok′		
yellow	psi	———	shoin′-lot	shoi-rang′-i	sho-o-sat′
yes	hŭ′-ŭ	———	ing	———	u′-ge
yesterday	jĕ-ki	———	kub′-kĕ	kub-kesh′-ko	bi-ik
you	baa	be	ta-wa	fai-rung′-kwe	bi-roshk
your			poi	to-nya′	

1: Gabb SA19 Talamanca SA19

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[For a vocabulary of the Talamanca language see category 116, pp. 540-602.]

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Bribri

INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

VOL. VI No. 3

A SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF COSTA RICA

BY
ALANSON SKINNER

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN,
HEYE FOUNDATION,
1920

[p.37]

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Bribri

This series of Indian Notes and Monographs is devoted primarily to the publication of the results of studies by members of the staff of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and is uniform with Hispanic Notes and Monographs, published by the Hispanic Society of America, with which organization this Museum is in cordial coöperation.

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[p. 38]

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Bribri

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NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF COSTA RICA

BY

ALANSON SKINNER

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NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF COSTA RICA

By Alanson Skinner

INTRODUCTION

BELONGING to the Chibchan linguistic stock are the Bribri Indians, a small but primitive tribe inhabiting the mountainous district watered by the eastern branches of the Telirí river near the central southern boundary of Costa Rica and extending into northern Panama. They have been visited by a number of observers, including Dr William M. Gabb[1] (whose valuable account we have not hesitated to quote extensively) and Dr Henry Pittier de Fabrega.[2]

The writer spent the months of March and April, 1917, in collecting among these Indians for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at which time the

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following data and most of the specimens illustrated were gathered. His headquarters were at Suretka, then the terminus of the United Fruit Company's railroad, running inland from Bocas del Toro, Panama. From Suretka the Teliri was crossed by dugout canoe, and the Bribri were reached by horseback over the jungle trails leading to their small and widely scattered settlements on the Teliri, Uren, and Coen rivers.

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The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of the local agents of the United Fruit Company at Suretka, of Señor Alejo Jimenez, Governor of the Talamanca district, whose hospitality and courtesy were unlimited, and to his own wife, the late Gladys M. Skinner, whose interest and zeal led her to endure the dangers and hardships of the Talamancan forests, and who personally collected many of the specimens herein described. The thanks of the Museum are due also to the United States National Museum for a photograph of a costume collected by Dr Gabb which is reproduced herein.

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Bribri

CULTURAL POSITION AND ORGANIZATION

The Bribri, according to Sapper,[3] Brinton,[4] Thomas and Swanton,[5] and Pittier,[2a] belong to the South American rather than to the Mexican and North American culture group. According to Pittier, the tribe is divided into two groups, the Tubor-uak[6] and the Kork-uak or Djbar-uak. These moieties were exogamous and matrilineal, and were divided into the following clans:

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TUBOR-UAK

Suritz-uak, Deer clan.
Dutz-uak, Bird clan.
Bokir-uak.
Dojk-uak.
Sark-uak, Monkey clan.
Dogdi-uak, Snail-shell-River clan.
Orori-uak, Ravine-of-the-Arari-River clan.
Kugdi-uak, Ravine-of-the-Uren-River clan.
Tkiut-uak, Flea-house-site clan.
Duri-uak, Bird-ravine clan.
Arau-uak, Thunder-house clan.
Urijk-uak, Ant-eating-Bear clan.

KORK-UAK, OR DJBAR-UAK

Djbar-uak.
Di-u-uak, Water-house clan.
Tkbiri-uak, Snake-ravine clan.
Kos-uak, Precipice clan.

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614 Kipirjk-uak, Edible fruit of a vine clan.
Amu-kir-uak, Agave-patch clan.
616 Tsiru-ru-uak, Ripe chocolatē-bean clan.
Uni-uak.
Sibri-uak, Forked post water or ravine clan.
Dauibri-uak, Ravine clan.
Amuk-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Akter-uak, Rocky-place clan.
Kur-ki-uak, Name of place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.
Kacha-ut-uak, Achiote clan.
Bobri-uak, Name of a place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.

776 Pittier, who has published a brief paper on the folklore of the Bribri and the Brunka,[2b] states that their primitive supreme god was named *Sibú*, and was surrounded by secondary divinities called *Sórkurá*, *Jâburu*, and *Surá*, some of them good, others evil, both eternally tricking each
773 other. All men were born from seeds, over which the deities fought. The sacred seeds were kept in baskets which *Sibú* gave into the care of the benevolent gods. The evil deities, however, continually sought for the seeds, and this was the origin of a series of adventures which are still narrated by the surviving pagan Bribri. The skunk is the trickster of Bribri mythology.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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412
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BRIBRI DWELLING WITHOUT SIDES
A bowlder used as a metate is shown in the foreground

[facing p. 47]

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Bribri

Gabb[8] speaks of three classes of shamans—the *usékara*, or "high priest"; the *tsúgur* (*tsuku*), who has charge of the ceremonies for the dead; and the *awa*, doctor or sorcerer, who cures diseases and controls the rain. He says that these latter treat diseases by making passes over the body of the patient with a sloth, opossum, alligator, or even a chicken. Their powers are based on the magic potency of calculi declared to be extracted from the viscera of animals. They bleed their patients with small lancets and give a counter irritant by beating the affected part with nettle leaves. 756 [791] [767]

Polygyny was practised in Gabb's time. The husband, he says, went to live with his father-in-law, or, if not, he bought his release with presents of live-stock in lieu of his services. 595 591

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations.—Several native types of dwellings still survive among the Bribri. The more usual variety is sideless, rectangular or oval in ground-plan, with a convex or 342

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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A BRIBRI "KING'S HOUSE OR PALENQUE." THE FIGURE AT THE LEFT IS RAMON, THE LAST BRIBRI "KING"

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 48]

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342 angular roof of thatched plantain leaves. These lodges vary from twenty to forty feet in length, averaging thirty feet, and from the ground to the apex of the roof-ridge they are eight to ten feet high. In general appearance they closely resemble the houses of the Florida Seminole, but usually lack the sleeping platforms of the latter (pl. 1).

Some houses are provided with floors about four feet from the ground, which generally are made of splints of palm or other wood, lashed with lianas to a framework of beams. Such floors afford an uncertain and yielding footing to a heavy person. Generally the floor covers only a portion of the ground area, an open space being left at one end to accommodate the fireplace, which is situated on the hard-beaten earth. The raised floor is reached by a short, log ladder, the steps of which are closely spaced notches.
[352] Hammocks of native make swing from post to post across the lodge above this floor. Sometimes the floor is encompassed by a loose wall of sticks, set up vertically and
[231] bound together, the intervening space be-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen, while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. 342 [231]

This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [415] The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle. [354] Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao lie without order on the ground. [415] Generally in this quarter one may see also the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano. 412 One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

415
417

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

342
352
354 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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CARRYING PALM-LEAVES BY MEANS OF THE BURDEN STRAP

[Facing p. 51]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

both cases the fireplace was opposite the door, near the side, and not in the middle. 342 352 [354]

From the beams and the roof of the ordinary Bribri house are suspended carrying bags and baskets in which are stored calabashes and other utensils, while bows, arrows, and blowguns are held in crude racks or stuck in the thatch. Under the angle of the roof is often a rude attic, made of rough-hewn plank flooring, on which rests one or more great, cylindrical, corn receptacles, or granaries, of bark, and nearby one is likely to see a string or two of braided corn.

Sometimes a long, goblet-shaped, wooden drum, with an iguana-skin head, a number of circular pieces of iguana-skin for fresh drum-heads, or a cluster of several drums, may swing from a rafter at one side; or one may observe plumes of macaws, and the paws, flesh, or skin of jaguars and armadillos, hanging freely or tucked in a woven *chákara*, or bag, to be used as medicine. Again, but rarely, these may be accompanied with a shaman's small gourd rattle with a bone handle. Tame parrots, parra- 352 534 000

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Tame parrots, parra-
231 keets, macaws, and other birds, or mammals, such as monkeys, screech at the visitor from a safe retreat in the rafters, and there is always a host of dogs to guard against.

342 Another, now uncommon, type of lodge is oval or round, a trifle larger and flatter than the form described. Its outer wall is only about four feet high, loosely built of sticks set up vertically and tied together. This type of lodge is light inside, but its sides are not tight; it has no raised floor, and no smoke-hole. The kitchen is always some distance from the door, and though never in the center of the building, is often at the end opposite from the entrance.

352 516 [532] In all the forms of lodges observed, there are many four-legged stools, sometimes roughly carved to imitate tortoises, and very long benches. The Bribri, when at home, never squat on the bare ground like their North American relatives, but each member of the family, including the youngest child, has his own seat.

342 The last type of Bribri house to be mentioned is the most striking. It is called today a "*palenque*," or "king's house," by

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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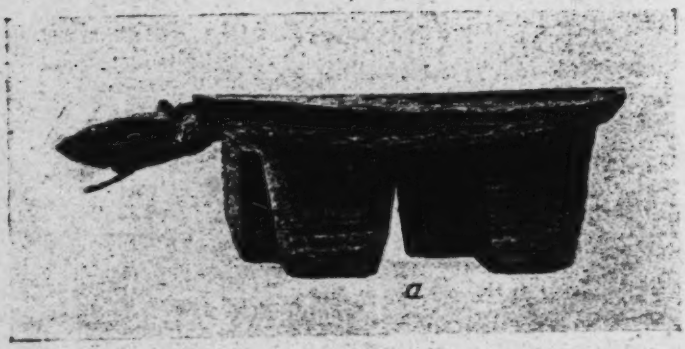

STOOLS CARVED TO REPRESENT THE TORTOISE

(Length: *a*, 11"; *b*, 12½")

[facing p. 53]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

the natives. In the spring of 1917 only two examples were to be found, and one of these had been abandoned and was falling into decay. These houses are great conical structures, about a hundred feet in circumference, consisting of thatched walls rising from the ground to a sharp point, forty or fifty feet above, which is capped by an inverted kettle to prevent leakage during inclement weather (pl. II). The doorway is high enough to admit a man without stooping, and is protected by a roofed but sideless vestibule. Inside all is dark, for no light is admitted except through the door, and the interior is thoroughly smoke-blackened. A rectangular platform, about ten feet square, made of puncheons supported by vertical beams, supports the bark granaries and some pottery vessels, together with a small supply of pounded clay for blowgun pellets. The sides are festooned with weapons and utensils, while pigs enter freely and root about among the stools and benches. Piles of palm-leaves around the sides indicate beds. We were told that

342
352
[513]
342

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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415

LARGE CARRYING BAG
(Depth, 24 inches)

[facing p. 54]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

342 [592] We were told that these great houses were at one time inhabited by groups of related families.

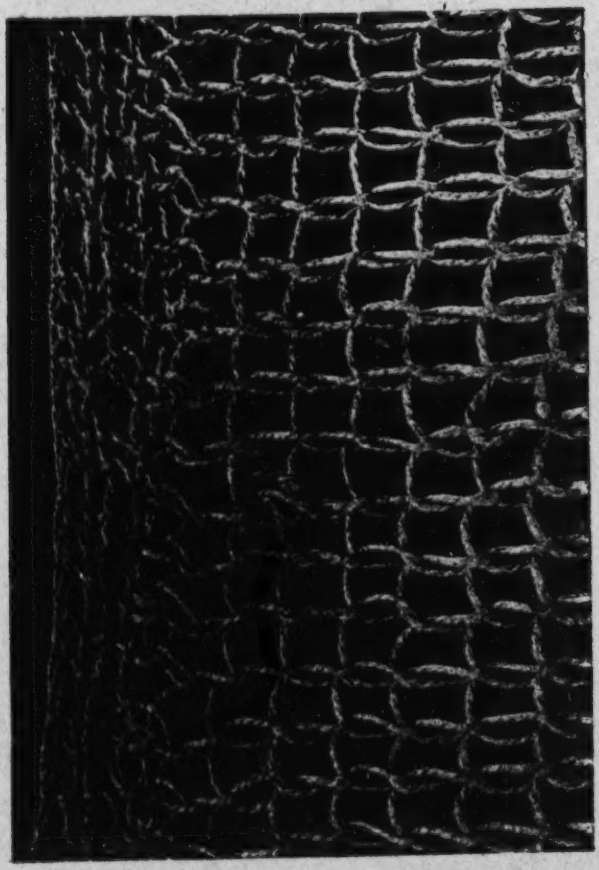
Dr Gabb,[9] writing nearly fifty years ago, presented the following account of his observations regarding the houses of the Bribri of his time:

"The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large, squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark. Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and the door is in one of the ends."

482 The method of transporting the bundles of platanillo leaves used in house-building

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 VI



DETAIL OF BAG SHOWN IN PLATE V

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p.55]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

is shown in pl. III, from a photograph kindly 482
furnished by Prof. M. H. Saville.

Drying platforms for cacao, and outside 343
granaries, built close to the houses, are
found everywhere.

Gardens.—Many Bribri lodges are sur- 241
rounded by yards enclosed with small bough
fences, within which nothing is grown; but
every home has its small banana or plantain
plantation and its grove of cacao trees, some-
times very large and old, with occasional
lime trees or yampi plants. These trees
usually grow close to the dwelling, and often
surround it. Corn fields are commonly
seen, and calabash trees are always in evi-
dence. Cotton plants, growing either singly
or in small clumps, are sometimes found near
the houses.

Household Utensils.—As above stated, 352
every member of a family is provided with 171
a low stool or seat, hewn from a block of
wood. These seats (fig. 2) are round,
square, or oblong, and the long, round,
tapering legs of some examples suggest the
stone metates found at Las Mercedes.
There can be no doubt that the custom of

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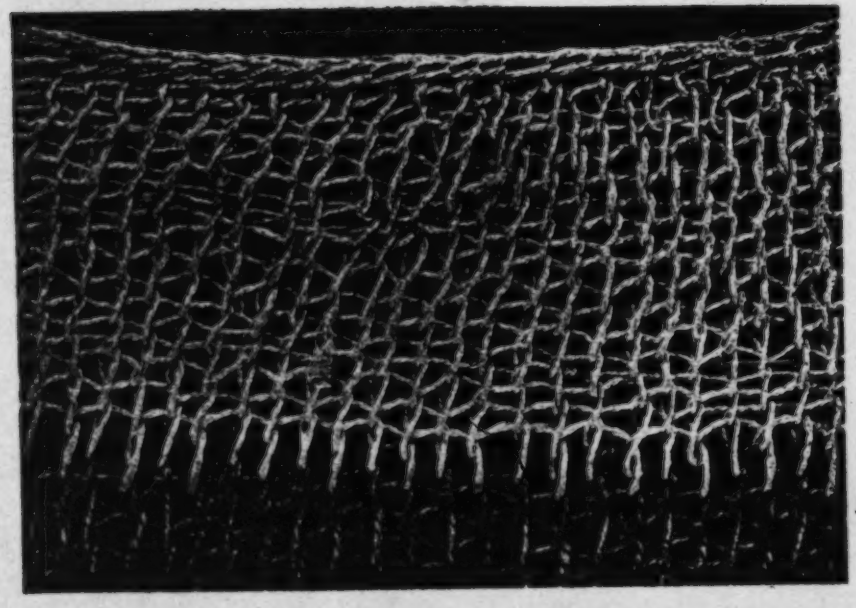
Bribri



DETAIL OF A CARRYING BAG

[facing p. 56]

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using stools is an ancient one in Costa Rica, and that these seats seem to be but degenerate survivals of elaborately carved stone stools, such as those taken from the graves at Las Mercedes and Anita Grande. They may bear some relation to the *duhos* of the West Indies.

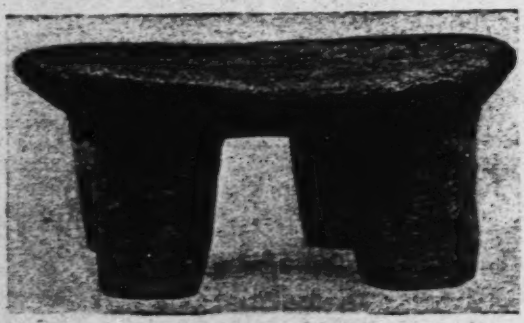

FIG. 2.—Wooden stool (length 13½ in.).

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The writer was fortunate enough to obtain some modern Bribri seats crudely hewn to represent tortoises (pl. IV), while one example had, instead of the usual legs, supports of wood carved in crudely rectangular figures (fig. 3) that recall the fine stone lattice-work found in the graves.

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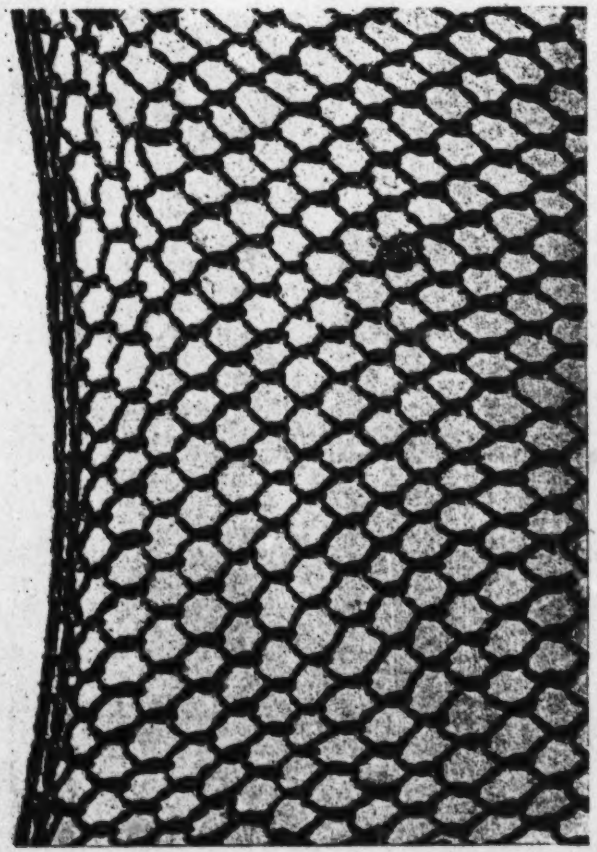
PL. VIII



DETAIL OF SINGLE-LOOP CARRYING BAG

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 57]

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The seats vary in size from diminutive forms used by children to benches six to ten feet long, narrow, with square ends and clumsy feet. Some of the children's seats have been used as toys. Pl. IV, *a*, illustrating a seat shaped like a turtle, still has about the neck a portion of the fiber string by which its little owner dragged it about; 352 352 524

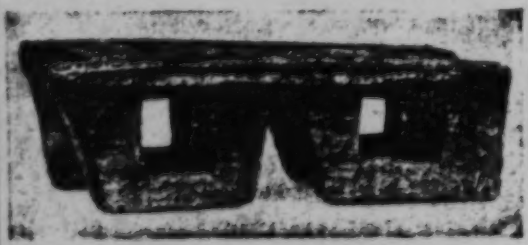

FIG 3.—Stool with unusual supports (length 13½ in.).

and, to add to the realism of its play, the child had also fitted the ill-smelling carapace of a freshly killed tortoise of the family *Chelydra* over the top of this stool.

Hammocks and Beds.—Large, handsomely netted hammocks of string made from native fibers are often used for sleeping, each member of the family having his own. They are 352 286

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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BAG WITH DOUBLE POCKET FOR CARRYING BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth of bag, 7½ inches)

[facing p. 58]

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made usually in two sizes, only both of which are more capacious than ours. A large example in the collection of the Museum is made in coarse diagonal net, the strands passing over two and under two.

Especially in such houses as are provided with raised floors, one finds beds in addition to hammocks, the groundwork of which is usually a coarse, plain blanket made of a heavy bark cloth, or tapa, about a yard square.

[287]

Bags.—In abundant evidence in every house are the carrying bags, in varying sizes, consisting of coiled work without foundation, and manufactured of cotton or sisal fiber. These bags are made with bone needles, fashioned somewhat like the bone netting-needles of the Central Algonkians, and are, as Gabb says, "meshed like our fiber nets." The bags are sometimes double, one being netted within another, and are often ornamented with a few encircling, parallel bands in black or red, or both, co-ored with native bark dyes. The bags are called *chákara*. All are furnished with a head- or breast-strap, woven of one piece with the bag.

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[482]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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BAG FOR BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth, 6 inches)

[facing p. 59]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

with the bag. They are by no means so handsome as the bright-colored bags made by the Valiente Indians nearer the coast, and the Bribri complain that their manufacture will soon be a lost art, except among those dwelling in the remote forest fastnesses, whence the greater supply now comes. Nevertheless, at present the bags are plentiful, and abundant specimens of numerous weaves were secured, ranging in size from tiny pockets, intended to contain clay blowgun pellets, to large receptacles for transporting plantains. 286 415

Pl. v represents a large carrying bag, the ground color of which is white, traversed by two transverse horizontal bands in brown. It is of the same technique as the specimen shown in Mason's work,[10] which the author describes as "a coiled carrying bag from Chiriqui, Colombia, and is a type of an enormous amount of ware to be found in Middle America . . . . and is called in this monograph coiled work without foundation . . . . the twine constituting the fabric interlocks with the stitch underneath and makes a complete revolu- 286 [171]

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PL. XI

SKINNER—BRIBRI

DETAIL OF WOVEN CARRYING BAG WITH RIBBED APPEARANCE

[facing p. 60]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

286 tion, catching the next stitch, and so on. Without definite information on the subject, it is believed that in making these bags some sort of a gauge is used by the weaver—a small stick which may be slipped along as the work proceeds."

The edge of the bag mentioned above is shown in detail in pl. VI and is made similarly to the rest of the receptacle, except that, instead of looping into the coil directly above it, each loop passes over two loops to the right, then returns, passing two more to the left before interlocking with it. The border is composed of a double row of such netting. The carrying strap is made of a 22-strand braid, netted diagonally.

Pl. VII represents the detail of a large carrying bag, white in ground color, with three bands of decoration, each being a double bar, brown above and gray beneath. The process resembles that of the preceding (pl. VI), except that each loop, instead of passing through one loop, goes through two, and crosses itself on two more loops in the row below. The next rows above and below alternate the grouping of the pairs of loops.

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Bribri

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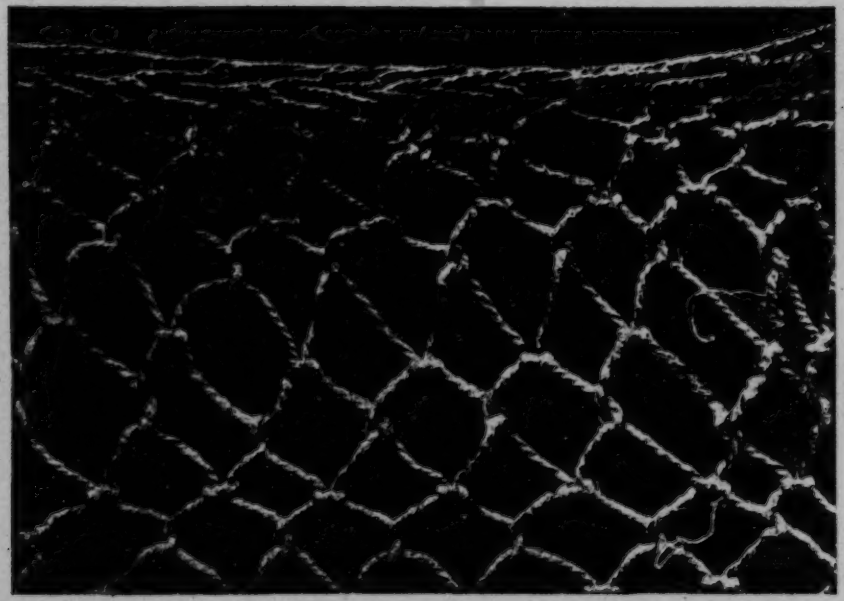

DETAIL OF A BAG OF LOOP-WORK ALTERNATING WITH KNOTTED NET

[Facing p. 61]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

The edge is similar to that shown in pl. VI, except that it is a single row. The strap for carrying is only an 18-strand net. 286

Pl. VIII shows the detail of a small bag, woven like the last, except that each loop connects singly with its neighbor, and does not take in groups of two, as in pl. VII.

Pl. IX represents a small, double-pocket bag woven like that shown in pl. VI. The bag is intended for carrying clay blowgun pellets, with a division reserved for small game. A bone pellet gauge is attached to the edge. The edge differs from the others in that it is made up of two strands, and the strap for carrying is 20-ply. 286 415

Pl. X shows a small, elongate receptacle, designed for carrying blowgun pellets. The carrying strap is made similarly to all the others, but is of two-strand net. The bag is of coil without foundation work.

The bag of which a detail is illustrated in pl. XI is based on the coil without foundation process, except that, instead of alternating the pairs of loops, they are directly opposite throughout. The cord of which the 286

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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BRIBRI FAMILY TRAVELING, SHOWING BURDEN BASKET IN USE, ALSO THE METHOD OF CARRYING A CHILD.

[facing p. 62]

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286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [854] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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[154]

also the method of carrying a child on the back of a Bribri woman when traveling.

A specimen of a handsome type of basket, made of split palm-leaves or of cane, fashioned in a diagonal twilled technique like some of the baskets of the Alibamu, Choc-

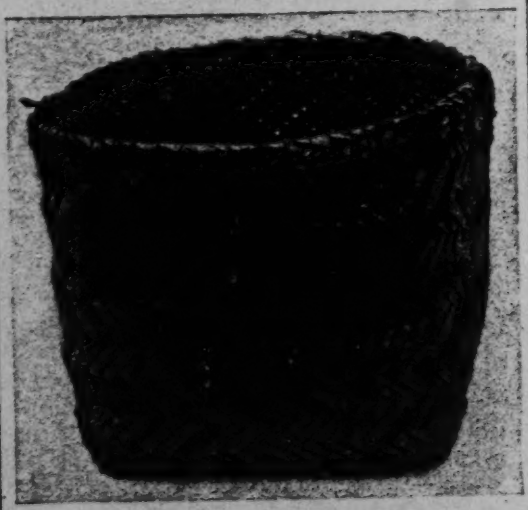

FIG. 4. Basket for holding trinkets (diam. 9½ in.).

taw, and other Indians of our Gulf states, is illustrated in fig. 4. Such baskets are used for holding trinkets, and are not common.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

415 *Calabashes.*—No utensils are more common among the Bribri than vessels made of calabashes. Gourds nearly globular in shape, with a small, round hole cut in the apex (fig. 5, *a*), serve for water bottles, while the simplest form of dish or cup is a

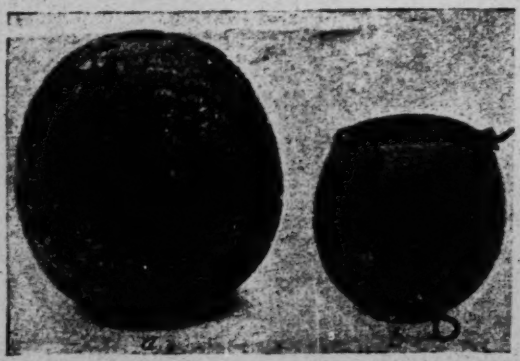

FIG. 5.—Calabashes used as receptacles.

half gourd without decoration. These, or coconut-shells, are sometimes pierced at opposite sides and are furnished with a fiber cord for suspension or carrying (fig. 5, *b*). Thus equipped, they are used as salt dishes.

[531] These gourd receptacles are frequently ornamented with rudely incised designs.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

415
Pl. XIV

CALABASH SIEVES
(Diameter of rim: a, 5½ in.; b, 8 in.)

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 65]

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Fig. 6, *b*, represents a bowl or cup marked with four T and Y shaped figures, while *a* of the same illustration shows a stellar design with a divided triangle on one side and a T figure on the other. 531 415

Fig. 7 is the most elaborately ornamented calabash bowl collected; it is decorated with [532]

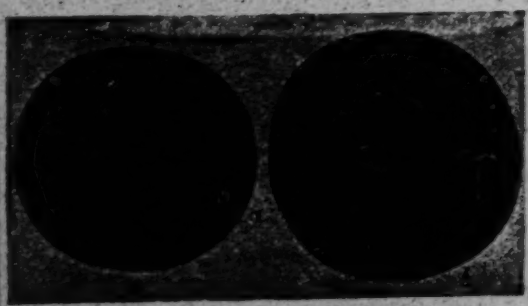

FIG. 6.—Decorated calabashes.

the figure of a steamship, anchored at both ends, and furnished with two nondescript flags, several fairly complicated geometrical figures, the date *1 Mayo*, and the initials *R. M.* Although not obtained from him, it is possible that this vessel may have been made by Ramon, the "king."

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Bribri

415 Another type of vessel is a sieve, or colander, made from the shell of a calabash, shown in pl. XIV, *a*. The rim is left intact, but the rest of the utensil is riddled with holes, though a suggestion of a pattern is

[531]
[532]

FIG. 7.—Decorated calabash receptacle.

left untouched. The rim bears some crude, etched figures, including one resembling a conventionalized butterfly. The calabash, where cracked, is laced together with fiber string passed through two holes bored in

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EARTHENWARE JAR FOR CHICHA
(Height, 16 in.)

[facing p. 67]

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opposite sides of the break. Pl. XIV, *b*, shows another utensil, similar to the last, but shallower. These objects are used as sieves for corn flour. 415

Pottery.—Possibly the most interesting of all Bribri household articles are the huge pottery jars (pl. XV, XV, *a*) used in fermenting *chicha*, the native intoxicant. According to information given by the Indians, these vessels are made of selected clay, which is ground on a metate and mixed with crushed, burnt stone, or coarse sand. The clay is then dampened and made into rolls, and the vessels are built up, coil by coil, and the rolls smoothed. On some abandoned camp-sites, large potsherds, broken so that they plainly showed the coils as well as the tempering, were found. After being shaped and smoothed, the vessels are dried slowly in the shade for several days; then one vessel at a time is taken outdoors, wood is heaped over them, and they are fired. 323 415 [273]

In shape these vessels differ entirely from the pottery found in the graves at Las Mercedes, but resemble the pointed-base Algonkian jars of the Atlantic coast of North America 415 171

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Bribri

415 North America. The Indians relate a tradition that without pointed bases the jars would not fire well. Several variations in form were seen. These are nearly all very large, averaging at least three feet in height, and of a capacity of many gallons. Smaller vessels are unusual. None of the vessels observed bore the slightest ornamentation.

[322] *Wooden Utensils.*—On several occasions, large, round, wooden bowls, shaped like shallow basins, were observed. They were clumsy and thick, and not to be compared with the fine specimens made by many of the North American tribes.

Pl. XVI represents a very simple dish, made by folding the ends of a strip of the leaf of the platanillo and sewing them together.

412 *Mortars and Pestles.*—Fig. 8 shows a type of heavy horizontal mortar frequently seen in the Indian camps. These are made of great logs of mahogany or of other hard wood, sometimes as much as ten or twelve feet long, with the cavity for the corn hewn in one side. The wooden pestles used with

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LARGE POTTERY JAR FOR BREWING CHICHA
(Height, 31 inches)

facing p. 69

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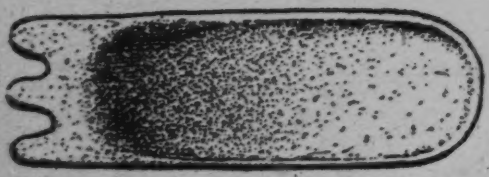
Bribri

these mortars have double ends and a slender, central shaft, four to six feet in length. 412

FIG. 8.—Long mortar of wood.

a



b

FIG. 9.—Metate (side and top views). (Length, 18 in.)

Metates and Manos.—At the present time the metate is simply a flat-topped river bowlder, generally of several hundredweight,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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412 shaped only by use. Cacao and maize are
[252] ground upon the surface of the metate with a muller or mano, which is another, though smaller, natural waterworn bowlder.

On abandoned sites near Teliri river some crude three-legged stone metates were found (figs. 9, *a*, *b*, drawn from fragments), pecked from hard scoria. These are inferior to the beautiful "tiger" metates of Las
[179] Mercedes; nevertheless, some of the Bribri believe that these fine metates were used by their ancestors. The Mercedes and Anita Grande sites also yielded some of the plain, three-legged metates, as well as those of the more ornate variety.

411 *Digging Stick or Warclub.*—Pl. XVII, *a*,
412 represents a digging stick of narrow, paddle shape, made of "cacique" wood. While the natives said that this specimen was once used as an agricultural implement, some of them also declared that it had been employed as a warclub. They referred to the stick as a "macana," in which is recognized an implement equivalent to the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*, a warclub in which blades or spikes of obsidian were embedded.

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DISH MADE OF A PLATANILLO LEAF

[facing p. 71]

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The late Theodoor de Booy once called the writer's attention to the fact that in certain of the West India islands planting dibbles were used as warclubs, and according to Fewkes, while every warclub among the Porto Rico Indians was not a dibble, every dibble was a warclub.[11] Our specimen bears upon its broad end the striation caused by contact with the earth, and on its side hacks and scars of sidewise blows as though it had seen use as a quarter staff. The handle shows a figure which seems to be a property mark.

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Gabb[12] says:

"In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting sticks. It is very heavy, and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an 'over-blow,' always holding by both hands . . . . During the wars between the Bri-bris and Tiri-bis at the beginning of this century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir."

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Clothing.—Many of the Bribri state that formerly their garments were made of beaten bark cloth, resembling the blankets which they still use for bedding, but thinner, and decorated with painted designs. These have now passed out of use, and except for blanket skirts (pl. XVIII, *b*) woven of cotton, with plain band designs in native blue dye, the Indians have adopted the cloth of civilization, roughly made into garments approximating those of their white neighbors. Regarding their dress, Gabb[13] says:

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"Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization approaches. Formerly, the dress of the men consisted only of a breech cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with a roughened stick [pl. XIX, *c*] over a log. This loosens the fiber, and renders it soft and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is washed out. After drying it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then falls over in front for about a foot long, like

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[532]

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Planting dibble and war club, length 5'; *b*, Cacique stick, length 4' 7"; *c*, Blowgun, length 6' 10"; *d*, Bow, length 4' 10'

[Facing page 73]

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an apron. When cotton cloth is used, it is simply caught up in front and behind under a cotton belt, with a similar apron in front. Sometimes, for warmth, a shirt of mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly, the hair was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat.

"The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of *mastate*. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less, to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe, and wound round the waist by the midribs. With nothing above or below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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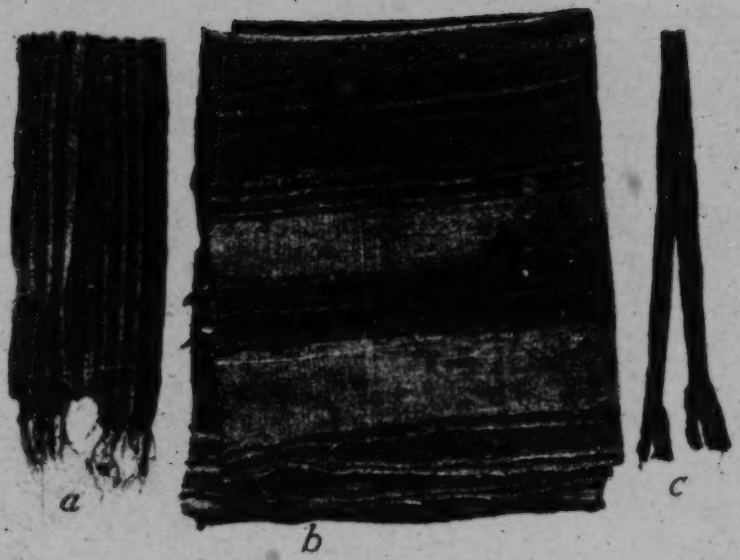
291 the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partly conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty [834] dress, I must do these people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both men and women. . . . .

301 237 "For ornaments all wear necklaces; the favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of 301 them, they wear great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman. . . . . Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. . . . . On one occasion, I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days, I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are some-



WOVEN FABRICS
(*a*, Belt; *b*, Blanket; *c* Headband)

[facing p. 75]

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times, though rarely, used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [321] [534]

"The men sometimes wear headdresses made of feathers. The most prized are the white down feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made of chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one headdress made from the hair of the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place." 237 301

Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

286 *Weaving.*—Two women's blanket skirts of woven cotton were obtained after considerable search, one of which is shown in pl. XVIII, *b*. As the manufacture of cotton cloth is now said to be a lost art, we must turn again to Gabb[14] for his observations.

"Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with
248 no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen
[462] all the year round, together on every tree. The women collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it. The loom
286 is a simple frame of four sticks; the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow
[462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two or three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a
292 little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the
286 dead and the women's petticoats are wider and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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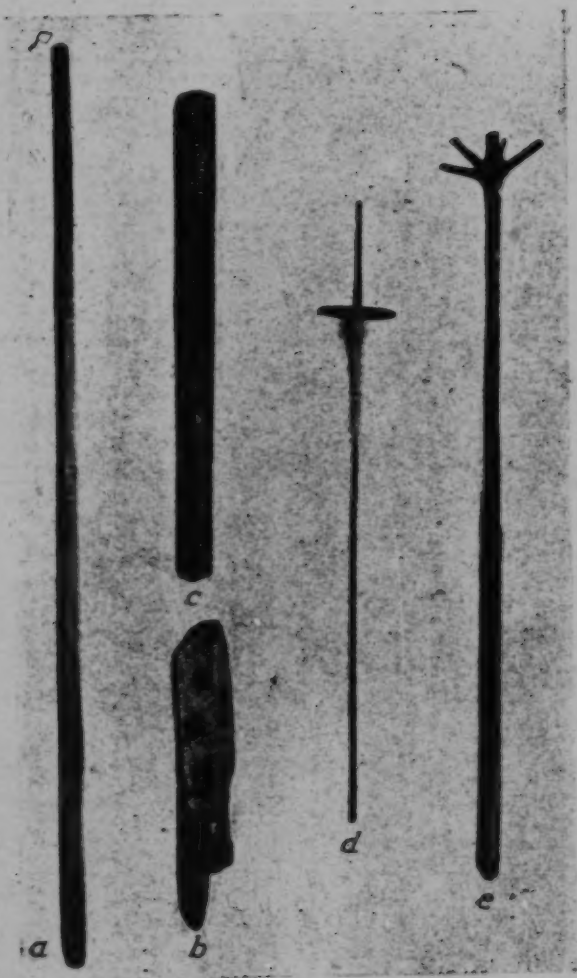

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS
a, Fire-drill; *b*, Hearth; *c*, Bark-beater; *d*, Spindle; *e*, Cacao stirring stick. (Length of *e*, 28 inches)

[facing p. 77]

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a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel." 286 [292] [386] [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri. [531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

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286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

301 237 789 778 *Necklaces.*—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

301 Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

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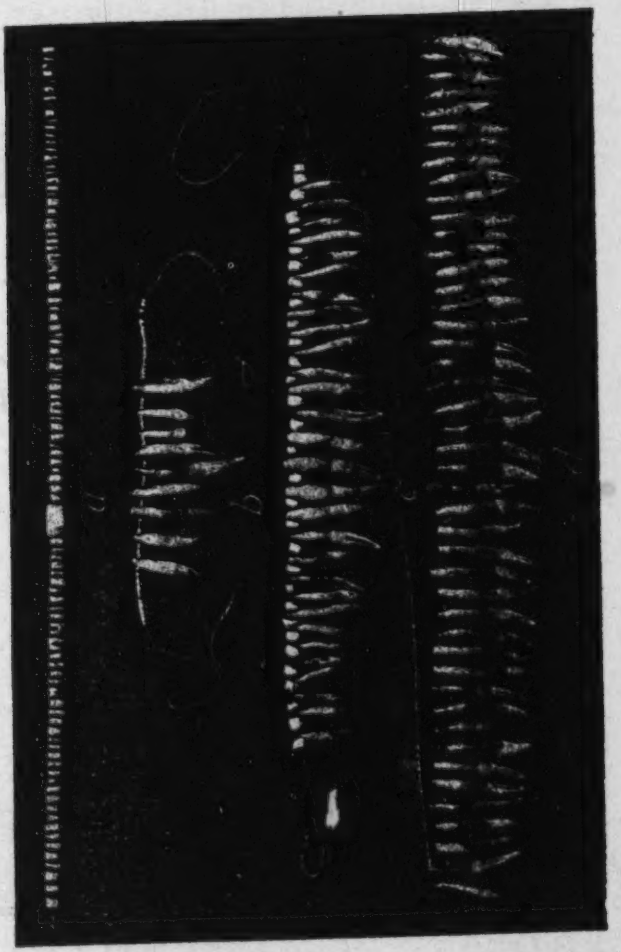
PL. XX



NECKLACES

SKINNER—BRIBRI

facing p. 79

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ground down to form discs. The boring of the teeth in this necklace is also of interest, as the holes are rimmed in from both sides, in an old aboriginal style. The small teeth at the end may be those of monkeys. Pl. xx, *b*, is an amulet of jaguar and other teeth strung with small, white-glass trade beads. 301 [321]

Several children's necklaces of monkey and raccoon teeth were observed, but the writer was not able to obtain any.

Pl. xx, *a*, represents an interesting necklace, composed of shell disc beads ground from a species of conus, and with a single heavy bead as a central piece. Beads of this heavy cylindrical type are valued highly by the Bribri. Ramón exhibited several of them, each of which he valued at the price of a cow, and one massive pink-and-white cylindrical pendant which he valued at two cows. The beads were costly, he said, because they required so much labor to manufacture and the material is not easily acquired. Ramón declared that such beads were the insignia of chiefs, and were more valued by the Indians than the 301 435 [321]

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301 [435] golden eagles formerly common among them, the latter being much easier to make.

Headdress.—Pl. XXI represents a man's headdress made of the tail-down of an eagle, as described by Gabb. The pure white, fluffy feathers are attached in clusters to a woven cotton head-band of white with red stripes.

Pl. XXII shows another warrior's head-gear, the foundation of which is trade cloth, upon which, in front, are gummed alternate [237] rows of blue and red feathers, with a crest of yellow.

Pl. XXIII, *a*, illustrates an old head-band consisting of a canvas fillet on which are mounted half a dozen long, draggled feathers of the red macaw.

While the Bribri wear no nose or cheek plugs, they say that this custom is still in vogue among some of the neighboring tribes. These ornaments are said to be made of tapir bone, and are three or four inches long, slender and cylindrical. When [727] taken by the Bribri from a slain enemy, they are highly valued as war trophies.

000 *Bark and Fiber Articles.*—Besides the

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PL. XXI

MAN'S HEADDRESS

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 81]

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Bark and Fiber Articles.—Besides the blankets of beaten bark used for beds and as wrappings for the bones of the dead, the Bribri have burden straps of the same material. These are merely plain bands of tapa. The Indians say the bark is stripped from the trees in sheets, then pounded on a log with a wooden bark-beater. 287

Twisted fiber string and ropes, from several native substances, including agave, are made in varying degrees of fineness. These are used for every purpose, from bag and hammock weaving to tying house-posts and fastening drum-heads, and as cord for their suspension. 283

Weapons.—Besides the digging-stick war-clubs above described, the Bribri declare that in their former wars they used lances, those remembered being about six feet long, of hardwood tipped with iron. Gabb reports obtaining one of these, and also a small, round shield of tapir hide—another obsolete article. 411

Pl. XVII, *d*, represents a bow, 4 ft. 10 in. in length, and, as usual, furnished with a fiber string. The arrows are compound, having a reed shaft and a hardwood fore-

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FIG. 10.—Bird arrow.

shaft, which in many cases is merely pointed but not barbed. The foreshaft is about the same length as the main shaft, and the two parts are bound together at their junction with twine of cotton or other fiber and gummed over at three places to prevent splitting. The butt, which has no nock, is also bound with twine.

Pl. XXIV, *d*, illustrates an arrow with a metal point, used in killing deer and other large game. The foreshaft is quadrangular in cross-section. Blunt bird-arrows are shown in pl. XXIV, *e*, and in fig. 10, but the latter has a short knob on the end.

Fig. *c* of the same plate represents a type of war arrow used in former times. The head is of pilam wood, multibarbed, and triangular in cross-section. Wounds from these, especially if in the abdomen, were much

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MAN'S HEADDRESS MADE OF ROWS OF FEATHERS ALTERNATING IN COLORS

[facing p. 83]

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Bribri

dreaded, since the Indians say they could not withdraw the arrow without pulling out the victim's intestines on the barbs. 411

Pl. XXIV, *b*, shows an arrow resembling the preceding, except that the foreshaft is round in cross-section and is barbed only on one side. It is a form used in fishing. 227 411

Pl. XXIV, *a*, is also a fish arrow, for taking small species. It has a foreshaft of cane split into four prongs, which open on contact with the water and spread out to encompass the fish. Pl. XXVIII represents a party of Bribri men in semi-costume ready to shoot fish.

Blowguns.—While not nearly so common among the Bribri as bows and arrows, blowguns are still to be seen in many houses. These weapons are made by removing the core of some pithy stalk about 6 feet long. The bore is rather large, and through it are shot clay pellets (pl. XXV, *a*) instead of darts. The outer surface of the weapon is covered with a heavy black gum, the same as that used on the arrows, but thickly applied. On all complete blowguns two shell beads are set parallel, close together, 411

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411 about six inches from the muzzle, the end farthest from the user. These are sights, explained by the Indians as "eyes, so that the gun can see where to shoot" (pl. XVII, *c*). Of course these blowguns are suitable only for securing small game.

As an accessory to the blowgun, the Bribri carry small bags intended to hold the earthen pellets used as ammunition. Pl. IX [415] shows one of these bags, which has two compartments, one for the pellets, the other for game. Attached to it is a bone gauge, used [413] to reduce the pellets to the proper caliber for use. Pl. X exhibits another small, narrow, but deep bag for blowgun pellets.

[413] Gabb speaks of a small, straight, heavy piece of bone carried by the hunters and used to drive obstructions out of the tube by its own weight, in case of stoppage. None of these were seen by the writer.

In making blowgun pellets, special clay is obtained. That seen in use among the Bribri was gray, but some balls in the possession of a Cabecar hunter were made of red earth. The clay is brought to camp and dried, then ground fine on a stone mortar,

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HEADDRESS OF MACAW-FEATHERS AND FIRE-FAN OF HAWK-FEATHERS

[facing p. 85]

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when it is moistened and made into a large ball, which is dried and put away in some secure place, such as the granary platform or a corner under the eaves, until required. When needed, a portion is pared off with a machete on a platanillo leaf, a little water is added from a calabash, and the pellets are worked up from the damp clay with the fingers and gauged with a bone cylinder. The pellets are then sun-dried, but not baked. It was observed that the hunter usually carries a few balls in his mouth, ready for use, and these are expelled through the tube from the tip of the tongue. 411

Fire-making.—In some of the more remote Bribri camps, matches were unknown, the method of making fire being by means of a wooden hand drill (pl. XIX, *a*, *b*). The entire apparatus consists of a shaft (*a*) about three feet long, and a wooden hearth (*b*) which contains pits to receive the head of the drill. In use, the hearth is held under the foot, the Indian standing upright and twirling the drill between his palms. A bit of cotton in a plantain leaf is kept ready beside the hearth to catch the spark when 372

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Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

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Bribri

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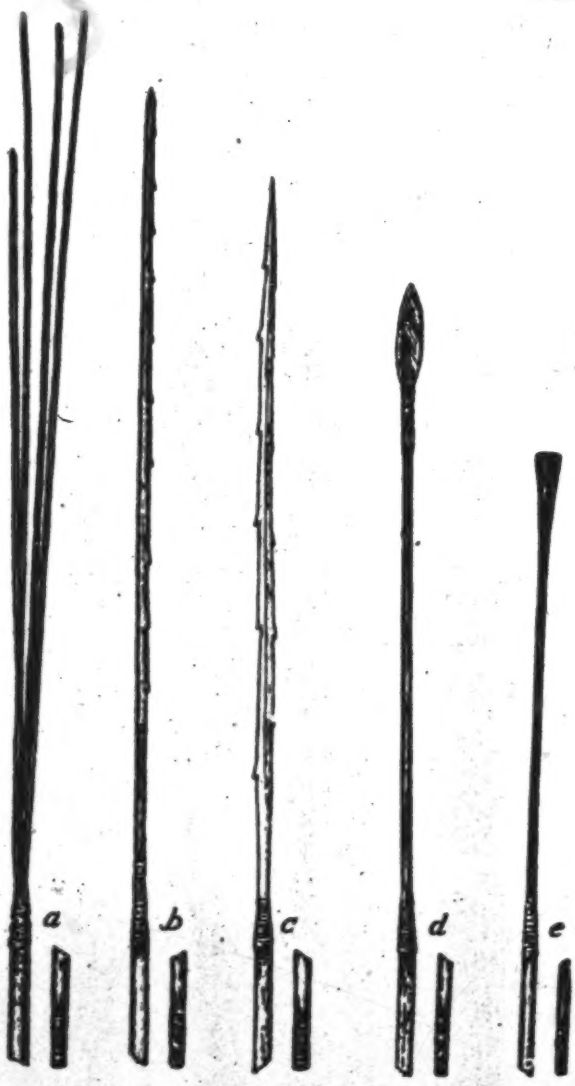

TYPES OF BRIBRI ARROWS

a, For small fish, length 6′ 1″; *b*, Typical fish arrow, length 5′ 7½″; *c*, War arrow, length 4′ 11½″; *d*, Large game arrow with metal point, length 5′ 1″; *e*, Small game arrow with blunt head, length 4′ 5″.

[Facing page 87]

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ment is three feet or less in length, and five or six inches in diameter at the head, narrowing toward the base (pl. XXVI), being constricted about six or seven inches from the bottom, then flaring slightly. Drums are hewn from a solid piece of wood, and fitted with a tight head of iguana-skin, which is shrunken over the large end and held in place with fiber cord glued on with dried blood. The drums are also furnished with a fiber rope for suspension. 534

At a *Chichara* festival one Indian was seen standing with a drum under his left arm and its carrying strap over his left shoulder, slapping the head of the drum with the open right palm. Beside him stood another Indian with his right arm about the drummer's shoulders. They danced with a skipping sidewise step, the drummer beating his instrument while the other thumped his chest in unison with the left hand. [482] [535]

This goblet-like form of drum is antique, as there is a specimen made of pottery, from an ancient grave, in the National Museum at San José. Unfinished drums of a shorter, double-headed, barrel-shaped vari- [172]

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534 ety were seen about the Bribri lodges. Pl. XXVII represents a specimen of this type, kindly presented to the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, by Mrs Minor C. Keith.

Rattles (pl. XXV, *c*) are made of small, egg-shaped calabashes, carefully scraped to make them symmetrical, hollowed out, and canna seeds placed in the cavity. The gourd has several perforations drilled in one end, through which is passed twisted fiber cord by which it is attached to a handle made of a bird-bone. In this respect Bribri rattles differ from North American Indian [171] forms, in which the handle invariably passes through the gourd.

A notched stick was obtained, which seems to be identical with the ordinary Bribri bark-beater, but, according to Ramón it was rasped with a stick as an accompaniment, in addition to other musical instruments. The marimba is not found among the Bribri.

Gabb[15] says:

"To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is

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PL. XXV

BLOWGUN PELLETS OF CLAY; LEATHER POUCH; SHAMAN'S CALABASH RATTLE
(Length of the rattle, 7½ inches)

[facing p. 89]

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Bribri

sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribi made of a deer's bone. 534

"On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it."

Cacique Sticks.—These are long, cane-like staves, made of a dark, hard, heavy, reddish-brown wood called "cacique". As a rule they are entirely plain, but pl. XVII, *b*, exhibits an example of a type, now said to be obsolete, that has the figure of a man rudely carved on the handle. These canes are highly regarded, because of certain 293 [532] [757]

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293 757 astringent properties said to be contained in the wood, and they are sometimes scraped and the scrapings drunk with water as a curative. It is supposed to stop bleeding, and is also valued for intestinal ailments. [622] Formerly they may have been the property only of the headmen.

293 A stick once owned by Ramón's father, the old "king," was in the custody of Señor Alejo Jimenez, governor of Talamanca, who lives at Saporio. It was taken by the Bribri from a neighboring tribe, probably the Tiribi, in war, many years ago, and the Indians are very anxious lest it should pass out of their hands, since they say, "it cost us blood." This staff was seen by Gabb,[16] who states:

> "It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. The top is carved in the shape [532] of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carv-

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[534]

DRUM WITH HEAD OF IGUANA-SKIN
(Height, 24 inches)

[Facing p. 92]

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Bribri

ing, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it." 293

The stick, which was seen by the writer, is still unobtainable.

Gold Ornaments.—Pendants of gold were formerly worn as chiefs' insignia, and, it is said, were also given to successful partisans in the Tiribi war. They are now nearly a thing of the past, as the whites have long eagerly sought and purchased them. These ornaments were made in the form of eagles (sometimes double-headed), alligators, and frogs, and were worn as breast-plates or gorgets. They no doubt were entirely similar to the antique forms from the graves at Las Mercedes. Señor Ricardo Fernandez Guardia[17] reproduces a photograph of Antonio Saldaña, father of Ramón and last "king" of the Bribri, with several large gold eagles round his neck. These eagles are also noted by Gabb.[18] 301 [622]

As the Bribri believe that death will overtake the Indian owner who sells one of these gold ornaments, it may be that there are really more of them in existence than the 784 [763]

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784 natives will admit. This penalty may be avoided, however, by calling in the services of the nearest shaman, who removes the taboo, or *búkuru*, by blowing upon the object and singing certain songs to the accompaniment of his medicine rattle. The following day it may be handled and disposed of with impunity.

226 *Fish Traps.*—Fish are taken by blocking small tributaries of a river and stranding them, by shooting with arrows or catching them in traps. Unfortunately none of these processes was observed, but pl. XXIX reproduces a photograph of a tributary of Coen river across which a temporary dam had been made to divert the course of the stream and leave the fish high and dry.

481 At this point we may mention the Bribri method of crossing swollen streams by means of the ingenious device of weighting themselves with heavy stones borne on the shoulders (pl. XXX). The writer did not have the good fortune to witness this performance, but we are enabled to introduce the accompanying illustration through the

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Bribri

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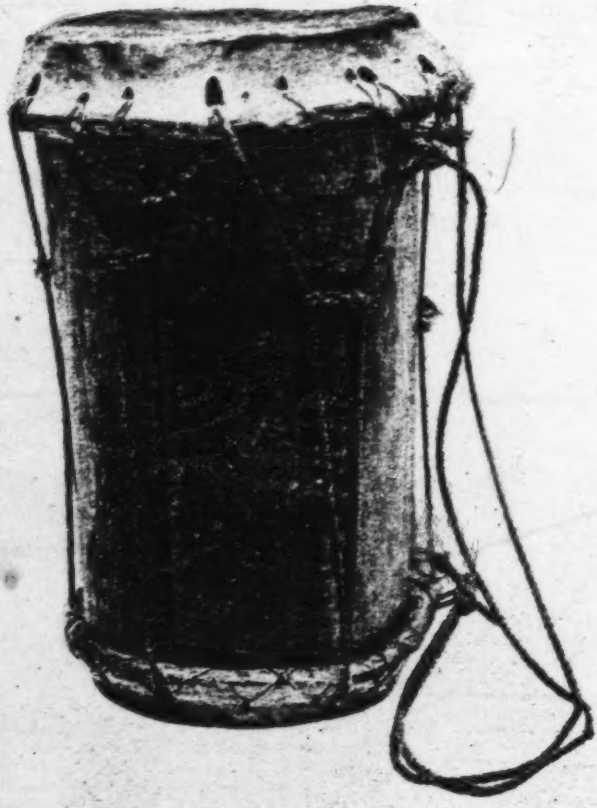

DRUM WITH DOUBLE HEAD
(Height, 20 inches)

[facing p. 93]

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Bribri

courtesy of Professor Saville, from whose collection of prints it came. 481

Food.—Plantains are extensively used, and, eaten boiled, seem to form the staple diet of the Bribri. Bananas are also extensively eaten. According to Gabb,[19] the Indians roast green plantains as a substitute for bread, but when ripe they are roasted and eaten with chocolate, in order to sweeten the latter. They are also boiled green to eat with meat or corn. Ripe plantains are boiled, mashed, and mixed with equal quantities of corn-meal paste for cakes or chicha; sometimes this paste is diluted with water and made into a gruel. 262 252

Corn in a variety of colors is cultivated—red, white, blue, yellow, black, and purple. It is eaten when fresh, boiled in the ear; but it is generally dried, hulled, and ground to flour on a stone metate with a mano, or, as Gabb relates, on a flat slab from one of the buttresses of a ceiba tree, dressed smooth. The dry corn is soaked over night to soften it; it is then spread on the metate and crushed with the convex stone muller, which is rocked over it. The paste is then boiled,

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252 262 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe, plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate, 415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

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PL. XXVIII

BRIBRI MEN FISHING

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 95]

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Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *c*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

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Bribri

763 it must be burnt to destroy the influence of evil spirits, and the place must be abandoned. After the death, a certain officer
764 called the *oko* is called in, he being the only
[767] person who can handle the dead without being defiled. The *oko* wraps the corpse in bark blankets and plantain leaves, and places with it the hammock in which the deceased breathed his last, as well as any other household objects associated with him at death. The *oko* then removes the body to a small platform in the woods, surrounded by a fence built to keep out animals, and roofed with thatch. Some of the natives also declared that this scaffold is densely covered with thorny vines, trained to grow over it. In this temporary tomb the body remains for five years, when it is removed to the communal house of the dead.

Quenching the Fire.—Nine days after the death, a ceremony called *Apagando el fuego*, or "Quenching the Fire," is held, which lasts only one night. The women of the family prepare chicha, cacao, and other materials for a feast, and the *tsûku*,

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FISH-WEIR ON COEN RIVER

[facing p. 97]

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Bribri

764

or "doctor," who "owns" the ritual for this rite, is summoned. When the *tsûku* appears, he sings certain secret songs, accompanied by the calabash rattle, without the aid of an assistant. He next makes a ceremonial fire, lighting it by means of a fire-drill rolled between the palms of his hands. The *tsûku* then scrapes some powder from a "caçique" stick and puts a pinch on various utensils which had belonged to the deceased and which are still in the house. At each application of powder he sings and shakes his rattle. Later he puts some of the powdered *caçique* in a package and places it on a wooden stool before him, while he sits on another seat and chants. When this rite is finished, the *tsûku* gets some water in plantain leaves and pours it on the fire, ending the ceremony. After this, say the Indians, the relatives of the dead "have no fear of the fire."

Bone Dance.—A ceremony called *Baile de los Huesos*, or "Bone Dance," is held five years after the corpse is put away on the little scaffold in the jungle, when the flesh is completely gone. The ceremony

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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764 lasts from fifteen to twenty-two days. The family of the deceased spend all they can on the feast. Chicha and cacao are prepared in large quantities, and animals are killed. The *oko* who "owns" this function is sent for, and the *tsúku* is hired to sing, accompanied by two attendants. All three of these latter bear rattles, while various others, the number of whom is not specified, beat drums. All day long the *tsúku* and his attendants make music while the guests and mourners feast. On the last day all the guests leave, and the *oko* and the mourners remove the skeleton from its temporary grave in the woods and wrap it in a bark blanket. The bundle is carried out into the woods a short distance from the camp, where a private ceremony is held, of which details could not be gathered. After this rite the bones are taken to the dead-house, situated far off in the mountains.

346 764 This dead-house is made of a durable wood called *madera del campo santo*, "cemetery wood," which, even in the tropical jungles, is well-nigh imperishable. This

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PL. XXX

BRIBRI METHOD OF CROSSING A STREAM

SKINNER—BRIBRI

facing p. 99

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Bribri

house, according to the informants, is divided into four rooms, each reserved for one of the four geographical groups of the Bribri, residing on the Lari, Tiliri, Uren, and Coen rivers—four upper tributaries of the Sixaola. The roof of the charnel house is not thatched; but it was not certain, from the description of the natives, whether it was otherwise roofed. What they said was that it is completely made of *madera del campo santo*, which may mean that the house has a puncheon roof. The bones of the dead are stored in the room appropriate to their local band, and with them are placed bows, arrows, and various utensils. 346 764

Gabb,[30] who was able to witness the Bribri mortuary ceremonies personally, gives an excellent account, not differing materially from the data furnished by the writer's informants. He states that the funeral fire was kept burning for nine days, and during that time it could not be used for any purpose. At the end of the allotted period only the *tsûku* could extinguish it, and then with a calabash of chocolate. Gabb adds that instead of sacrificing the 764

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

764 actual implements of the deceased, cacique-wood powder was placed on crude models of his property, including his golden eagle, and these were wrapped up in cotton wool and placed with the body, to symbolize his earthly possessions. The body was then enshrouded in a bark blanket and the dead man's hammock, and the whole enveloped in platanillo leaves, swung under a pole, and carried out to a previously prepared scaffold in the jungle.

The next of kin then commenced gathering material for the bone feast, and a year or less (not five years, as said by my informants) thereafter the ceremony was held. An official called *bikakra* took charge of the feast, and a party was sent to collect the bones. Here a specially appointed person, who was apparently absolved from the taint of touching the dead, opened the bundle, cleaned and rearranged the bones, and rewrapped them in a cloth of native make and decorated in an allegorical manner.

"These cloths," says Gabb, "about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a

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MASK AND DANCE DRESS COLLECTED BY W. M. GABB
(Courtesy of the U. S. National Museum)

[pacing p. 10]

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Bribri

red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite." 764

The bones were kept in the house on a rack of cane during the ceremony for two weeks or more. The final rites consisted of a ritualistic chant, by the shaman, describing the journey of the deceased to the other world, the dangerous rivers he had to cross, beset by alligators, by great serpents which lay in his path, and by fearful precipices. But the journey was not to be altogether dreadful, for beautiful birds, butterflies, and flowers were to be encountered, the song closing with a description of final arrival of the departed and reception in the Hereafter, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself in the realm of the god *Sibú*. 764 775

The fire was then extinguished, and the skeleton ceremonially conducted to its final resting place, amid a partial destruction of the property of the deceased, after which the bones were taken to the death house. 764

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

766 "The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribris were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with 'old man's beard moss,' sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a 'tree calabash,' properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy cf this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian Museum [pl. xxx]. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, 'to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm.' "

784 *Tabu.*—On going into Bribri houses we frequently were earnestly warned by the Indians not to handle certain objects, as they were *bukurû* or tabu. On inquiry it was learned that it was customary for an Indian who wished to leave home to pronounce certain charms over his valuables, which then became *bukurû*, or tabu, not only to others but to himself, until a shaman was summoned to remove the spell by blowing upon them and singing to the time of his

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

sacred rattle. Thus we were sometimes obliged to wait several days until the tabu was removed before we could buy various objects. This removal, of course, required that the shaman be paid a fee, sometimes equaling or exceeding the price we paid for the object. We were also given to understand that some forms of *bukurú* were limited as to time, and expired automatically at the end of a fixed number of days after the charm was pronounced, without the aid of the shaman. Several times, blowguns which had their orifices stuffed with feathers or down were observed, apparently to indicate that they were tabu. Small objects were also placed in hollow bamboo tubes and the ends closed with feathers in order to safeguard them.

Gabb[21] seems to have gathered a somewhat different idea, for he says:

"There are two classes of uncleanness, *nya* and *bu-ku-ru'*. Anything that is essentially filthy or that was connected with the death of a person is '*nya*,' anything unclean in the Hebraic or Hindu sense is *bu-ku-ru'* . . . . *Bu-ku-ru'* emanates in a variety of ways; arms, utensils, even houses become affected by it after long

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Bribri

783 disuse and before they can be used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a long time, the custom is to beat them with a stick before touching them . . . . A house long unused must be swept and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short, every accessible part of the interior. The next day, it is fit for occupation. A place not visited for a long time or reached for the first time is *bu-ku-ru'* . . . .
843 But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young
783 woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally
783 filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

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Bribri

"Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the 'doctor' blows a few whiffs of tobacco smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete." 783

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Boruca

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PAPERS
OF THE
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VOL. XXXI, NO. 1

THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

BY
DORIS Z. STONE

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1949

[Title page]

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THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

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Boruca

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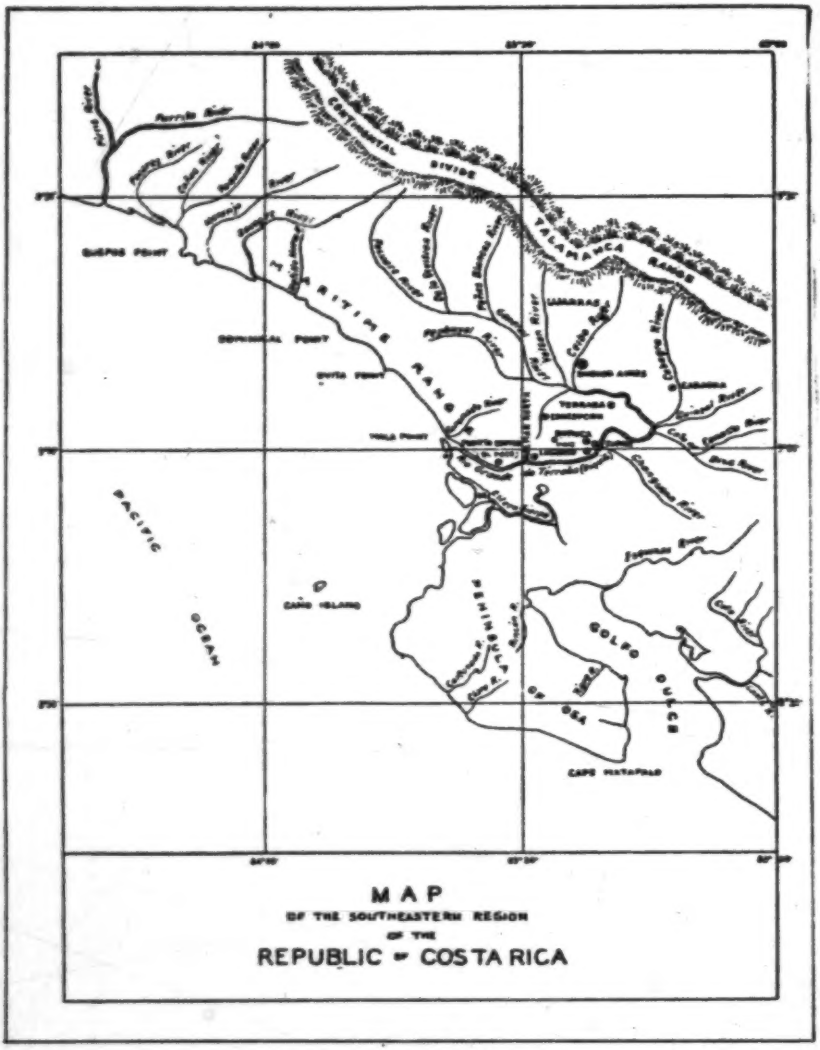

FIG. 1. Map of the southeastern region of the Republic of Costa Rica.

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Boruca

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Boruca

FOREWORD

121 THE following paper on the present-day *Boruca* Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not a complete ethnological study. In fact, it might well be termed an "introductory paper" on these people. It is the result of four short visits into Boruca territory. The first trip was made with the idea of becoming acquainted with these people, and the remaining three visits were made to study the conditions under which the greater portion of autochthonous Costa Ricans exist today. The purpose in mind was to understand the new problems created by the first steps in constructing the Pan-American Highway. The
177 line of the proposed highway goes between
648 *Térraba* and *Cabécar* Indian country, and indirectly affects the *Bribri* and the *Boruca*. With its start, came the flood of opportunists to claim lands that are actually occupied by
[191] indigenous groups, many of whom do not even speak the national tongue, Spanish.

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FOREWORD

648 As a result of these field trips, the Costa Rican Government set up, on December 6, 1945, a *Junta* or Committee to form a long-term educational program and to demarcate various aboriginal zones to be used as reservations.

177 114 Little or nothing has been written about the *Boruca*, who are by far the most Europeanized of the southern Costa Rican tribes, and who, because of this, are fast losing their aboriginal characteristics. The report which follows is 121 a series of facts concerning the life of the actual *Boruca* Indians; facts which, in a few years, may be obsolete or unknown. For this reason, they are offered here as part of the record of our knowledge of man's cultural changes, and, as stated before, do not pretend to represent a thorough ethnological study.

DORIS STONE

San José, Costa Rica, 1946

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THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

[p. 1]

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GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. *Diquis* is the older
103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Río Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-
[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east.
162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five
361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory
175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 81, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 428.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca*.[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[12] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–23. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

[p. 4-A]

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k·a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[8] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

[p. 4-B]

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466
[132] meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had
[346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
[245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming. The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] *A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 48
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE *ACTIVITIES*

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence is nearly always made with living posts, 417

[p. 5-B]

417 usually from the *poro-poro* tree [18] (*Cochlospermum hibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco*
[224] *de fuego*, or *brutʃ-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced.
241 One of the *mazzanat* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *ünbah*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

243 The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black [18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[18] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The primary clearing of the forest to make the
[462] field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.

412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ʃjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *ɔskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *paweel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca*
[415] is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural
[412] boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 When food is not taken by hand from the
415 vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 One of the most important elements of food
[263 of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca*
484] make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [154] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kj̃-kɔg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maíz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

252 palms are boiled and fried. Another generally liked food is the tender leaf of the bean vine. This is prepared either with eggs or in soup.

Meat, fowl, and fish are frequently wrapped in the leaves of the *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen). Another *Calathea* known as "black *bijagua*" is used interchangeably with the first kind. The food wrapped in the leaves is roasted on the hearth stones. There are various ways, however, of preparing different meats. Armadillo is often boiled or fried. Domestic and wild pig and venison are placed on top of three or four sticks over the hearth stones and roasted. Sometimes the flesh of these animals [251] is sun-dried and salted, or is smoked for preservation. Beef is almost never eaten, as the cattle the *Boruca* possess are not numerous and are in the hands of a very few; besides, since they are used for traction, they are economically too important to eat (see p. 23). Posole is a common dish and is made of dried meat, usually wild pig. The meat is chopped fine and cooked with corn. The combination is then ground. If this is boiled every night it keeps for many days.

Shell fish is boiled, but fish, other than shell fish, is seldom eaten fresh. When it is, however, it is put into a soup, or roasted in leaves, or fried. As a rule the fish is cut into three [251] pieces and salted to be eaten when needed. If salt is not available, the fish is smoked and saved. Smoked fish is said to be excellent for [757] diarrhea.

372 **Fire-making.** The majority of the *Boruca* use matches, although a few of the older people occasionally use two sticks to start a fire. This is accomplished by taking a stick of pejibaye and rubbing it around and around in a small hole in a stick of *guácimo* (*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.), until sparks set the *guácimo* on fire. Some of the elders still talk of the stones which were formerly rubbed together to start fire, using a piece of cotton as a wick. These are not seen today.

In the bush, or in the fields, fire, which is all important among the *Boruca* for clearing purposes, is kept in an old tree trunk from day to day. This is done by throwing ashes over and around the fire to keep the embers hot and alive, much as is done in New England fireplaces at present.

251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *habas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 20), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

FIG. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily.

[832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *rwistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

273 a rule on the wall outside of the house, but sometimes inside the house, for three days (see fig. 5, *b*). It is then taken out and rewrapped in the same leaf but this time using the outer side of the leaf on the inside, and left for three more days hanging on the outside wall. If a yellow mold appears, it is still used, but not considered as good as without the mold. At the end of the three days, it is unwrapped again and left in the sun until it is thoroughly dried, when it is considered suitable to use as yeast in the chicha. When green plantains are used, the *Boruca* prefer to dry them on stones by the river instead of in the customary manner on hides by the houses. When dry, the plantains are ground and added to the corn to ferment. This also is considered *mohoso*, *monsera*, or yeast. When pejibaye, ñampí, yuca, or ripe plantains are used, they are cooked and then ground before being added to the corn.

The next step is to crack more corn, grind it, and let it soak overnight. It is then cooked until it starts to boil, when it is removed from the fire and mashed with a wooden masher (see fig. 2). Sufficient water is mixed with the corn to keep it from being either too hard or too soft. The grain is then mixed with the yeast. This concoction is left anywhere from six to fifteen days in *habas* lined with leaves. These *habas* are generally kept on the *tabancos*. At the end of the allotted time, the *haba* is taken to the river, and its contents emptied into gourds. Water is added to the paste which is pounded until it becomes soft. The chicha is usually kept in large earthenware jars, called *dʒe-bwĩ-griŋ'*, in a corner of the house, and [251] covered with leaves or a cloth to keep for further use.

The corn for *twistʃa'* is made from corn that is left to sprout in water. When it has sprouted, it is ground on the *tumbas*, or grinding stones, and then cooked in a pot, after which it is left in wooden trays, called by the Spanish name *bateas*, to cool. When cooled, the corn is chewed by the women and the residue is spit into a clay vessel. Here it is mixed with water and brown sugar is added. It is then strained, put into a vessel, and left to ferment. The fermentation often takes place over night.

[p. 10-B]

276 **Narcotics.** Tobacco is used extensively by both the men and the women. It is chewed mostly by the men, but also by the women. All people, including the children, smoke cigarettes, and both sexes use wooden pipes.

When hungry and no food is available, or

[Continued on p. 11-B, first paragraph]

HOUSES

342 Houses are built straight from the ground, without any attempt at a foundation, the floor being of earth. Occasionally, a shallow ditch is dug around the whole as a drain, and sometimes a low base of earth is built up and kept in place by wooden poles laid horizontally and supported by short vertical poles (see fig. 5, *c*), or by several wooden planks. Houses like this have earthen steps as an entrance. The majority of the structures, however, have a single pole at the very base serving as a finish between the house and the ground, and, in a measure, as a protection against water seepage from the outside (see fig. 5, *b*). None have porches.

In the lower, warmer areas, such as Curré and Lagarto, the houses frequently have a row of stones around their base, and even a protruding terrace of stones at the front (see fig. 5, *d*). This offers better protection in wet weather, as these sites are low and subject to backwashes from the river when rains and floods are heavy.

342 824 The shape of Boruca houses is square or rectangular. They are made of wooden poles with grass roofs. The wood used is *palo de mayo* (May tree) or the María tree, *palo María* (*Calophyllum brasiliense* Camb. var. *Rekoi* Standl.). There are two kinds of *palo de mayo.* One kind has white wood and is identified scientifically as *Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague, while the other, which is preferred and has a pinkish tinge is probably *Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.? The *palo María* also has a pinkish wood, and is used only when the tree is very small. On the coast, the wood of the *huiscoyol* palm (*Bactris minor* Jacq.) is used for roof rafters when available. It is not used in Boruca, as this palm does not grow there.

342 **House Construction.** The poles which are the thickest are placed vertically at the corners, by the doors, and at intervals along the

[Continued p. 11-B, second paragraph]

= *Cydista pubescens* Blake, according to Dr. R. J. Seibert, Turrialba, Costa Rica.

when working and extra strength is needed, 276
the Indians chew a root from a plant called *cordoncillo* in Spanish. It is a member of the *Piper* family, and has various uses among these Indians (see pp. 20, 21, 27).

HOUSES

walls to serve as supports. The intervening 342
space is filled in by not so thick poles placed very close together, either vertically as in figures 5, *c*, *d* and 4, *c*, or horizontally as in figure 9, *c*. When they are placed horizontally, they are woven in and out of the supporting vertical poles which, of necessity, are more numerous in this type of construction. When the wall poles are vertical, thicker poles are placed horizontally in a single line on the outside at the bottom, the center, and the top, acting as a supporting band to hold the wall in shape. These bands are bound to the other poles with fiber ropes.

There are three kinds of fiber used in house 342
construction. The most popular, and practi- 283
cally the only kind found in Boruca houses, is that known as the *bejuco de fierro* or *negro*. This is a thick vine growing in the forest (perhaps *Anthurium scandens* [Aubl.] Engler).[21*] Its leaves resemble those of the bean known as *haba blanca*. From this vine, as many as eight cords are obtained, depending, of course, on the width desired. Another fiber used is called *bejuco de hombre* and is known also as *andariel*. This is really an aerial root and is found in house construction on the coast, around Palmar Norte, where the *bejuco negro* is not obtainable. The third type of fiber is made from the bark of a tree called *capulin blanco* (*Muntingia Calabura* L.). Sometimes both horizontal and vertical wall construction are found on the same house (see fig. 6, *a*). Windows are rare, 342
but when present, the framework is always made of the thicker poles. The window shutter, however, is of planks and the hinges bought at *ladino* stores. Doors also have a framework of poles. The doors themselves are made of the small vertical poles following the vertical construction of the walls and are tied with vines, no hinges being used. Frequently, the walls have a rough coating of *bajareque* both inside and out. *Bajareque* is a mixture of cow dung and mud. Strangely enough, the

342 *bajareque* is never put on the walls neatly, but is always splotchy, giving the impression of a quick hasty job. The houses of the *Boruca* who live in the lowlands, e.g., in Curré and Lagarto, by the banks of the Diquis or Térraba River as a rule do not have *bajareque* because of the heat. When it is employed, it is only to cover the side where the prevailing winds touch.

The outstanding feature of Boruca houses is the roof which, except for a few houses generally in the lowlands, is made of grass. The few exceptions have roofs of corozo palm leaves or of the *sem* palm. The roofs are made with great care, and last from forty to fifty years.

A pole is tied horizontally to the top of all the vertical supporting poles (see fig. 6, *b*). The wood used is generally *palo de mayo*, or May tree. Other poles are tied vertically to these horizontal poles. These non-supporting vertical poles are then inclined until they converge and cross at the top, where they are fastened to two horizontal thick poles, one under, and one on top of the converged poles (see fig. 6, *b*). Anywhere from two to four pole braces, depending on the size of the house, are inclined from a bottom corner toward an opposite upper corner, usually reaching the center of the roof and not the corner. At intervals, thick poles are tied as horizontal braces to the vertical and converged supports (see fig. 6, *c*).

In between these braces, smaller poles are placed horizontally following the lines of the braces (see fig. 6, *c*, *d*).

342 824 Despite the fact that the savanna is full of various grasses, the Indians take great pains to procure only three special kinds which grow in these savannas, and which are considered essential for a Boruca roof. The first of these grasses is called in the Boruca tongue, *bjak*, and in Spanish, *zacate de sabana*. It resembles *calinguero*, which in other parts of Costa Rica is planted for cattle feed. However, *bjak* does not have an odor. This grass has a little fuzz all over it which makes it in a measure impenetrable to water, and is supposed to keep all drops from entering. The second kind is called in Boruca, *ʃupʃus*, and in Spanish, *zacate de comején*, or "termite grass," as the termite likes to make nests at its roots. This grass is

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. 342 [492 493] They put these rolls on an ox or on their own backs and take them to the building site (see fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanazira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

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291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [23]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

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forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *mastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their
[439] hair, seldom appearing with less than two combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two
302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

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481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The
492 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

[a] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 198.

erally put the braids up, tying them together 302
with ribbons. The hair is kept sleek with cocoa-butter, and the skin is cleared of freckles or blemishes by using a mixture of cocoa-butter (see p. 20) and *tſama*. *Tſama* is sometimes called by the Spanish name *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.).

The men wear the regulation pants and 291
shirt of the *ladino* and some still use the woven belt. In the beginning of this century, the men wore a typical costume, the cloth for which was woven by the men. Lehmann[23] notes that this was characteristic of the *Cotos*, whom, as we have seen, form part of the modern *Boruca*. Weaving was done by some, not all, of the men and women. In particular the older *Coto* men wove for all the other men.[24] The men used a *huipil* without sleeves which took one month to weave and reached below the knees. The stripes were narrower than those of a women's skirt, and they were more like the belts used at present by the men. Beneath this, they wore a loin cloth of *mastate*, and a woven belt which kept the loin-cloth in place. Formerly, the men cut off all their 302
hair except a small portion in the front which stood up like unruly bangs. One old man in 301
1944 used the same sort of decorations which were used years ago, pelts of birds, squirrel tails, and bird egg shells as necklaces.

Most Indians go barefooted, although occa- 291
sionally sandals are seen. These sandals are of hide, usually of wild peccary, with thongs of twisted hide which pass between the first and second toe and between the third and fourth toe, being fastened on the outer side by the ankle.

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to transport essentials on his back (see fig. 492
7, *a*), and never to pull a cart as amongst the *ladinos*. The very few horses of the *Boruca* (see p. 23) are ridden with a halter, and old, worn, second-hand saddles.

By Water. In addition to a mountainous 505
land, the terrain of the *Boruca* and most of their communities border on water. The Diquis River still forms an important highway for these people. Until a few years ago, the

[23] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 50.

505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigana*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

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283 Cordage. The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, *5*, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [454]
or cloth on the back.

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desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ha'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

medium-sized *haba*, the strips are usually 285
around 30 inches long, while the largest are around 50 inches. The base of the *haba* is triangular with the corners and two sides rounded. The third side is kept flat to fit more steadily on a person's back. In making the basket, the strips are placed on the ground and the foot put over as many ends as possible to hold the pieces in place. The opposite ends are left free, and the weaving is done with the fingers (see fig. 9, *a*). The pattern resulting from this is a hexagon (see fig. 7, *b–1*). When the base is completed the strips are doubled upward and interwoven, particularly at the corners, and horizontal strips are added as strengthening bands at the start and finish of every hexagon, the pattern remaining the same as that of the base. At the very top, a horizontal band is overlapped by the main strips and woven into the rim. A wide ribbon of the vine is fastened around the *haba* when used for carrying. This band is suspended from the [482] forehead of a person, and the basket hangs flat on his back (see fig. 8, *a*).

Baskets are also made from the *bejuco negro*, or, preferably, from the vine called *anda-riel* (see p. 11). These baskets are circular with a decided bulge or projection a little above the base. They vary in size from short baskets with handles to very tall ones (see fig. 7, *c*). The strips used for the baskets are cut narrower than those for the *haba*, and may be added to in order to increase the depth of the article. As with the *haba*, the strips are put on the ground at the start. They are crossed, however, in the center, and another strip is then tied to this center portion or base, and is woven in and out of the projecting strips by hand. Adding of strips to make the basket larger is accomplished by weaving a strip well into the basket until an end appears on the other side of the base.

Weaving. The *Boruca* are today the only 286
Indians of Costa Rica who do any weaving, in spite of the fact that they do very little. In 1945, there were only six women in the village of Boruca who wove skirts, *mantas*, and one woman who wove only men's belts. Almost 283
all the women and many of the girls, however, 286
knew how to make thread. A common practice was to make thread and give it to one of 437

* Barrett, 1925, pt. II, pp. 252, 258.

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[437] a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than
283 the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[286] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[139] generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

386 threads, the Indians lamented to the writer that they had forgotten how to make many of the beautiful colors their ancestors knew. In particular, they wanted to know how to obtain a bright blue. As a consequence, the seeds [123] of the broad-leaf indigo were sent them for planting.

The colors still made by the *Boruca* are black, light yellow, pale blue, and purple. Light brown is obtained by using the natural colored cotton, as stated before. Formerly, red was made by boiling the leaves of the sangrilla tree which is called *rus kra'* in Boruca, and is abundant in the neighboring forests. At present, they do not make this dye, as they seem to think it too much trouble. A fast jet black is procured by cooking the bark of a tree called *carbonero* (*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.) in Spanish, and *grisin-kra'* in Boruca, and combing the liquid with a black clay found in the vicinity. Light blue is made from a narrow-leaf indigo (*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.) which abounds by the river. The leaves are boiled for dye. Purple is obtained on the sea coast near Punta Mala and Dominical. Here a mollusk (*Purpura patula* Gould), called *la morada*, is gathered at low tide off the rocks which jut out of the water along the shore. Formerly, the Indians swam out to the rocks with the cotton thread on top of their head 237 to collect the animal.[26] The *Boruca* have no 386 tradition of any of this. At the present time, they gather the mollusk when the tide is out from the shore, and from the rock they can reach by wading. Great pain is taken not to let the creature die. On obtaining the mollusk, they first turn over the shell so that the sea water runs out. Then they blow into the shell, holding the thread in front. The angry animal spits out a fluid on the thread, after which he is thrown back into the sea. This fluid is at first a greenish-yellow, but when dry, becomes deep purple.[27] They say that the ink is best when the moon is full, and no good when the moon is new. At other times, the color is not so strong, nor does it dye evenly. [648] This dye has long been prized not only by the

[26] See Cockburn, 1779, p. 112.

[27] According to Dr. W. J. Clench, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University, this dye is a drug used by the snail to anesthetize its victim.

[28] See Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 353–54; Cock-

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[115] [30] Information given to the writer by Professor Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-8]

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-kra'* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquíanos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa [439] Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c–4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but
[272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain
[755] cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every-
[824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being made by the *Boruca*. The European war, how- 177 ever, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

323 reverting to make their clay cooking pots as
[177] before. There are several common pottery shapes. One kind is a large vessel with a pointed base which is slightly rounded, and a projection near the base, the neck indented, and a projecting rim. This type is called *kwire'* in Boruca, and resembles the Spanish *tinaja*. Other forms consist of smaller vessels with rounded base and a flat protruding rim, at times with a projecting nubbin, as if an attempt to portray a head, tail, and wings, such as is encountered on the pots found in ancient graves; and sometimes the *comal* or indented clay dish which is used for frying. Plain rounded vessels, often with a thumb-nail design on the border or rim, are common for cooking.

[462] Women are the potters. The usual way of making a vessel is to mash the clay, if soft, with the hands, and if hard, with a stick, until it is fine. Then a coil is made of this clay, and the coil doubled over to give more strength to the whole. The base is started with these coils in the manner of a large tortilla, or corn cake. A rounded wooden mold is used only for the base. The clay tortilla is put in the mold and shaped to the sides. Then coils of clay are added, and the vessel grows above the mold. Smoothing and evening are done with the hands. Once completed, the pot is left from fifteen days to one month within the house to dry. The excess clay is then removed with a knife, and the vessel is polished by rubbing it all over with a seed which comes from a vine called in Spanish *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna urens* [L.] DC.). A bed of firewood is made outside the house, and the vessel is placed in the center. Firewood is stacked around the pot until it is covered. Fire is set, and the wood burns away leaving the vessel intact. When a particularly strong pot is desired, a *masa* is added. This *masa* is ground corn mixed with water to form a paste. It is put both inside and outside of the vessel at the moment it is removed from the fire, and while it is still red from the heat. After the pot is cold, the *masa* is removed.

383 Rubber. The use of rubber does not seem
314 to be very ancient with the *Boruca*. The gum from the wild rubber tree which abounds in the vicinity (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) is

[p. 19-B]
occasionally used on the day-out cones.

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old [439 524] rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is 324 for grinding corn and cacao.

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 [825] The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[22] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 [783] **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camíbar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from ~~boiling~~ the bark of the *camíbar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[22] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[294] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing
[412] agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[157] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[177] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tɔʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

844 tier,[35] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-krá*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
[178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuikſ·as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

881 Puberty. There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikſ·as* to drink so that they will not grow per long.

[35] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

[p. 21-A]

841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kuikʃ-as* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

585 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

[1] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavagra*, who
[184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
847] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

[p. 22-A]

586 nowadays it does exist particularly amongst the Indians who have contact with the *ladino*-populated coast. Formerly, it was unknown, but today a man leaves a woman, or a woman a man, if they feel like it.

764 Death. Whatever ceremonies existed amongst the *Boruca* in regard to death have almost entirely disappeared. It is interesting that the *Boruca* do not cry at funerals. At the [556] wake, there is a feast the size of which depends upon the economic status of the deceased. Coffee and chicha are always served as drinks. The women put the body, at times with the hands folded as in prayer, on a long wooden bench or on wooden tablets, and cover it with any piece of cloth available. Three candles are placed alongside the body, one at each side of the face and one at the end. Sometimes, a candle is put by the feet. Prayers are recited all night during the wake. In the morning, men tie the body with fiber rope to the bench or planks, fastening to them two poles horizontally to serve as handles, and generally carry the whole to the church. Here an Indian, the warden, officiates in the absence of the priest. After the Mass, or the few prayers if there is no priest, the body still on the bench (see fig. 10, *a*), and still covered with cloth, is carried by the men to the cemetery, friends of the dead following. Here, bench and all, it is deposited in a shallow grave (about 4 feet), and very infrequently, leaves or flowers are scattered over or placed on it. When the deceased leaves no relative, his extra clothes are placed under his body and used as a bed in the grave. If the dead has enjoyed a good 766 position within the community during life, then a small tunnel is made in a side of the grave, and the body is placed there. This is called a "tomb." When a child dies, the body is tied in a white cloth and the one accordion in the village is played all the way to the graveyard. The whole town accompanies the body.

769 One year after the death of an individual, the *Boruca* celebrate what is known as the "birthday" of the death. Another feast is given at the house of the deceased. This feast must have a lot of chicha, and often lasts until the following morning or until the chicha disappears.

[p. 22-B]

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 648 **Land Tenure.** The *Boruca* consider the territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be [609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 311 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, 423 has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church. 794 Each individual is required to do his share of [476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on [735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which 311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to
nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the
property at the death of an individual. If the
male members are too young, then the oldest
female member does the dividing. Concerning
the property, we may judge the economy of
the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from
the situation in Boruca, the largest single com-
munity of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows.
These are owned by sixteen individuals, no
man having more than six. There are forty-
seven houses in the town, however, and there
is an ox for the majority of the households, at
least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens.
In addition to this, there are four bulls, each
one with a separate owner, and twenty horses
divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a me- 234]
dium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an
inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
older communal relationship are seen in the
former lack of individual farms, and today,
in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians.
When a new house is to be built, the man who [342]
wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help,
after he has collected the necessary material.
They all join together, and the construction
is ready in a short space of time, the owner
giving chicha, and often food to the helpers.
It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but
formerly by the council, the men gather to
cut the grass and to "clean" the village of
Boruca. They go systematically from house
to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This
helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary
spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of 625
political organization have disappeared. The
outstanding authority is the police agent, who
is an Indian, but is appointed by the Govern- 625
ment of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
624 select the first and second mayordomos of the church, and the two women who are to cook for the church. These personages function during *fiestas* or the visits of the priest, and are appointed yearly. If there is a change in the personnel, the former mayordomo has to hand over all the religious symbols and whatever money there may be to the new one.

437 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.**
426 The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of
175 trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Terabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things.*

[continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

* See Informe, 1697.

Pittier[30] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*. 438 175

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*-2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral. 438 648 [317 263]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of 796

[30] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

[p. 24-B]

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the [798] priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians 241 water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, 821 believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul 825 in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still 773 tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia* [20a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

[20a] See below.

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

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756 *Curanderas* or female witch doctors, for whom no word exists in the Boruca language, are part of the community. However, the lore is handed down from mother to daughter, with the result that the women of certain families are famous for curing powers, whereas other women of the community have none of this learning. Along with a more than general knowledge of herbs, roots, and plant life, the witch doctor must have a therapeutic sense combined with an instinctive knowledge of psychology. For this reason, in spite of the fact that the witch doctor passes her secrets on to all of her daughters, only the one or ones who are lucky enough to have such qualities practise. At times, when there is no female offspring, or when none is suited to practise, the *curandera* has been known to adopt a girl and train her to follow in her trade.

The witch doctors do not receive the same reverence that the *sukias* receive, even though the witch doctors are *Boruca* Indians and have more opportunity to practise on the people. This, and the fact that the witch doctors are women, while the *sukias* are male, may, of course, be the very reason why they are not feared. At times, however, the *sukia* has been known to teach the witch doctor some of his secrets, and it is certain that the *curandera* is highly respected by both sexes. Although the *curandera* is principally interested in female sicknesses, both men and women consult her.

Strangely enough, the most intimate details of the life of a patient are discussed openly with the witch doctor, even in the presence of a member of the opposite sex. Unlike the *sukia*, the *curandera* will accept pay for her services.

787 In addition to her use of plants, the witch doctor sometimes employs some form of sorcery to impress her patients. A favorite method is to tie a thread, preferably a silk one, around the little stones called *sukia stones*, which are found in the ancient graves, and to hang them from the hand or from the ceiling of the house. The *curandera* reads the answers to the questions asked her by the patient from the manner in which the stones swing.

* See Pittier, 1891, p. 93.

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842 One of the most important functions of the witch doctor appears to be the control of birth. The *Boruca* have long been famous for having children only when they feel like it, not using an abortive, but a preventive or a provocative, as the case might be. They are very reticent [648] to admit even the existence of such a practice, however, through fear of the priest and of the Costa Rican Government, which in the past has persecuted the Talamancan peoples for this, as we shall see further on.

Both processes are brought about by taking certain liquid preparations given by the witch doctor. The sterilization process is called a *curada*, and when a woman has one or two children, the Indians say quite frankly that she is *curada*. It appears possible to be *curada* and then go to the *curandera* and become pregnant when one wants. Both remedies are drinks made from certain leaves, fungi, roots, and ferns. The sterilizing brew must be taken for fifteen days, stopped for fifteen days, and taken again for fifteen days. If badly prepared or taken too consistently without the interval in between, the drink is said to kill by causing hemorrhages. The neighbors of the *Boruca* all have, at least, the remedy to stop conception. The *Térraba*[39] do not practise it so often [177] today, as the Roman Catholic Church has apparently had more influence on them. The *Térraba* claim that their population has decreased violently since the past century because their women made themselves too sterile, and both sexes began to live together in any manner. They add that because of this, a curse has been put on them and they are dying out. It is a pity there is no census record to serve as comparative material. All of the remaining Talamanca peoples, such as the *Bribri*, the *Chirripó*, and the *Cabécares*, seem also to know this custom. In an unpublished report of Fathers Vincente Krautwog and Augustín Blessing of several trips made by them to the missions of Talamanca in the years 1894 to 1902, the originals of which are in the parochial archives in Limón, Costa Rica, the following statements are significant:

The women of the Estrella (valley) have very few children, because of certain remedies which they take

[p. 26-8]

842 without misgiving, publically, in order not to have off-spring. (These Indians were living in Caña Coén.)

I hardly baptized a baby, because a large portion of the women are sterile through a remedy which they take, be it from being deceived, be it from being lost, be it from their own evilness, taking and masticating in the woods the bark and the juice (sap) of dangerous trees. There are about four old women who are most guilty: María Caferina and Margarita in the house of Simeón, Rosalía, mother of Luis Quiróe, and María, called "camisa," mother of the woman who lives with Miguel Medina, some four hours distant from Simeón. The evil of this "cure" ("curar"), being so alarming, I wrote a letter to the Mayor (Alcalde) don Lucas Alvarado, in which I authorized the authorities of Estrella to at least threaten these criminal women, in case they could not be intimidated, to take them prisoners to Limón. I attacked strongly on a thousand occasions this evil. . . .

The above was written in the year 1894. In 1897, we find the following:

The great evil of taking means not to bring forth young, is disappearing, and once again children are being born.

In Buenos Aires which is situated between Boruca and Talamanca, the Chirícano women are said to drink a preparation made by boiling
[278] the leaves and stem of *Justicia tinctoria* ([Oerst.] Hemsl.) and drinking a gourd of this three times daily the first day of menstruation. As yet, we have not been able to verify this usage, but it is a curious fact that in the majority of the yards of these people this plant is
[296] found. The excuse given for this plant is that it is used to wash clothes, serving as bluing.

The medicine to induce pregnancy is apparently more complicated than that to stop conception. The following is an analysis made by Dr. Reif in the United Fruit Company laboratory in La Lima, Honduras, of this medicine from the *Boruca* Indians:

278 A brown liquid with some flocculent precipitate
842 and a strong odor of hydrogen sulfide indicating putrition of organic matter. It is an aqueous solution containing some tannins but no alcohols, alkaloide or saponines. After evaporation of the liquid and removal of hydrogen sulfide smell, a strong odor re-

278 842 sembling that of Castoreum remained. This odor is possibly derived from glands of some tropical animal since beavers do not occur there.

The tannins would indicate that some bark or barks were used in the preparation. Microscopical examination of the residue did not give any clues.

[171] A few places where such practices as these are known are Africa, the Fiji Islands, and Ecuador.

278 757 The following is a list of the more generally known cures used by the *Boruca* and usually prescribed by the *curandera*.

Malaria is treated by drinking the liquid left from cooking the bark of a tree called *hombre grande* (*Quassia amara* L.), and sometimes, from boiling the fruits of the *cedrón* (*Simaba Cedron* Planch.)

For stomach-aches, a vine called in Boruca *so-kra'* (*Philodendron* sp.) is boiled with the ever useful *Kuikj-as* (*Piper* spp.), and drunk.

Dysentery in adults is treated by boiling the bark of the María tree, the guavá tree, the leaves and the yuca-like root of the *contrayerva* (*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.), and the ripe vanilla pod (*Vanilla fragrans* [Salisb.] Ames).

Rheumatism is treated by rubbing the afflicted parts with the oil of the copaiba tree.

To stop boils, the leaves of the *kana kra'* (*Conostegia extinctoria* [Bonpl.] D. Don.) are used in combination with a lard made from the marrow of the leg bones of a cow and lemon juice. The lard helps to keep the leaves in place, and is supposed to aid in drawing out the poison.

752 278 For snake bites, some Indians, but not all, as the majority go to a *sukia* for this, use the leaf of the *guaco* (*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.). They mash the leaf, soak it in water, and then put it on the afflicted parts. Another remedy for snake bites is to use the bulb or root of the *Strychnos* or *curarina* vine (*Strychnos toxifera* Schonb. ex Benth.). This is cut into pieces and mixed with the *guaco* leaf and boiled very well. The resulting liquid is drunk. The most effective remedy for snake bites, however, seems to be the resin from the *caraña* tree (*Protium* spp.). This tree grows on the coast, particularly near Dominical. The resin is mixed with honey and is both drunk and applied to the bite.

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773 Very little remains in the field of legends or myths. Certain ones, told as recently as the time of Pittier, for example, "El Encanto,"[40] are now forgotten. The tales which are still told appear for the most part to be unfinished, half-remembered stories, and are, to a great extent, crude and unsatisfactory. The writer found that the telling of legends was similar, in a measure, to the gathering of language data. Few people remembered details, and no [124] two people agreed on all details. The fundamental note in the tales collected is the im- [154] portance placed on witchcraft, in spite of the fact that the *Borucas* like to give the impression that they no longer believe nor remember anything about witchery. The following are four myths which are still told by the *Boruca* Indians.

539 The "Mamram." These are two bewitched women. They were orphaned girls who were from Boruca, and who used to fish the crabs and the crayfish in the creek which runs through the town. Each day, as they exhausted one spot, they moved a bit further along the water course, until one day they disappeared completely and did not return.

The shamans, however, found the girls, and tied them up, then moved them to Barranco. You know they are there today, because you can see the stones of their hearth. Their bodies are covered with hair, and they are ugly, not only in appearance, but also in character. They are very mean, and have bothered people so much in the vicinity, that more than one community has had to move. The last place they destroyed was Camakrán by Paso Caracol.

The Grandfather of the Volcano. A long time ago, the grandfather of the volcano fell in love with a girl and took care of her. She became pregnant. He brought her partridges, wild turkeys, *paweeles*, wild hogs, wild pigs, and deer. The girl had a son, and she took care of him and raised him until he was six. Then the father came with a great wind and took the boy from his mother, and carried him to his house.

The father continued to visit the mother nightly, however, bringing her dried meat.

[40] Pittier, 1941, pp. 93–94.

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But the mother would say, "My child is what I want. Where is he?" 539

The father did not like this, and moved the boy to a different place, and gave him the name of San-kra'-ua so that the mother would not know where he lived.

The Serpent. This is a legend which is concerned with the creek and site of Boruca itself. The hole mentioned in the story is still pointed out between two of the undulating hills in the town. The serpent has a mystical connection with the serpent who thunders by rattling his tail, and with the Laguna de Sierpe which forms one of the seven mouths of the Diquis River. [178]

The serpent lived in the hole. He came out, and the woman was behind him at the edge of the entrance. The snake waited for her to give him chicha so he would become drunk, and they would embrace. Then she laughed with the snake. Then they bathed together in the Diquis River. Then the snake went to sleep in his hole, and the woman went to her house to make more chicha, so that day-after-tomorrow again the snake would become drunk. Thus they behaved.

Then the woman became pregnant by the snake. Then the people and the sun knew. Then the mother of the girl bewitched him, so that he was burned hanging.

Then the girl gave birth, and the people stood by ready with machetes to kill the little snakes. They were ready with machetes and with sticks. One little snake did not have a tail. The mother of the girl burned them all. Nothing remained but ashes. The mother felt sorry, and cried for her daughter.

It ends here. All of it.

The Legend of the Kagõera. The Kagõera were a branch of the *Boruca* who lived at a site called Vanilla between Curré and Lagarto. They were in the habit of making frequent visits to Drake's Bay, on the coast near the Osa Peninsula. The Kagõera could be distinguished from the rest of the tribe by a golden plaque which they wore on their forehead.

Among the Kagõera was a brother and a sister who lived together as a married couple.

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1/2 [See p. 428 for orthography.—Analyst]

539 When the sister became pregnant, the *sukia* or medicine man was very angry and ordered that she be eaten by three tigers. To carry this out, the *sukia* waited until the woman was in a certain spot, and then made her unable to move. He ordered a man to climb a tree to watch and to report what occurred.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the three tigers came out of the woodland roaring and went right to the woman. Two were spotted with black and one was a yellow lion. The watcher saw them play together and pet her. The woman remained frozen. When they

[Continued at top of page 29-B]

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534 **Music.** There are very few genuinely aboriginal instruments left amongst the *Boruca*, and in public, they play no music that can definitely be called their own. The *maraca*, or rattle, is undoubtedly pre-Spanish, as frequently clay *maracas* are found in the early graves. The modern *maraca* is generally made of a gourd and often has little holes at the base to give more sound. The gourd is filled with little round black seeds called *t-akra'*, and attached to a bone handle (see p. 18). Rattles or *maracas* are also made by men and women of a grass (*Arundinella Deppeana* Nees.) which grows in the savanna. This grass is called *suge-r-a'* in Boruca, and *cola de venado* or *cola de chivo* in Spanish. The upper portion when young is purplish, while the lower part and the old grass is the color of straw. The Indians use both the old and young grass, thereby giving the rattle two distinct colors. It is woven with the fingers, the weave used being called *ra-t-a'* (see fig. 10, *c*), and the finished product is filled with corn to make it sound. Drums are round (see fig. 7, *c–5*), and made from a piece of the trunk of cedar or of balsa, and, very occasionally, of the coyol palm (*Acrocomia vinifera* Oerst.). Both ends are covered with wild peccary hide and fastened with thongs of the same hide. They are played by hand without sticks. A *chirimia* or flute-like instrument is made of cane and wood, and is used in a burlesque dance of bullfighting on the first of January, as well as on the eighth of December with the *negritos*. The *zambombia* is an instrument of the *Boruca* which has probably come to them through

[continued at bottom of page 29-B]

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers 539
killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale.

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* 534
is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations.

The music on these occasions is almost en- 533
tirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn [177]
have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard.

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have 535
secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) [532]
mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The

535 object of the "dance" is that all the participants "fight" the bull, the wearer of the two-faced mask being the real "matador." At the end of the "dance" the "bull" is tied and supposedly strangled. This "fighting" is done to the accompaniment of the *chirimía*, *maraca*, and drum (see p. 29) to say nothing of the shouts of the various dancers. On New Year's Eve, the Indians dress in banana leaves and masks, and go to one another's houses, and, according to some, to a secret place to celebrate. On the eighth of December, the council chooses three or four men who represent the *negritos* or black men. They paint their faces with mud and soot, and adorn themselves with the skin of the jaguar or other animal of the forest. One man dresses as a black horse, using for this a hoop-shaped piece of cane from which hangs black cloth cut to represent a horse. The man steps into the center of the hoop and wears it hanging from his shoulders by fiber ropes. The drum, *chirimía*, and *maraca* accompany these merrymakers who dance around, bow to people, play tricks on people, and beg drinks from anyone they chance to see. In fact, they dance from house to house and at each stop are usually given a drink of chicha. The dance itself dates from Spanish-
171 colonial times, and is performed today during
535 religious feasts in many communities from Mexico through Guatemala southward, in-

[p. 30-A]

535 [171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

The other dances which are performed in public are danced only by the younger generation. The steps are entirely borrowed from [177] the Chiriquíans, who formerly and even still inhabit much of southern Costa Rica. The favorite dances are the *cumbia*, the *punto Chiricano*, and the waltz. All of these, with the single exception of the waltz, are danced individually and not by a couple holding one another close.

525 **Games and Gambling.** The *Boruca* are not a gambling people. They appear to have no interest in any sort of gambling. Dice are almost unheard of, and perhaps one pack of cards can be found in the whole village.

524 857 The boys have a game called *cuepas*. This is played with round pieces of bee's wax shaped almost like the cap of a pop bottle. One of these are placed face down, and a boy throws a similar piece on top of it. If the result of the impact causes both pieces to be face up, the boy who threw the *cuepa* wins, and takes the other *cuepa* as well as his own. If the result is otherwise, he loses his *cuepa*. Boys carry a ball of wax in their pockets for the express purpose of making *cuepas*.

Tops, made of wood with a nail serving as the pointed end, are also seen. They are not very popular, however.

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[pp. 31 and 32 contain no text]

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APPENDICES A-C

Acknowledgment is gratefully extended to the Botanical Museum and the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy for help in the verification of the botanical and zoölogical terms, appearing in Appendices A and B.

[p. 35]

[p. 36 is blank]

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APPENDIX A: PLANT NAMES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	A	
aligator pear	*aguacate*	*Persea americana* Mill.
ande-riel (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
Arundinella	*cola de venado* or *cola de chivo*	*Arundinella Deppeana* Nees.
	B	
balsa	*balsa*	*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.
banana	*banano*	*Musa sapientum* "
banana	*guineo morado*	" " "
bean	*frijol*	*Phaseolus* sp.
bejuco de fierro (iron vine or *bejuco negro*)	*bejuco de fierro* or *bejuco negro*	perhaps *Anthurium scandens* (Aubl.) Engler; *Cydista pubescens* Blake
bejuco de fuego (fire vine)	*bejuco de fuego*	?
bejuco de hombre (man vine) or *ande-riel* (rail vine)	*bejuco de hombre* or *ande-riel*	?
bijagua	*bijagua*	*Calathea insignis* Petersen
bijagua, black	*bijagua negra*	*Calathea* spp.
blueing	*anil de mata*	*Justicia tinctoria* (Oerst.) Hemsl.
Boruca bean	*frijol de Boruca*	variation of *Phaseolus vulgaris* L.
	C	
cabuya	*cabuya*	*Furcraea* spp.; also *Agave* spp.
cacao or chocolate	*cacao*	*Theobroma Cacao* L.
cane, white or wild	*caña blanca*	*Gynerium sagittatum* (Aubl.) Beauv. (*saccharoides* Humb. & Bonpl.)
capulin, white	*capulin blanco*	*Muntingia Calabura* L.
carala	*carala*	*Protium* spp.
carbonero	*carbonero*	*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.
cashew	*marañón*	*Anacardium occidentale* L.
cassava (see yuca)		
castor bean	*castor*	*Ricinus communis* L.
cedar	*cedro*	*Cedrela* spp.
cedrón	*cedrón*	*Simaba Cedron* Planch.
chocolate (see cacao)		
chamico	*chamico*	*Datura stramonium* L.
coffee	*café*	*Coffea* spp.
Conostegia	*hane kra'*	*Conostegia extinctoria* (Bonpl.) D. Don.
contrayerva	*contrayerba*	*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.
copaiba	*canáber*	*Priotia copaifera* Griseb.
copal	*copal*	*Protium costaricense* (Rose) Engler

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ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
824 *cordoncillo*	*cordoncillo*	*Piper* spp.
corn	*maíz*	*Zea Mays* L.
corozo palm	*corozo*	*Corozo oleifera* (HBK) L. H. Bailey
cotton	*algodón*	*Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.
cotton, colored	*tecolote*	*Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.
coyol palm	*coyol*	*Acrocomia vinifera* Oerst.
Cuphea	*nibu-kri*	*Cuphea micrococcus* Koehne
	D	
disciplina palm (dwarf)	*disciplina*	*Chamaedorea* sp.
	E	
espavel	*espavel*	*Anacardium excelsum* (Bert. & Balb.) Skeels
Elaeis	*nukrá*	*Elaeis melanococca* Gaertn
	F	
fire vine (see *bejuco de fuego*)		
	G	
gourd	*jícaro, guacal*	*Crescentia Cujete* L.
guácimo	*guácimo*	*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.
guaco	*guaco*	*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.
guanacaste	*guanacaste*	*Enterolobium* (Pittier, 1941, p. 59 classifies this as *Enterolobium cyclocarpum* (Jacq.) Grisb.)
guava	*guayabo*	*Psidium Guajava* L.
	H	
haja de duende	*haja de duende*	*Bactris minor* Jacq.
huiscoyol palm	*huiscoyol*	
	I	
indigo	*añil*	*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.
Inga	*guaba*	*Inga spectabilis* (Vahl) Willd.
	J	
jabonsillo	*jabonsillo*	*Leguminosae* sp.
	L	
little stick grass	*zacate de palito*	?
	M	
marjagua	*marjagua*	*Hampea* sp., and other spp.
mango	*mango*	*Mangifera indica* L.
mangrove	*mangle*	*Rhizophora Mangle* L.
man vine (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
María tree	*palo María*	*Calophyllum brasiliense* Cambess. var. *Rekoi* Standl.
manate, red	*manate colorado*	*Brosimum utile* (HBK) Pittier
manate, white	*manate blanco*	*Brosimum* sp.? (Pittier, 1941, p. 63, wrongly classified this tree as *Brosimum utile*)
May tree, pink	*palo de mayo (rosado)*	*Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.?
May tree, white	*palo de mayo (blanco)*	*Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague

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APPENDIX A: PLANT NAMES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	N	
nance	*nance*	*Byrsonima crassifolia* (L.) DC.
nene or nene	*nene or nene*	*Abrus precatorius* L. ?
ñampí	*ñampí*	*Dioscorea trifida* L.
	O	
ojoche	*ojoche*	*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier
ojo de buey	*ojo de buey*	*Mucuna urens* (L.) DC.
orange	*naranjas*	*Citrus sinensis* (L.) Osbeck
	P	
pacaya palm	*pacaya*	*Chamaedorea* sp.
palmilera	*palmilera*	*Socratea* sp.
papaya	*papaya*	*Carica Papaya* L.
pejibaye palm	*pejibaye*	*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.
Philodendron	*so-kra'*	*Philodendron* spp.
pineapple	*piña*	*Ananas comosus* (L.) Merr.
pita	*pita*	*Aechmea magdalenae* André
plantain	*plátano*	*Musa paradisiaca* L.
poró	*poró*	(Probably, *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli; Pittier, 1908, p. 163, identifies this tree as *Erythrina corallodendron* L.)
poro-poro	*poro-poro*	*Cochlospermum vitifolium* Willd. (Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1908, p. 129; 1941, p. 68.)
	Q	
Quassia	*hombre grande*	*Quassia amara* L.
	R	
rail vine (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
rice	*arroz*	*Oryza sativa* L.
royal palm	*palma real*	*Scheelea rostrata* (Oerst.) Burret
rubber, wild	*hule macho*	*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook
	S	
sandbox tree	*javillo*	*Hura polyandra* Baill. Pittier, 1941, p. 59, classifies this tree as *Hura crepitans* L.
savanna grass	*zacate de sabana*	?
saw palm	*sem-kra'*	*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.
Serjania	*sierrilla*	*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.
sotacaballo	*sotacaballo*	*Pithecolobium latifolium* (L.) Benth.
Spanish plum	*jocote*	*Spondias purpurea* L.
squash	*calabaza*	*Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne
stilt palm	*chonta*	*Socratea durissima* Wendl.
stilt palm, black	*chonta negra*	*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit
Strychnos	*cuwirina*	*Strychnos toxifera* Schomb. ex Benth.
sugar cane	*caña dulce*	*Saccharum officinarum* L.

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ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	T	
turnip grass	*zacate de comejín*	?
tiquique	*tiquique*	*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott
tobacco	*tabaco*	*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.
	V	
vanilla	*vainilla*	*Vanilla fragrans* (Salisb) Ames
	Y	
yuca	*yuca*	*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.
yucca	*izote*	*Yucca elephantipes* Regel
yuquilla	*yuquilla*	*Curcuma longa* L.

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APPENDIX B: NAMES OF BIRDS, ANIMALS, FISH, AND REPTILES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	A	
armadillo	*cosuco; armadillo*	*Dasypus novemcinctus* Linn.
	B	
bee (wild) from Caños Island[1]		*Apis Trigona* or *Apis Melipona?*
bee (wild)	*jicote*	*Melipona beechii* supp. *beechii*
bushmaster	*cascabela muda*	*Lachesis muta*
	C	
clam	*almeja*	?
crab (river)	*cangrejo del rio*	*Pseudotelphusa magna*
crayfish	*camarón*	?
croaker	*roncador*	?
curassow	*pavaxi*	*Crax rubra* Linn.
	D	
deer	1) *cabra*	1) *Mazama sartorii* Sumichr.
	2) *venado*	2) *Odocoilus* Boddaert
	G	
guan (crested)	*pava*	*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.
gustuso	*gustuso*	*Dasyprocta* sp.
	M	
macaw (scarlet)	*lapa; guacamaya*	*Ara macao* Linn.
mollusk (large for purple dye)	*caracol; morada*	*Purpura patula* Gould
mollusk (small, for purple dye)	*caracol; moluscos*	*Purpura biosquiformis* Duclos
monkey (red)	*mono colorado*	*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl
monkey (white-faced)	*carablanca*	*Cebus capucinus* Linn.
mullet (fresh water)	*tepemuchin*	*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.
	P	
parakeet	*perico*	*Aratinga canicularis* Linn.
parrot	*loro*	*Amazona auropalliata* Less.
perch	*mojarra*	*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.
pig (peccary)	*chancho del monte*	*Pecari angulatus* Cope
pig (wild boar?)	*cariblanco*	*Tayassu pecari* Fischer
pigeon	*paloma*	*Columba* sp.
pigeon (white wing)		
	S	
snook	*robalo*	*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey
	T	
tepezcuinte	*tepezcuinte*	*Coelogenys paca*
tinamou (chestnut-headed)	*gallina del monte*	*Tinamus major* Gmel.
toucan	*curré*	*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould

[1] The result of the analysis of the sample of Caños Island Wild Bees Wax by the Laboratorio Químico Oficial, República de Costa Rica, was the following:

Resin	78.17%
Wax	8.65%
Substances insoluble in ether	13.18%
	100.00%
Humidity	3.12%
Ashes	3.20%
Sugars	0.00%
Glues	0.00%

September 21, 1945

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Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

127 192 THE following is a comparative vocabulary of the Boruca language of words used in this paper. The earliest vocabulary is that of Valentini, dating from 1861. This has been taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–48. In the chart, it is listed as Valentini, 1920. The next oldest are those of Gabb and Monseñor Thiel, and are placed according to their publication dates, the first being Gabb, 1881, and the second Thiel, 1882. The second Thiel vocabulary is taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–56, and was collected in the year 1892. It is listed as Thiel, 1920, in the chart. The following three lists are from Pittier dating from the years 1891, 1892–96, and published by the National Museum of Costa Rica in 1941. Because of this, it is listed as 1941. The last Pittier vocabulary appeared in 1908. The final column was gathered by
192 the writer in 1945, and contains the Boruca
104 name for the principal items mentioned in this paper. The orthography used in the 1945 column is based on the international phonetic alphabet of G. H. Camerlynck. This alphabet was accepted at the International Congress of Phonetics in 1926. The key to this spelling is given below. (Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining special phonetic characters and setting these in the typeface as used herein, certain substitutes in the phonetic alphabet have been made. It has been necessary to make

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

APPENDIX C:
COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

two alterations from the original — the *a*'s are different from those in the Camerlynck alphabet; *g* represents an alternative form of the character used by Camerlynck.) 192 104

It should be noticed that apart from the differences caused by lack of standard phonetic alphabet, the language has been slowly changing during the period of years represented by these lists, and that certain indigenous words are being replaced by hispanic forms.

KEY TO PHONETIC SPELLING

æ: Like *cat*, *hat*
a: *ah*, like *a* in Latin.
e: like *May*
ɛ: like *wet*, but with long vocalic sound
ə: like mute *e* in English
i: like *ee* in English: *sleep*
o: like *ob* in English
ɔ; *œ*: like *cut* in English
ø: like *custom*, or *better*, like *eu* in French, or *ö*(*oe*) in German: Goethe
b, *d*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, *z*, like in English
ŋ: almost like *ng* in English, or like *gn* in French
ʃ: like *sh* in English
ʒ: like Genevieve
w: like *what*, but without expiration
j: like *yet*
y: like *ü* in German: Glück
ɥ: like *ü* in German: Glück

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APPENDIX C. COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1862) 1920	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1948	STONE 1945
				A				
alligator pear				*ba-ere*		*bab'-bre*		*ba'bre*
anda-riel (rail vine) or *bejuco de hombre* (man vine)								*dre'*
armadillo				*tadna*		*tadna, tna*		*tnn*
Arundinella (see savannah grass—for rattles)								
				B				
bags (string)								*bra-ji*
banana		*baldua*		*bri-dulb*		*brid-ual*		*brid'ua*
banana (guineo)								*ba-dua'*
bark cloth				*cauar*	*cauda*			*bauak'*
basket				*crash-cruing*	*ba-bra*	*babrda*		*ba*
basket (large)								*ba'ua*
bean				*nafp; nlabg*		*naafp; naafp*		*naap*
bee				*bua*				*bua-uanna*
bejuco de fierro (iron vine) or *bejuco negro* (black vine)								*bria*
bejuco de fuego (fire vine)								*bua-fa'*
bejuco de hombre (see *anda-riel*								
belt, woven (for man)		*nampka*	*nwdmaca*	*cacrab-nai*		*ngang-bd*		*naam-b-a'*
						bnda-bdd'		*naa-bra*
bijagua								*bua-b-a'*
bijagua (black)								*dg*
birds	*da-tuit*	*da-crit*		*da*		*da; da ntit; pad*		*nag'-dabua*
bushmaster						*nig-dibua*		
				C				
cabaya				*chiji-ca*				*jja-ka*
cane (wild)				*bajira*		*baq-bed*		*bab-bed'*
		bab-bri		*nnuit*				

[1] Pittier, 1891, p. 103, uses *bri dulb* for *platano guineo* and not for "banana."

[2] Pittier, 1941, p. 16, uses *ba-dua* for *platano guineo*, and not for "banana."

[1] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 151, does not give the Spanish word *faja* but gives *chaurdu* for the Boroca word cited above.

[2] Gabb, 1881, p. 463, does not list *caña blanca*, or "white cane." He lists *caña silvestre*, or "wild cane."

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
espulin (white)						*sibé-kra*		*sebe'kra*; *sri'kwa*; *kr.i'kr-a*
zarzilla							*dibis-kré*	*dibis-kr-a'*; *rzjoa'*
carbonero								*grijin-kra'*
cassava (see yuca)								
cat						*bis*		*bis*
chicha (from corn alone)		*yi-wó*; *djiuó* (in Pittier, 1941, p. 55)		*cuc-cha*		*djí-bui*; *kup-tsa-bui*		*dzi-bui'*
chicha (mixed with flampl)								*dyhatja'*
chicha (mixed with pejibaye)				*suba-chá*				*suba-tja'*
chicha (mixed with ripe or green plantain)						*mua djí-bui*		*muadzibui'*
chicha (mixed with yuca)				*ung-ca-chá*				*ung-ka-tja'*
chicha *punsoti*								*tsuintja'*
chicken				*cord*		*kroh'*		*kro*
chocolate		*kaó*		*cha-ó*		*kaó*; *kaú*		*kao*
chonta (large roots)								*kamapra*
chonta (small roots)								*mono-kra'*
clam								*krá*
clam (large)								*sura'*
clay vessel (large)				*cuarab*				*kwara'*
clay vessel (*comal*)								*guam*
cocoa-butter						*sik*		*jik*
coffee								*krangua*
Conostegia						*		*kana kra'*
copal								*qis-kra*
cordoncillo							*kul-kré*	*kqikt-a*
corn	*ko-op*	*kup*		*cup*	*cuip*	*kup*	*ru-kré*	*kup*
corn (black)					*cuip turinas*	*kup-turinás*		*kup-turjnas*; *kup-brjnas*
corn-patch			*crib*	*cri*; *cup-cas*		*ri*		*gri*

* *kré*, of course, means "plant" or "tree."

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APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
corn (sprouted)								*ku-pɔ*
corozo palm				*tzo-agud*		*tzo-kro*		*tzo-kro'*
cotton				*ebebé*	*tzebebé*	*tzébo-kró*		*tʃobɔ'*
cotton, colored					*teri tzebebé*	*terik tzébó*		*trikʃu; trikʃubuk*
coyol palm						*gua-kró; ua-kró; u-kró*		*kuwa-kro*
crab (river)				*eroe*		*korók; gué*		*kɔrok'*
crayfish				*mik*		*ñué; ruse*		*ru-e'*
crayfish (small)								*ʃu*
croaker	Apparently, only the Spanish name "roncador" is in use							
Cuphea							*zó-kró*	*tʃu-kro'*
curassow				*dibi-ram-ai*		*kuáng; kug*		*kung'*
				D				
deer	*zuzuik*			*zuzuic*		*zu-zuik*		*zuzuik*
discipline palm								*ʃik*
dog	*kuj*	*muib*		*mij*		*máq, máz*[a]		*mɔ'*
drum				*quebé*		*kébé*		*kebe'*
dug-out canoe for river						*ru-tsit*		*rɔ*
dug-out canoe for sea (*bongo*)								*rɔ*
				E				
egg (crocodile)						[b]		*kukup*
egg (hen)		[c]		[c]		*krok'-kup*		*krokup*
Elasis								*tzukro'*
espavel								*jrukro'*
				F				
fire stones						*dji-bro-kang-i*		*dʒibrokaŋ-i*
fire vine (see *bejuco de fuego*)								
fish	*zu*	*uug*		*uug*		*uug*		*ʊ̃ʊ*

[a] Pittier, 1941, p. 67, calls attention that the word for "dog" is *onomatopoeic*.

[b] Although "crocodile egg" is not given in any vocabulary except that of the writer, Pittier, 1941, p. 61, lists *kub* as a crocodile; while Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 353, gives *cub*; or *cu*.

[c] Gabb, 1881, p. 471, gives *kup* for "egg." Neither Gabb nor Thiel make a distinction between the "egg" and a "hen's egg," as does Pittier and the writer.

[d] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 353, gives *i-cup* for "egg."

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1920	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1920	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1948	STONE 1945
				G				
gourd (oblong)								*sam*
gourd tree (oblong)						*sam-krá*		*sam-kra*
gourd (round)								*kuu'*
gourd tree (round)		*ydu-kra*		*sing-crab*		*kuá-krá*		*kuu-kra*
grinding stone (for grain)		"		*cang*		*dji-ab-rá*		*kaŋ-kra'*
grinding stone (from graves)								*kaŋ; kruu*
gruel								*ob-ɔfa*
gudolmo				*diáu-crab*		*diam-krá*		*diam-kra*
guan, crested				*dibib*		*dibi*		*dibij*
guanacaste						*kruá-krá*		*kru'-kra*
guanaz		*cheshi; tsezi* (in Pittier, 1941, p. 59)		*chéb*		*tsab'*		*tsɔfɔ'*
goava			*shuib-uáb*[11]	"		*suib-krá*		*suj-kra*
				H				
hammock		*kung*		*sung*		*kun*		*kuŋ*
hearth stone (see stone)								
huiscoyol palm						*zu-krá*		*zu-kra*
				I				
indigo							*sibi-kab*	*sibi-kra*
Inga				*gurdoba*		*guarok-krá*		*guarɔk-kra*
				J				
jaboncillo								*ɔfu*
jar (for chicha)								*dɔc-bua'-grij'*
				L				
little stick grass								*zu*
loom					*cuab ibing*			*trawɔbo* (hispanic root?)

[11] Gabb, 1881, p. 479, does not list "grinding stone," but lists the word for "stone" as *kang*.

[12] Thiel, 1882, p. 93, gives the tree as *shuib-uáb*, and the fruit as *uáb*.

[13] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 353, lists the fruit as *shuib-uáb*, but does not list the plant.

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APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1861	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1892	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
				M				
macaw			*shdob*			*nob'*		*ʃo*
mejagua				*sang-cro*		*kro-kuá*	*krdk-ma*	*kro-kuá'*
mango	There appears to be no indigenous name							
meraca								*sa hup*
María tree						*dóti-kré*	*dés-kri-kra*	*du'si-kré'*
mariate (red)								*drok-kauk-kré'*
mariate (white)							*kauk-kra*	*kauk-'kré'*
May tree (pink)						*ko-kra; ki-kra*	*ko-kra; ki-kré*	*ko-kra*
May tree (white)								*ʃukokré'*
mollusk (small)						*surówi-is*		*surowi'*
monkey (red)		*nóng*		*nong*		*nóin*		*nɔŋ*
monkey (white-faced)		*ok*		*oc*		*ok*		*ok*
mullet (fresh water)	Apparently there is no name in the Boruca tongue							
mushroom								*sikua*
				N				
nance				*shiqu-cro*		*si-kra*		*ʃi-kra*
nemo (male) *nema* (female)								*nubuk; kru-r-a-mat*
				R				
Rampi						*		*dɨ*
				O				
ojoche (fruit)								*kuko-ma*
ojoche (tree)						*kuko-kré*		*kuko-kré*
ojo de buey							*Wdk-ma-hip*	*ʃis-hup*
orange			*drej* *shiau*			*drak'-ma-ma*		*dré'-sʃin*
				P				
pacaya palm				*cub*		*ku-kré*		*kɨ-kré'*
palmiera						*gau-kré*		*gaʃ-kra*
papaya				*cáb*		*kuk'; u-kré*		*kɨ*

* Pittier, 1941, p. 65, lists this as *ñawa*.

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1861	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
parrot			*curij*			*kurię*		*ʃrig*
pejibaye			*rubá-acra*	*nubá-cra*		*nuba-kra*		*nuba-kra'*
pejibaye (without thorns)								*ɥ-kra*
pejibaye (without seeds)								*ubp*
pejibaye (with seeds)								*ɥk*
perch						*sodi*		*sori*
pestle or *mano*		*yu-ri*		*cang-i-qui-sburib*		*kang-i-sub'*		*kag-i-su'*
Philodendron								*so-kra'*
pig						*cuchi*		*kuʃi*
pig (peccary)		*sini*		"				*sini'*
pig (wild boar?)		*kra-sui-sbuk*				*kram-suk; kram-i-suk*		*kram-ʃuk*
pigeon (large)	*oog*			*doc*		*dok; dbok*		*ɔrk*
pigeon (white-wing)						*kibi-sui*		*kibi-sui*
pineapple		*buar*		*boar*		*boate*		*buatɛ*
pita				*ba*		—		*ba*
plantain		*uruc*	*ua (?)*[a]			*ruai*		*uruus*
pará				"			*bru-kra*	*bru-kra'*
poro-poro						*uito-kra*		*uito-kra'*
pozole (pemican?)								*kubri'*
				R				
rattle (*maracas*)								*ra*
rice						*su-srui*		*surdi*
royal palm							*o-kra*	*ɔ-kra'*
rubber (wild)							*gli-kra*	*gli-kra'*
				S				
salt				*quib*		*ki*		*kj*
salt (rock)								*kj'-rj-ka*
salt (soft)								*kj'-kɔg*
sandbox tree						*tsu-kra*		*tsu-kra'*

[a] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 351, gives *uini* for *cariblanco*, which is a species of wild pig.

[b] It appears from the Bishop's vocabulary that *ua* may be considered as the word he uses for plantain; see Thiel, 1881, p. 103.

[c] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 355, gives *uing-crab*. This is, however, the *poro-poro*, and not the *pará*. See p. 6.

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APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1920	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1920	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
sangrilla tree								*rus krá'*
savanna grass								*bjak*
savanna grass (for new-born child)								*wik-krá'*
savanna grass (for rattles)								*suge-r-a'*
seeds (black used in rattles)								*r-akrs'*
sem palm							*sem*	*sem-krá'*
Serjania								*shiv*
shaman								*bruk-bri*
sieve								*ʃi-bra-ua*
skirt (*mamu*)		*cuuub-á*		*cúuubi*	*cuuubí*	*kuuu-á*		*kuʃ*
snook						*sidqk*		*siok*
sotocabello							*kudb-krá*	*kuct-krá'*
							cuch-cra' (in Pittier, 1888, p. 93 see References)	
Spanish plum	There appears to be no name in Boruca							*tun*
spindle								*tun-kup*
spindle whorl								*ʒêŋ*
squash								*mama-krá'*
stilt palm (black, small roots)								*kmagira*
stilt palm (black, large roots)				*chi-cráb*		*djii-tun*		*dji-tun*
stone; hearth stone								*tebctongwa'*
Strychnos				*budi*		*baq-dji-ra*	*bas dibráb*	*bak-dʒ'-ra*
sugar cane		*bab-ye-rá*						
				T				*tʃeri-k>*
tamale of dried green plantains					*pshá-dji*			*pʃu-dji*
temple				*dijt*		*biçt*		*bikt*
tepescuinale								*ʃupʃur*
termite grass				*ong-cord*		*ond-kráb; ung-kuk*		*ond-kro*
tinamou (chestnut-headed)				*tun*		*tín*	*tun*	*tin*
tiquique		*dowu*	*du-á*	*dusb*		*dísub'; dusb'*	*dí-ud*	*dw-s*
tobacco								

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	1945
tortilla (of sprouted corn)								*>-[?*
tortilla (of old corn)						*o-bó-ri; d-zuo-ri*		*ob)-ri*
toucan				*zrrit*		*srit; tsi-rit-srit*		*sirjt*
traps for birds								*turshs*
				V				
vessel (earthen)		*kuo-li*		*furi*		*surah' krudib'*		*ráá'grib*
vessel (iron)						*drib krudib'*		*drib-tsin*
				W				
wasp (wild)		*srung-ual*		*sarúng'ka*		*srun-ual*		*srun-ua*
water left from cocoa-butter								*kao*
wax		*kut*		*kut*		*kut*		*kut*
weave used in straw manacs								*ra-t-a'*
weaving instruments								*ra-kra*
witchery								*mamram*
				Y				
yeast; also chicha with yeast								*mamarra; mahaso* (hispanic roots?)
yuca				*sing-cah*		*		*sg'-ka*
yucca	*Itavo* is the only name used. It is probably not Boruca							
yuquilla								*>[ama* (probably Spanish)

* Pittier, 1941, p. 45, lists the sweet variety (*Exculenta* Crantz) as *tukah'*. The writer could not find this variety amongst the *Borucas*. Pittier does not list the non-sweet type.

3.Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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COLLOTYPE FIGURES 3–10

Errata:

Throughout legends, read "pejibaye" for "pejiballe."

[p. 51]

[p. 52 is blank]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

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a, b, Distant views of Boruca village. c, Rice-cutter (actual size). d, Extraction of sugar cane juice.

[p. 53]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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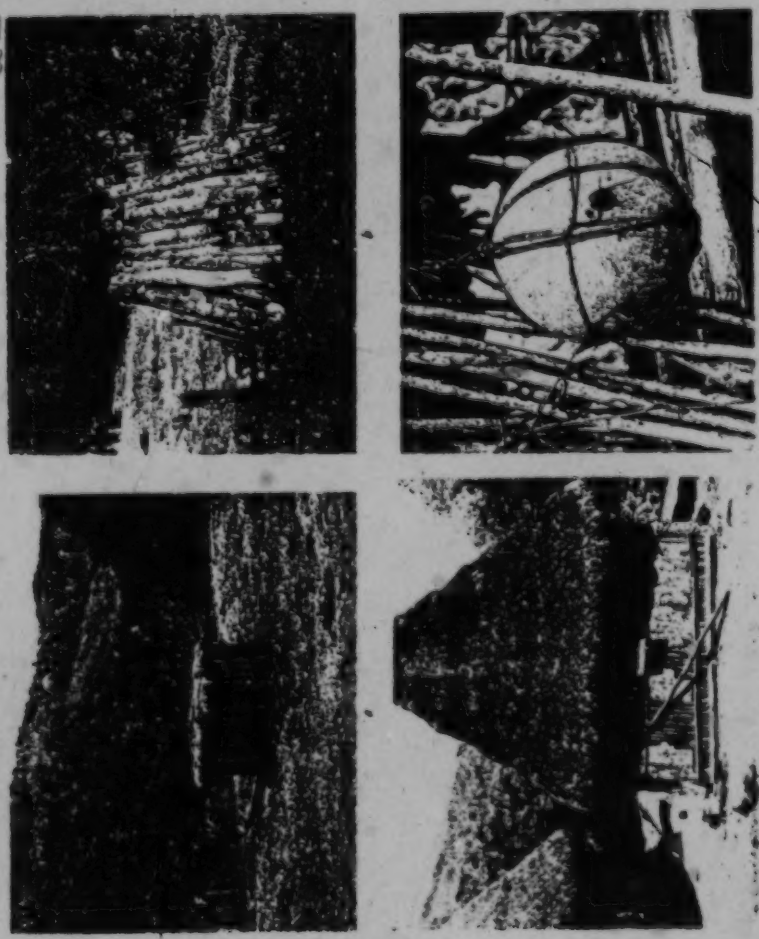

3. a, A Two types of chicken coops. c, Vertical pole construction with spots of dripping and hanging "nests" for setting hens. d, Demonstration of hens (hen made from a gourd).

[p. 54]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

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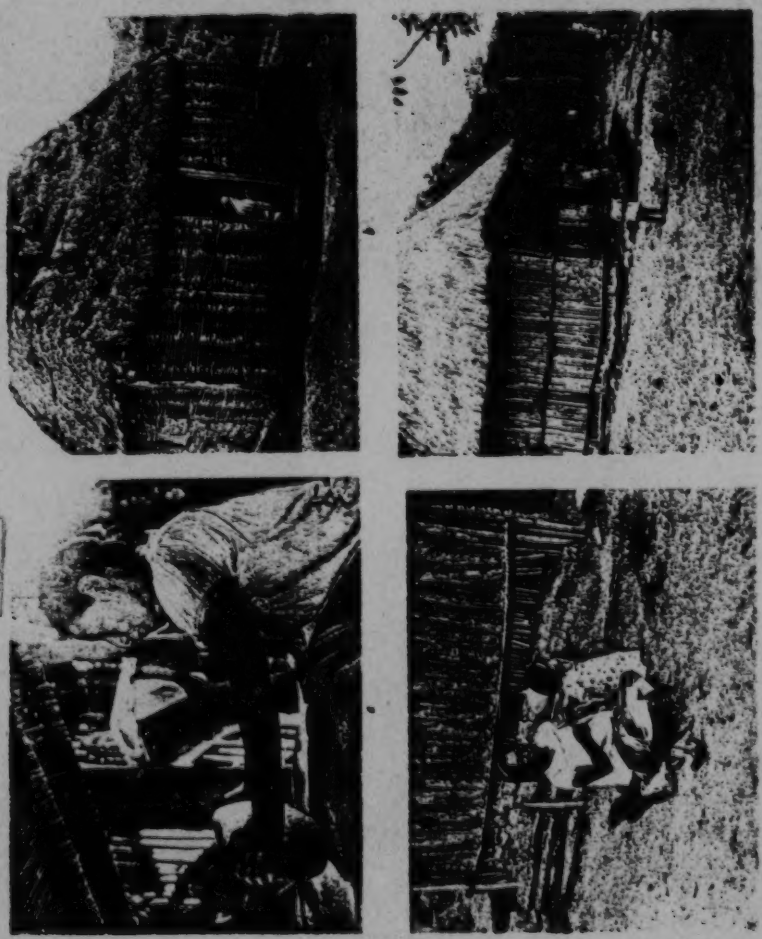

412
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a, Method of grinding corn. b, Single pole as base of house (note window on left, and yoke for chicks hanging on front wall). c, House base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). d, Front stone terrace, Carré.

[p.55]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

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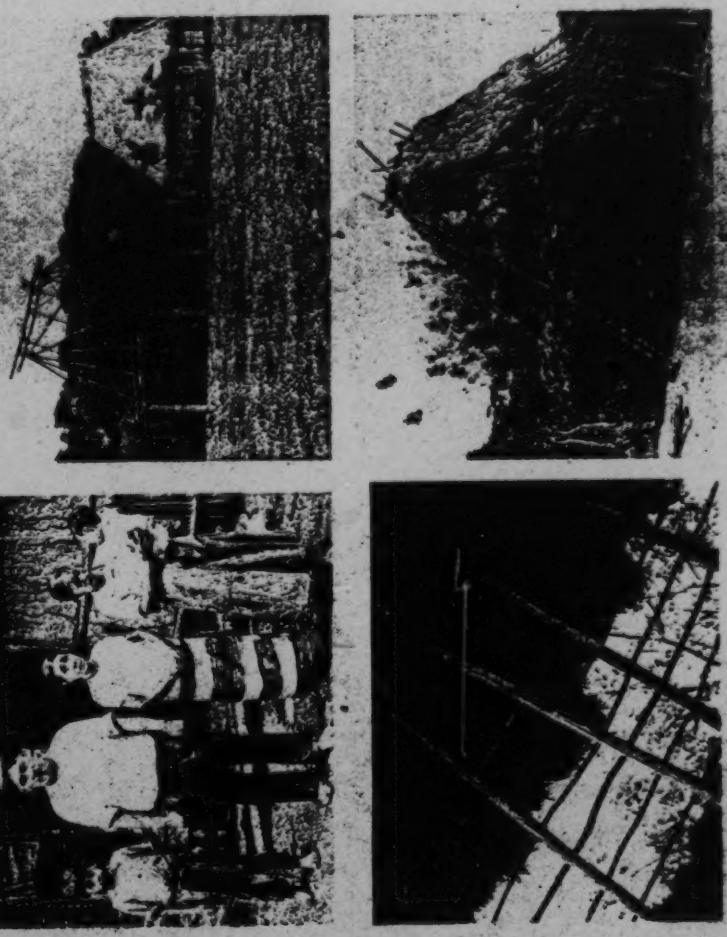
[291
854]



a. Two types of house construction in same house. A. Bare framework of roof, Palmar Norte. c. Frame [illegible] house, Boruca.
d. Partly thatched roof showing framework, grass, and ladder.

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Boruca

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4, Ox and Indian women hides with grasses for a roof. 5, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, cotton or skirt; 2, baby; 3, doll; 4, cotton or ruches; 5, mask; 6, fan-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, apron. 6, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, fan-legged stool with hand and tail; 2, basket; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. 7, Women wearing the mama, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

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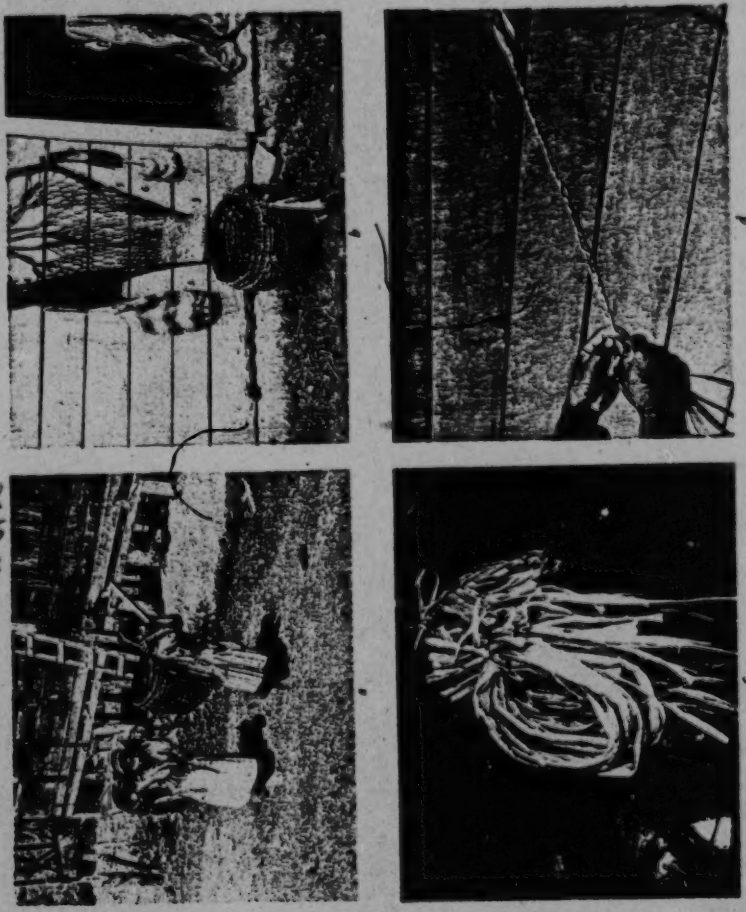

a, Girls bakes with oranges in bakes in front of school house. b, Cordage artifacts used by the Boruca; 1, bakes 2, 4, 7, string bags made by the Talamanca peoples; 5, bakes; 3, string bag made by the Boruca; 6, hammock made by the Boruca. c, Alpargas ready for use. d, Sample of rope technique.

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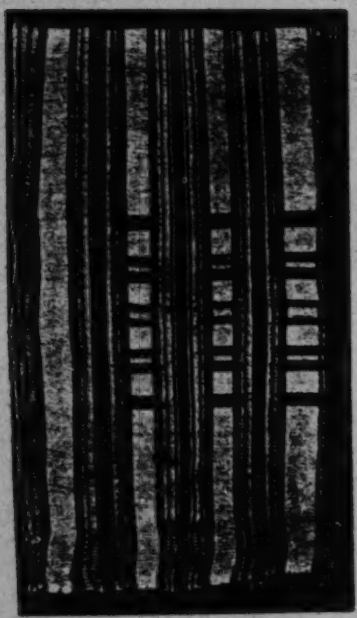

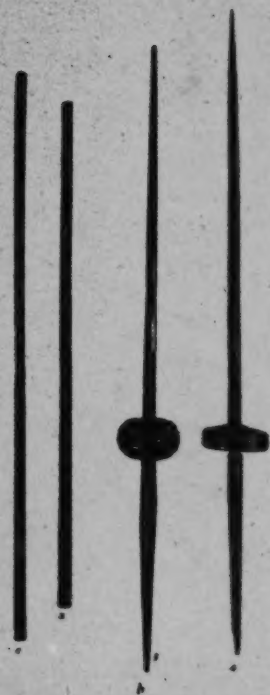

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a, Mantle or shirt with single-faced weft-pattern weave (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). b, Pejibaye[1] utensils: 1, 2, pejibaye[1] rods used in weaving; 3, 4, spindles and whorls of pejibaye (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). c, Bust of a Indio. d, Woman weaving man's belt.

[p. 59]

[1] [Ought to read "pejibaye," see errata, p. 51.—Analyst]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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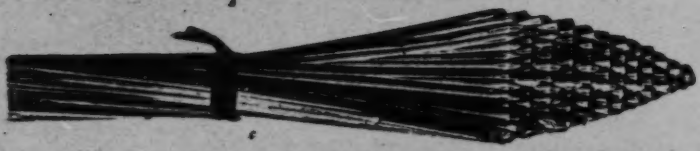

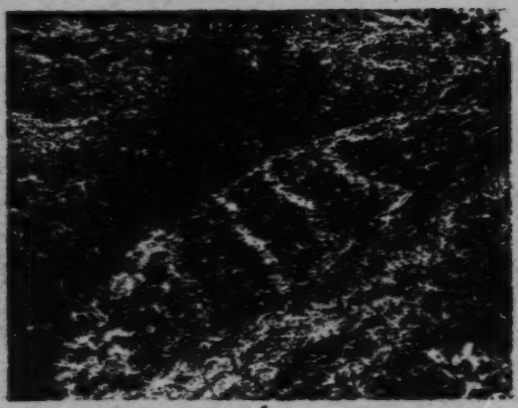

a, Funeral of a woman. b, Mask used in New Year's celebration. c, Straw women (¼ actual size). d, Rattles or maracas with bone handles. e, Remains of common agriculture on the savanna.

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VOLUME XVI

[Title Page]

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THE JOURNAL OF

AMERICAN FOLK-LORE

VOL. XVI.—JANUARY-MARCH, 1903.—No. LX.

FOLK-LORE OF THE BRIBRI AND BRUNKA INDIANS IN COSTA RICA.

THIS is, I believe, the first attempt to collect the tales and legends still preserved among the Costa Rican Indians. My primary object in compiling them was to obtain original texts for the study of the languages of the tribes mentioned, and a few of these texts, all belonging to the Bribri, have already been published in German, in the "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien."[1]

As far as our very imperfect knowledge of the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of Costa Rica allows us to admit, the bulk of the population consisted at the time of the Spanish conquest of five or six main groups, differentiated essentially by their languages. The *Chorotegas*, in the peninsula of Nicoya, belonged to a northern stock, as did the small *Nahua* colonies scattered among them. The *Votos* or *Corobicies* occupied the low plains along the San Juan River and the northwestern end of the main cordillera; they are still represented to-day, at the headwaters of the Rio Frio Valley, by the ill-fated Guatos, whose complete disappearance is a question of only a few years. The *Huétaru*, *Huétares* or *Guetares* extended all over the central part of the country; they have become extinct, or are mixed up and lost among the present half-bred or Spanish population in the densely inhabited strip between Port Limon and Puntarenas; but far to the east, in the valleys which originate in the highest region of the cordillera, and descend towards the Caribbean Sea (Chirripó, Estrella, Tarire, Coen, Arári, Uren), there still live in an isolated state about 1500 of their descendants, divided into the two chief groups of the *Cabécaras* (including the Chirripóes and other scattered families) and the *Vyeeitas*, *Blancos*, or *Bribri*. The *Tíruh*, *Térribes*, or *Térrabas* formed another stock, once powerful, but reduced to-day to a miserable handful located near the headwaters

[1] H. Pittier de Fábrega, *Die Sprache der Bribri Indianer in Costa Rica*, etc. 1893, [illegible]

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101 of the Tarariа, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepas* and the *Brunka* or *Cotes;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkuru*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[805] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

1. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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have no chocolate." "Do not lie so openly! I have seen thy cacao fruits hanging from the tree, as I was coming." "It is good," answered Jáburu, and, turning to his wives, he said to them: "Go and gather cacao, and bring also a calabash," and then Jáburu spoke again to his wives: "Let Suré's first crop be roasted for us to drink!" They then roasted and prepared the cacao, and scooped out the calabash to drink the chocolate from. Then Sibó, the almighty God, willed — and whatever he wills has to be: "May the first cup come to me!" and as it so came to pass, he said: "My uncle, I present this cup to thee, so that thou drinkest!" Jáburu swallowed the chocolate at once, with such delight that his throat resounded, *tráaaa!* And he said, "My uncle! I have drunk Suré's first fruit!" But just at this moment he began to swell, and he swelled and swelled until he blew up. Then Sibó, the almighty God, picked up again the seed of our kin, which was in Jáburu's body, and willed, "Let Suré wake up again!" And as it so happened, he gave him back the basket with the seed of our kin to keep.

539

II. HOW THE FIRST BRIBRI INDIANS WERE BORN.

In those far-away times, Sibó once thought what he could do to break up the seed of our kin, which he kept hidden without avail in a certain place. Then he made a bet with Jáburu, and they agreed that they would throw two cacao pods at each other, and that he should lose in whose hands the pod of cacao would break. And as Sibó did not want to lose again the seed of our kin, and let Jáburu have it, — for that was the stake they were going to play for, — he willed that he would choose for himself the green cacao, and give the ripe one to Jáburu. They were to throw four times.

Jáburu placed himself beyond the Aríri,[1] at the mouth of Djiri, while Sibó remained on the opposite side at Torok-ku. And Jáburu threw his pod twice, and the next time it broke in his hands, so that he lost the wager. This happened at dawn, and the angry Jáburu then proceeded to warm his chocolate, and to have the monkey, his *bikó-ku* or servant, serve it hot to him. But he, in trying to be quick, kicked the pot, and upset the hot chocolate. And this is how the warm spring near Torok-ku was formed. And there, where the hot water now remains, Suré-Djibi (= Jáburu) had his large pot, and since dawn came upon him, he had to abandon it. Just at this time our kin were born in human form. And as our forefathers were lying down on the stone banks which are still found there, they saw the peccaries going by. They went after them, and thus it was that

[1] The Aríri or Lari is one of the largest rivers of Talamanca, the Djiri is one of its tributaries, and Torok-ku (or the house of the "Alligator") is a place opposite its mouth, where the cliffs are naturally shaped in form of benches or stalls.

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539 they discovered the way over the cordillera. They got to the other side, and there they found out that the hogs had turned into men like themselves. And these are the *Bruría*[1] people.

III. THE TALE OF OUR DYING AWAY.

773 Our forefathers told us that in far-away times, when we lived in other countries, the gods allowed us to be eaten by birds and animals.

Once upon a time, when many of our people were playing on a 539 plain, there came flying a mighty eagle, and he caught one of our kin and blood, and threw him into a large basket he was carrying. He carried him away to the top of the Kamuk,[2] where he fell asleep, because he was very tired. At that time the eagle never thought of eating up our kinsman. On the morn, he flew again, carrying off his prey far away to the peak of Nëmósul, where he rested, without thinking yet of eating him. Again he flew away, far away, and got to the ridge of Nëmóie, where he met with powerful jaguars. And he told them how he had brought the man. One of the jaguars then proposed to him that they should eat the man together. The eagle consented, and they ate him. They ate him, and after that, the eagle flew up, high up to the top of Nëmóie. And this is the reason 773 why we see white spots near the top of Nëmóie; they are the bones of our kinsman, and there it was that man was eaten for the first [823] time by birds and animals, because the jaguar taught the eagle how to eat him. Our forefathers also used to say that on the same ridge of Nëmóie there are stones shaped like jaguars. Whenever any one goes there, those stones become alive and true jaguars, because they are not stones at all, but bad spirits.

Such is the tale of our forefathers, and they also used to say, that once upon a time strange men became a prey to the jaguars, on that same ridge of Nëmóie. And this is why we are not permitted to live in these dangerous places.

IV. HOW SIBÚ KILLED SÓRKURA.

539 Sórkura was in the habit of drinking the water of a spring in which the skunk used to ease his body. Sibó, the almighty God, thought it would be well that Sórkura should kill the skunk. And so it happened: Sórkura went to watch the skunk, killed it, and hung its dead body to dry on the fire, since it was a prophet of ill-

[1] Bruría is the Indian name for Térraba, the Tirub colony in the Diquis Valley.

[133] [2] Kamuk or Pico Blanco is the most conspicuous peak of the Talamanca mountains; it is 2914 m. above sea-level, according to Gabb. Nëmósul and Nëmóie are two secondary summits, the first at the entrance of the Coen Valley, the second on the ridge between the Estrella and Tavaria basins.

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omen. Now, while Sórkura was in the woods, Sibú went to his house. Sibú went to Sórkura's door, and spoke to the spider, "Art thou there, art thou there?" And the spider answered, "Here I am, here I am." Sibú also asked the dried skunk, "Art thou there and dry?" And the dried skunk answered, "Here I am and dry!" 539

Sibú had brought with him a cotton apron. He blew on the skunk, and it breathed again; it stood on its hind legs like a man, and was ordered to fasten the apron upon his body. Sibú had brought, also, the Singer's Calabash,[1] and he said to the skunk: "O thou, my uncle; thou shalt get the Calabash!" The skunk replied, "Oh no, I prefer to have the Drum of the Helper!" Then they played for a long time, until the music pervaded the wilderness. And Sórkura, alone in the woods, said to himself: "What is that resounding *tuú, tuú*, in my house?" And he thought: "What is it that so resounds? No one would dare to go to my house to bewitch." Then he thought again that he would go and watch. He went home, and hid himself behind a wall, to wait and see.

Sibú came again to play with the skunk. But then Sórkura was waiting for him with his spears. He threw one of these, and Sibú evaded it, so that it stuck fast in a wooden pillar; he threw another, but Sibú warded it off with a pot; the third one fell into the fire, and the fourth went through the door. And then Sibú ran away so swiftly that Sórkura only could grasp the whistle, which remained in his hand. Sórkura's people went after Sibú to kill him, but he could not be found.

Four days passed by, and Sibú was not seen anywhere. When he went back to Sórkura's house, this time under the disguise of an old Sórkura, — buried in far-away times, and now covered full with wounds and sores, — he said, "I am told that your boys stole Sibú's whistle." Sórkura answered, "How is it? dost thou happen to be Sibú?" Then Sibú spoke again, "Thou willest make fun of me, because I am so old and sore! I Sibú, the Almighty! Could Sibú be like myself?" But Sórkura insisted, "No, thou mightst be Sibú!" And Sibú went on, "Was Sibú, the Whistle-Bearer, like myself?"

Sórkura went and took the whistle, which was hanging from the brim of a basket. He showed it to Sibú, and Sibú grasped it; but Sórkura did not loose the string. Then Sibú spoke once more, and said, "The good gods manifest good virtues: what you have done is wrong! Let the string go." But Sórkura said, "No." Sibú then

[1] This is the sacred calabash, filled with the hard seeds of the *Canna*, and used by the singer (*sibú-ber*) to mark the cadence of the ceremonial songs. The chief-singer has a helper (*sinó*) provided for the same purpose with a drum. Therefore, the skunk declines the honor of leading the tune, and is modest enough to be satisfied with the drum. [534]

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539 willed, "May he let me have the whistle! May he look back into the house!" And as this happened, Sibú ran away and ran on whistling all the while. Meanwhile Sórkura thought he would go and set him an ambush on the path. He took four of his spears and his shield, hung his conch upon a string around his body, and said to his people: "I will go and kill Sibú; when you hear my conch resound, Sibú shall be dead. Then you are to warm up my cacao, as I will soon be back." He then went and waited for Sibú to pass by, and when Sibú came along, he threw one of his spears at him. But Sibú had on the back of his head another ear, which warned him that some one was going to shoot at him. The spear fell noisily on his side. Sórkura made another throw, but without effect. And now Sibú took one of the spears in his hand, and threw it at Sórkura, who received it on his shield. Then Sibú willed, "I will kill Sórkura; may he look over his shield!" Then he took a new aim, and Sórkura was shot just in the middle of his face. And Sibú took the conch, and blew: *Tuú, tuú,* so that the woods resounded, and he cut Sórkura's body into pieces with his knife, and made it into flesh, bones, blood, and bowels, which ever since have been [787] things of ill-omen to us.[1] Sórkura's people waited long, and kept his chocolate warm for him; but he never came back. Sibú had killed Sórkura!

V. THE KING OF THE TAPIRS.

[825] Like the wild hogs and the deer, the tapirs have also their king. Two Bribri went hunting into the woods, each one carrying his bow and arrows. They met with a white tapir, and tried to kill it; but they did not succeed. Both ran after it, but they lost its track, and one of them went astray, no one ever knew how. The other looked for him everywhere, but did not find him. So he went back to his home, where he asked for his companion, and, as he had not come back, everybody thought that he had met with a mishap, and lost his life.

The lost man ran far away behind the tapir until he lost sight of it; then he stood still to rest. Soon his ear perceived the crowing of a cock. He then thought that there was some house near, and, having gone to see, he got to a large *palenque.*[2] He went in, and

[1] Every time the Indians find in the woods leaves sprinkled with blood, or bones and excrement, the origin of which they cannot explain, they see in them Sórkura's relics, and turn away with awe; also leaves having the appearance of being spotted with blood, such as frequently occur in certain groups of plants (*Aroceæ, Begonia, Columneæ,* etc.), are considered to be of the same origin, and are signs of ill-omen for the undertaking they are engaged upon.

[2] Palenque is the *Spanish* or possibly *Nahua* word employed in Costa Rica to designate the large conical houses of the Bribri, who call the same *ó-wuri.*

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4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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there was standing a man of stately appearance. He asked, "Here I am; how art thou?" The other answered, "Well; why didst thou come here?" And he told how he had shot at a tapir, and had lost it. Then the man of the house went on, and said, "Why dost thou shoot to play? When thou shootest, do it so as to kill, so that the poor beast does not fall a prey to the worms. But I see thou art tired, so come in and have a seat." And he brought him *chicha*, and gave him to eat the meat of the tapir at which the hunter had shot without effect, but which the owner of the house had killed. 539

And when he had rested, drunk, and eaten, the hunter said that he had visited his host. But this one replied, "There, take thou this piece of cane, and plant it at thine home, and when this cane has grown its full growth again, then, but not until then, shalt thou be able to speak once more."

When the hunter got to his house, he could not utter even a word, so he planted the cane; and it grew, and when it had attained its full height, then the hunter could talk again, and he told all that had happened to him.

The man in whose house the hunter had been was the king of the tapirs, and this is why he treated him so.

VI. THE KING OF THE WILD HOGS.

Among the beasts, the wild hogs also have a king. He is to all 773 appearance like a very white and good-looking fellow, who goes 825 through the woods with a big stick in his hand. He lives in an enchanted place on the heights of San-krá-ua, and his door is guarded by a huge tiger.

The king of the hogs is displeased when the Indians wound his [224] subjects without killing them at once. Once upon a time there was in Boruca one of those bad hunters who had the reputation of being 539 a bad archer, and who always wounded the animals, but never killed them. One day he went into the woods, and met with a large herd of hogs, after which he ran and ran, without being able to reach them. When he paid attention to the place he had got into, he saw that he had gone astray. Then he went ahead until he came into the presence of the king of the hogs, who caught him by the throat and said, "Why dost thou hurt all my hogs without ever killing them? Now thou shalt suffer for it, because thou shalt remain in my hands until thou hast healed them all." And there he stayed for a long time, healing hogs; and at the beginning they did not let him heal them, but came upon him to bite. So that he suffered a thousand deaths, until they were cured a little, and became so tame as to follow him everywhere.

When there were no more hogs to cure, the king called our

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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539 Brunka to his presence, and told him he could go, and to be careful not to wound hogs again without killing them. He also marked in his presence all the hogs he would be at liberty to kill. And the man went away through the woods, until he got to Krámra-ua,[1] where he met with a few of his kinsmen who were hunting hogs. When they saw the man who used to cure them, the hogs always ran to him, and never would go away, so that he could easily kill all those which had been marked for him. And he always advised his companions never to wound animals, but to kill them right away.

VII. DON PEDRO CASCANTE.

(Legend of the hollow trail of El Pito.[2])

487 In very remote times, when the Spaniards had not yet arrived in
773 these countries, the Indians only could climb up from the coast of Quepos to the high mountains of Dota by following the long and
[481] tiresome ridge of El Pito, bound together by means of the royal vine into files of ten to twenty, and pulled by witchcraft without any effort from their side. But, also, on each journey one man disappeared without the others being aware when or how, and that was the toll they paid for the dreaded ascent.

539 This great calamity had lasted for numberless years, and the trail to El Pito became deeper and narrower from day to day, on account of the way they had to go over it, bound together in long files, when a very holy missionary father left Cartago, riding a strong white mule, to go and win over the Indians. And as he was going down to the coast through the fearful road of El Pito, he met the "Encanto" which had taken the form of a big turkey, and would not get out of the road to let the holy man pass. Then the father became very angry; he alighted from his mule, bound the turkey with a blessed string, and dragged him down hill until they got to the place called "Alto de los Cotoa." There he tied him to a large tree which he blessed, and told him that he would stay there up to the day of the final doom. And from that day hence, the "Encanto" never again annoyed the passers-by.

Only a certain Pedro Cascante, who had a large breeding-farm of mules and cattle, down on the plain of "El Calicanto," allowed himself to become a prey to his avarice, and on account of it, he lost his soul.

Cascante had become very rich by carrying out to San Marcos the

[103] [1] Krámra-ua, name of a place on the lower Diquis.

[2] This trail, so deeply cut into the ridge of El Pito as to be tunnel-like at a few places, leads from San Marcos, once one of the principal residences of the Quepos Indians, down to the coastal plains of the Pacific.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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fine cheese, finer even than the celebrated Bagaces, which he produced on his farm, together with many other good things. But the richer he became, the more grew the tremendous avarice of Don Pedro. Once he was climbing up the hill of El Pito, in the heavy ascent of "Los Godines," when one of his mules disappeared suddenly. Therefore he jumped from his horse, and, sword in hand, ran through the woods until he got to a plain, where a man was unsaddling the mule which had just gone astray. Cascante then got into a rage, and wanted to fight with the robber. But the latter quietly kept telling him: "Let us be peaceful, friend; let me take thy sword, and bind thine eyes, then I will take thee to my house where thou shalt receive thy mule's weight in gold or silver." After a while, Cascante consented to have his eyes bound, but would never let his sword go. They walked along, and in a short time the bandage fell from his eyes, and he found himself in a large house, filled with gold and silver. The robber, who was no other than "El Encanto," allowed him to carry away all he could, and he loaded his mules with gold and silver.

And, since then, Cascante maintained himself on good terms with "El Encanto," and even his old wife took her part of the benefits of the acquaintance. For she was seen catching tapirs to carry her load of plantains to the house, and binding the wild animals of the forest with a thin vine, and chastising them with a heavy stick, when they were not docile. She used to catch the jaguars, and beat them to death after tying them to a tree with a slender sprig, and whenever they tried to resist, she took them by the tail, and flattened them against the trees.

Don Pedro only travelled by night, riding a big black mule, and accompanied by a dog of the same color. The eyes of both animals threw out sparks in the darkness and from their necks hung noisy bells. And from fright all the people who met them in the night went on their knees to pray, and then the noise ceased instantly, the sparks shone no more, and the night-rider shouted: "Hallos, boys, be not frightened, I am Don Pedro Cascante!" Once ahead, again began the noise, and the sparks shone anew, and so rapid was the ride uphill that they made in six hours the long steep ascent from "El Calicanto" to San Marcos.

When Cascante died, his "deudos" put a candle on his coffin, but then he came to life three times. The fourth time they lighted many candles, and then went to sleep. When they woke up, they found themselves in the dark, and the coffin empty. The "Encanto," who is no other than the Devil himself, had come for his due, and taken away Don Pedro.

H. Pittier de Fábrega.

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COSTA RICA-PANAMA ARBITRATION

DOCUMENTS

ANNEXED TO THE

ARGUMENT OF COSTA RICA

BEFORE THE

ARBITRATOR
HON. EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES

UNDER THE
PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA
AND THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA CONCLUDED MARCH 17, 1910.

VOLUME I.

[Title Page]

1912.
THE COMMONWEALTH CO., PRINTERS,
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located in this city, where they are examined, and afterwards a duplicate of them is sent with the statements of results of such examination to the Tribunal of Accounts of *Santa Fé*, so that the officials there may approve or criticise the results of the audit by the *Contador* thereof.

This completes what was asked for in said Chapter 8 of the *Apuntamiento* and I refer to the Document No. 6.

ANTONIO GUILL Y GONZAGA.

Doc. 178 Report of Fray Manuel de Urcullu. Missions of Talamanca in 1763.

GUATEMALA, November 3, 1763.[1]

114 Fray Manuel Urcullu, in the regular service of Our Father San Francisco, Apostolic Preacher and Guardian of this College of the Holy Propaganda of Christ Our Lord Crucified, of the city of *Guatemala*.

121 In accordance with the request and charge made to me on the 10th day of the past month by the Superior Government of this Kingdom, that, in compliance with a Royal *cédula*, I should, within the period of one month, submit a list of the friars who are living under my direction, stating their names, ages and personal qualifications, the offices or positions they hold, and also the *reducciones* (settlements of converted Indians) and existing Missions which my said College has under its care; and giving the number of the missionaries engaged therein and those that are needed in each year, in order that the propagation of the Holy Gospel and the conversion of the heathen may suffer no detriment; the locations and sites of each mission; the settlements formed; the number and character of their inhabitants; the time during which they have been established; the missionaries who have died therein; and what settlements and *reducciones* are now being undertaken for curacies and secular parishes; I have to report as follows, making an individual statement of all that is asked me. * * *

[1] Archives of the Indies at Seville. Shelf 100. Compartment 7. Bundle 1. Peralta, *ubi supra*, p. 130.

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Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent.

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The products of these mountains for the use of man are plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] *saginos*,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls.

262 [137]

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[1] *Gulielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Ipomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Crax globicera.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus veraguensis.*

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Bicrylo;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymi.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Téjar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

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ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they 304
get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which 554
they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear.

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is 142
that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is [438]
there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the re- 166
peated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mos-* 648
quitos in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * *

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among 161
those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy.

175
As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is 648
to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the

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175 648 level lands of the great river *Estrella*,[14] where it joins the river *Coén*,[15] which comes down from *Cabécora*, and the *Arori*, which comes down from *Vicoite*.

Its destruction, according to the copy referred to, was in the 175 month of August of the tenth year of the last century, and at the 648 end of it. In the year 1680, the conquest and subjection of the 797 heathen Indians of that province was undertaken by the venerable servant of God, the Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, founder of this College, who had good results in his apostolic work, for in a few years he succeeded in teaching and baptizing so great a number of Indians that they already made up sixteen settlements. But at the end of 1709, those barbarous tribes rebelled, together with those who were taught, baptized and settled, and they killed two out of the three friars who were there. There were Fray Pablo de Rebullida and Fray Antonio de Zamora, and nine or ten of the soldiers who were in the garrison, together with a woman and a boy, burning the churches and profaning the sacred vessels and the furniture thereof. Yet by the orders and the measures taken by the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia or Captaincy-General of this Kingdom, assisted by the good conduct of the Governor of the Province of *Costa Rica*, who at that time was Don Lorenzo de la Granda Balbín, and the military officers who accompanied him, and the Rev. Padre Fray Antonio de Andrade, a disciple of this College, who was saved out of that insurrection, they were successful in penetrating into the mountains and cap-

[114] [14] Among the papers relating to the foundation of the city of *Santiago de Talamanca* it appears that it was founded upon the banks of the *Tarire*, eight leagues from its mouth. Fray Manuel Urcullu is not mistaken as regards the site, but he falls into the same error already noted in the other reports of the missionaries, of calling the *Tarire*, *Tiliri* or *Siraola*, the *Estrella* river. The latter is the one now designated the *Chánguene* on some maps, *Changuinola* upon others and, finally, the *Tilorio* river. The latter is the real *Estrella* river, discovered and made known in 1564, by Juan Vázquez de Coronado. Its course, instead of running towards the coast of the Sea of the Antilles, as it does today, turned at nine and a half degrees of North latitude and continued towards the East in a line almost parallel to the said coast, until it emptied into the Bay of *Almirante*. The ancient channel of the river is well known by explorers, and in particular by Don José María Figueroa, who traced it upon the map of Costa Rica. Note by M. M. de Peralta.

[15] The river *Coén* is a tributary of the river *Tarire*.

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turing fifteen hundred Indians who had risen, with their *cacique*, and justice was done to the latter as well as to the others, and the holy vessels and the furnishings were recovered. As the rebels continued more insolent and were bound together in their disobedience and apostasy, the zeal of the said Reverend Padre Andrade and of the other friars who were under him could not re-establish this conquest and subjection; but now, extricated from the difficult and even impossible situation in which the enterprise then was, it should be restored to this College.

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THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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[P. iv]

FOREWORD

121 101 THESE pages present the life of two indigenous groups, the Cabécares and the Bribri, who number among the first-known inhabitants of Costa Rican soil. They are [177] people in varied stages of acculturation, but many are now taking part in the national environment and life of the republic.

115 There are numerous informants who helped with the gathering of details which have contributed to the making of this book. Among these were two young teachers, Teofilo Mayorga, a Cabécar from Ujarrás, and Gabriel Figueroa, a Bribri from Salitre. Both took down the linguistic texts in phonetics and aided in the literal translations. Saturnino Ortiz and Marcos Ortiz, also from Salitre, and Herman Villanueva of China Kichá supplied much important data.

There were two medicine men whose aid was invaluable, Telesforo Figueroa, Bribri, and Victor Challe, Cabécar, and the late Bribri Burier, Jaime Ortiz.

To these, to Roger Thayer Stone, and to the countless others who cooperated in the preparation of this text, among whom figure Agnes Gamboa, Francisco Amighetti, and Naomi Stratton, the author renders profound gratitude.

Doris Stone

San José, Costa Rica, 1960

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6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

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GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail
487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUALTER]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[535] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUALTER]

[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116–30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued
[Text continues to p of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

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THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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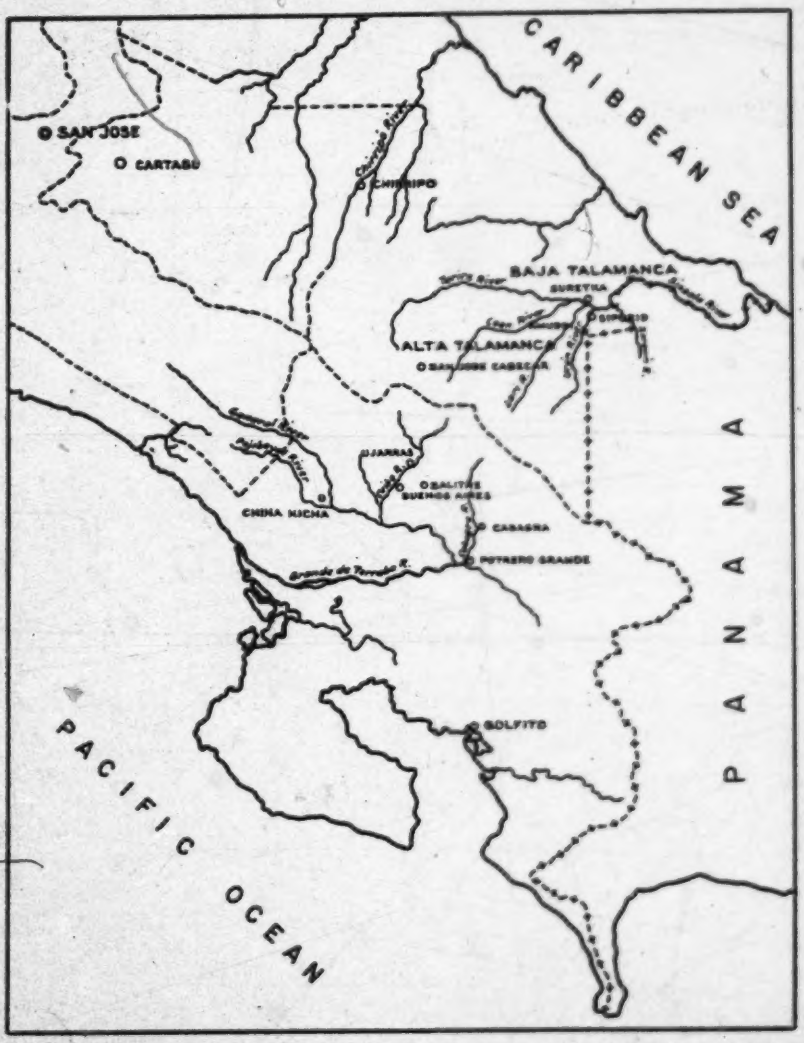

FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribri and Cabécar Indians.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.5(A)]

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614] [114]

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.[15] It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez [176] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el rio *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques es el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9–39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

[P.6(A)]

101 **Peoples:** *Names and Location.* Such complicated terminology with respect to geographical extensions leaves little hope for too clear a presentation of the inhabitants of this area. [635] The ancient provinces of Duy and Guaymí included the northwestern section of Panama which was in part the home of the Térraba Indians. These people will be treated only in connection with history and tradition in this study in spite of the fact that in historic times there was a small group on the Zorquín River.[22] In the actual report, we use the term Talamanca as an all-inclusive word for the Bribri and the Cabécares. There are between [162] two and three thousand of these people on the Caribbean side, and approximately 1,595 on the Pacific.

Panamanian Border to the Coen River. Many names are listed in the documents pertaining to the area from the Panamanian border to the Coen River in Costa Rica. Among these, the commonest are: Ara, Ateo, Abicetaba, Blancos, Biceitas or Viceitas, Korrhué, Ucabarúa, and Valientes. To be sure, most of these terms are spelled in various ways according to the period and the author. These peoples were found between the Urén, Lari, and Coen rivers and in the plain of the Tiliri or Sixaola River, at least as far as Punta Cahuita.[23]

This entire group seems to have been closely related although they were not all one original people.[24] Collectively, they were the first to be known as Talamancas in the early 17th century, and today are called by this name or by that of Bribri.[25] It is interesting to examine these ancient designations because certain ones are associated with peoples now extinct, while others have a definite inference in modern terminology.

The groups that have now disappeared are

[103] [22] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 218. This is also a Mosquitia name. The Bribri term is Choli.

[23] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. We do not include here the Sicuas or Zeguas who were also found on the north coast. They were known to be of Mexican extraction. For an account of these people *see* Lothrop, 1944.

[24] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 219–20.

[25] *See*, e.g., the reports of the Franciscan fathers toward the end of the 17th century. The distinction is clearly made between Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas. *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 369–74.

101 the Ateo, Korrhué, and Ucabarúa. The Korrhué, however, seem to have been originally a Cabécar clan conquered by the Bribri.[26] The
[103] name Ara or Arari still signifies in Bribri the upper Lari River, and in a certain sense can mean the inhabitants of this region although as a name it is not applied to the people.[27] Here a settlement known as Bribri is located. The term Biceita or Viceita seems to have its source in that of the Abicetaba who were a Bribri clan[28] and, even though not used in 1959, is understood in Costa Rica as the Bribri. Blancos and Valientes were loose terms as Gabb has correctly shown. Blancos sometimes included the peoples on the western side of the Coen, while Valientes more correctly was applicable to the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Chiriqui Lagoon or Almirante Bay.[29]

Bribri is unknown in the early documentation, but as Pittier points out, the word is derived from *dẹri-dẹri* which he states means "brave" or "strong."[30] In 1959, the Bribri still insist that their name comes from *dererri* meaning "strong" or "hard" and that "brave" is *ẹnsú*. Lehmann[31] notes that during the years 1590–93 the terms *Vrivri* and *Taquetaque* signified to the Guetar of Cuquerrique (Tuquerrique) "Lords and sons of lords." When we remember the tradition that the Bribri conquered at least the Cabécares (*see* Non-Documental History), there is ample reason for these statements.

Western Bank of the Coen River to the Reventazón. On the western bank of the Coen River and continuing through the Tarire to the Reventazón rivers were many names, including the Cavécaras (Cabécares), Urinamás, Siruros, Moyaguas, and Chirripó, with a people called Estrella in the coastal area.[32] The only ones of this group, with the possible exception of

[26] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[27] In the Bribri tongue, *ara* means "you." *ará* means "a child."

[28] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219.

[29] Gabb, 1875, p. 487.

[30] Pittier, 1898, p. 16.

[31] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. It should be remembered that Spanish is a phonetic language and even today *v* and *b* are by mistake used interchangeably. In colonial times they were confused more frequently. *See also* Fernández, 1907, vol. VII, p. 392.

[32] Thiel, 1896-98, p. 47. For a more detailed list *see* Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 221.

[P.7(A)]

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* [136] (place). There are quetzals in the high moun- [133] tain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is inter- [262] esting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan [797] fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial 174 documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same [101] people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[40] Stone, 1949.
[41] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*ʒeri*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan
[614] regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of significance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Quelyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Quelyst]

[43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue.
[103] The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Fran-
[797] ciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
C48 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish
[177] men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

184 197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which 104 are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą iʒɔ*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ɔ is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, ị, ǫ, ụ, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

194 ǯ, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*. It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of ǯ, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

L is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico [197] have a like consonant.

j is palatal and fricative.

r, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta*.

ts is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch*.

š is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh*.

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch [192] produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example:

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dɤwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jɤwá* (medicine man)
low pitch: *du* (bird); *dɤwe* (sickness); *jɤwa* (otter)

(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 187 indicates), 1896.
[82] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.
[83] Pozas, N.D.

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically dis- [177] tinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. 489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In 491 most of the region, bridges are non-existent and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and 177 upper Chirripó have been isolated since conquest times and little attention was paid to the 648 Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 10(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the
648 valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for
distinctions in beliefs and living habits between
101 one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[48] Thiel, 1927.
[49] Polakowsky, 1883.

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ká* (*ká* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *buǯiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *ǯiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan
[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Analyst]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Analyst]

[P. 11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional
361 Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the
[648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Tala-
[412] manca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging
[824] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the
[415] waist (fig. 2, *c*)* and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The
[411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope,
[412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It
249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

* [See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

241 Women formerly felled trees and did as
462 much field labor as the men. Today, however,
[178] women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these
241 peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The
[137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *fiame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *fiampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).
245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are
262 in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63]
[137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 This basic diet is supplemented with several
241 varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137]
[177]

[61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is [245] [272] [439] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, [273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared [231] (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de [175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maiz poquisimo. . . ."

[P. 13(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason
[177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold
[454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of
[417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but not in all. They are enclosed at night in small
[417] houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ¼ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

¼ [See category 116, End Plate 2 - Analyst.]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/4] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[2/4] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[2/4] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
411 large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morki*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sukémogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

2/4 [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[4] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokɔL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, [171] large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[Text continues top of P.16(B)--Qualist]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:

[Text continues bottom of P.16(B)--Qualist]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1942, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [484] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same
342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un-
[361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages
[192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).
[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *bugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of
[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of
[824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *bugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate
[177] of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubtedly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinearly to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caarka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by men and 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [Is a carrying baskets- ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fish-
ing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves;
bright feathers from birds, in particular the
oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers;
[237] sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal
skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers
for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers
for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the
Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs
of all houses and are for sleeping as well as
resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves
are placed on the ground by the fire and are
used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs
and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on
the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are
common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a pro-
truding head and tail. The women sit on them
while cooking, or people while talking, in
order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the
men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLɔ* in
Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden
mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas,* and
basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold
chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to
protect them from animals. Large earthen
chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all
the big circular houses of the Bribri and in
some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a
Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true
even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils
are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of
their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually
[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two
groups are in close contact.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
[192] *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for
lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
[184] manca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca culture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.19(B)]
Bribri
Cabecar

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons,
[301] cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a, d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[Text continues top of P. 20(B)--analyst]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[Text continues bottom of P. 20(B)--analyst]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[476] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fm. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konp* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every 248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [790] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hacas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
[137] ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian times when trade was common between the
[438] Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*,
[172] of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both
[462] men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[46] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into [482] rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [171] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets [482] are made from it.

A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or [824] *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

283 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines
824 and rope.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth
[462] as it requires considerable strength. There are
[824] three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets,
[513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loin-
[438] cloths, and as an article of trade with the Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild
[415] rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous
415 for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape
[224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets.
[227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[88] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
[824] needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[89] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbəL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[88] Skinner, 1930, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [89] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[90] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occasionally to eat with. Rattles are also made. [534]

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or childlike drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bevas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). [412] Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [415] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

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[P.25(A)] Bribri
Cabecar

802 **Numerical System.** Both the Cabécares and the Bribri use the decimal system but have a complicated method of counting, depending upon the subject and, in part, the shape under consideration. The Cabécares, furthermore, have ordinal numbers. Gabb, Theil, Pittier, and Pozas [94] have already presented in detail the principles concerned with the numeration of these Talamancan peoples. In the present account, we reiterate the major points of these authors' observations and add some minor details of our own. Gabb and Pittier devote most of their attention to the Bribri, while Pozas has concentrated on the Cabécar.

The Bribri have six ways of counting. The numeral changes slightly if the subject is a person, an animal, a house, a round object, a large object, a plant or tree. The subject always precedes the number which differs slightly depending on this. There are, however, certain subjects which are followed not only by the number but also by a suffix or a word. In Bribri, for instance, a given tree, such as the *pejibaye*, is followed by the number and by the generic name "tree." The Cabécares have the same system with slight variations. In Cabécar, in the case of a given tree, the generic term is not necessary although it sometimes occurs. The common form is a word without meaning but which appears to be euphonic and obligatory, *káte*, which precedes the numeral.

804 **Measures.** There is no given method of measure. *Havas* and baskets serve on both sides of the range. The Pacific people and those in the Talamanca Plain are also accustomed to use [177] the Spanish measures such as *quintal*, *cajuela*, etc., as well as their indigenous method (*see* Trade).

805 **Measurements of Time.** The year is known in both languages by the term for summer or dry season, *duwas* or *duas*. The wet season is called *kaLikeska*, rain (*kaLi*) time (*keska*). The yearly divisions are indicated by these two terms plus those for the changes of the moon: [95]

[94] Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884; Pittier, 1904; Pozas, N.D.
[95] The terms given are Bribri. The same divisions are found in Cabécar, however, even though the words

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Cabecar

NUMBERS AND MEASURES

805 New moon *si* (moon) *pęLs* (new)
192 Growing moon *si* (moon) *tso* (half) *kęk* (sky)
Full moon *si* (moon) *tuLsi* (full)
Waning moon *si* (moon) *tuj* (less)

The day is designated by the movement of the sun in the following fashion among the Bribri:

dawn	*buLám*[95]		
early morning	*divso*[96]	(sun)	*kina* (came out)
from about 8 A.M. to midday	*divso*	(sun)	*camba* (half)
midday	*divso*	(sun)	*okaę* (up)
afternoon	*divso*	(sun)	*butána* (lowers) or
	divso	(sun)	*askeusien* (spends itself or lowers)
evening	*divsot*	(sun)	*kam* (gone) or
	divsot	(sun)	*mám* (goes in)

A slightly simpler division is used by the Cabécar:

dawn	*káqir* (place)	*Kénirrowę* (dawning)
early morning	*sęqira* (early)	
midday	*kęwś* (sun)	*mogj* (half)
afternoon	*komiskLá* (late)	

There are only two expressions for night:

Bribri:
night *kę* (place or time) *tuina* (dark) *or*
midnight *kę* (place or time) *cambus* (half)
Cabécar:
night *tsuina* (dark)[97]
midnight *ká* (place) *lalę* (half)

The counting of past and future time is also of interest. Both tribes have the same system. The list given here is in Bribri and is used up to 6.

Past	*Present*	*Future*
yesterday *chiki*	today *ję*	tomorrow *buLá*
2 days past *bśkLi*		2 days after today *bsiki*
3 days past *mąuLi*		3 days after today *mepek*
4 days past *tkáLi*		4 days after today *tkík*

are different.
[96] Sun can be called *divso* or *divsots*.
[97] Note that this is the same word used by the Bribri.

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[P. 26(A)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *shfLi*		5 days after today *shfiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb[98] and Pittier[99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [761] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and
[262] pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid.
756 The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik*
846 (*Araceæ* sp.), over her and the new born babe
[824] who is also washed with leaves which sup-
[751] posedly have protective powers. These leaves include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day,
[783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé-
756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the
[783] purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps
[756] the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[101] This is called the *papakuok* ceremony. *pa* in this
[192] instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is common and they are weaned anywhere from
[862] one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuok* is "to bathe."
192 [168] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[169] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
[856] Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
863 crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in con-
nection with excretion are taught practically
from birth. The child is taken out of the house
and held up while he does his needs. He is not
allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling
itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
a father lie in a hammock with his small chil-
dren beside him. Parents pay attention to per-
sonal details, such as wiping a child's nose or
washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is
food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat
three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes
are taught to swim and help to make fires,
using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when
sitting on the low benches or on the ground
before the hearth. At the age of seven, they
begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and
cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt,
using small arrows for training. When the
adults are out in the fields or hunting, children
up to ten years old stay at home to tend the
fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for
example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water
when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no
school and all lore is learned by word of mouth
on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine
men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must
undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
lengthy manner to those who want to have
[767] some connection with the handling of the dead
(*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line.
Often they play with mud daubers' nests or
similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

872 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then,
[583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

583 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple live from eight days to one year in trial mar-
591 riage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives
[595] a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against trial marriages is at times evidenced by the
[184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their
[177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair
591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase of the life cycle as far as ceremony and
761 prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many
764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and [765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis 764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri- 614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pu* (*see* Funeral and Bone 764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pu* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper [775] articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches from rapine birds and beasts. After a year, 765 when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has [177] undertaken an educational program to in- [871] corporate the Talamancans into the Costa Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
[178] that certain vestiges of traditional customs persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.**
764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jəwá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ʒarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókụm* in Bribri and *kerí* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. [262] He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were [775]

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur*
clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[106] but the
elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that
they belonged to the *síbrwak*, *korrebué*, or
sinębrwak groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[108] and that they were next
to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests
heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by
the lower Coen and had a number of assistants
the highest of whom were called *ko*, and
apprentices known as *sini*.[108] He adds that
elaborate preparation was necessary before the
title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in
keeping with the idea that their position was
hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegrwák*, *síbrwak*, *bLerrwak*, and *sənítsrwa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrbué*. We use *korrebué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setélrwak*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[106] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[108] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

767 764 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bikú'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at [273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has [756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former [775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This [768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the geographical location. Government and eccle- [656] siastical authorities have prohibited the funda- [797] mental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767 533] tion between *sini* and *sinąbwak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.

[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

764 (*see* Fibers). They cover the bark cloth with the leaves of white *bijagua* (*mɔrksi*) and tie it again with the special string. Leaves of the [824] white *bijagua* are essential for the dead. They [264] are not used to wrap or serve food as is the black *bijagua* (*bikuLɔkɔ*) because they have a faint taste and odor. After the feast the bundle is "buried" in the forest. In effect, it is covered with briar bushes and branches or is even placed in a shallow grave.

Gabb [112] gives a description of two deaths he witnessed among the Bribri in the second half of the past century.

In 1947, the writer had the opportunity to be present at a ceremony for a little girl in Cabécar, the account of which follows. When we arrived at the house, a small ceremonial fire called *hamburu* had been made and beside it the *já* had placed a gourd filled with water. As we entered, they put another gourd filled with *chilate*, a preparation of ground maize, ripe bananas, and water, on a white *bijagua* leaf by the fire as well as a cotton burr and a little raised-rim grinding stone with a pestle on top.

Some cotton without seeds was tied with *pita* to a stick. There was also a *mochila* or net carrying bag with two small gourds filled with ground cacao and ground maize, respectively (fig. 11, *b*). The belief is that the soul goes 775 below where the sun comes from. When the sun rises, the soul goes along with it to the sky but always returns below. The food set by the fire is needed for this journey.

764 The *bika'kra* or Organizer of the Feast put this food on the raised shelf where the body was lying hidden by a banana leaf screen made with a pole frame. Then he undertook the task of seeing that there was enough food for the people present.

The grieved mother, a widow, remained apart from everyone, sitting at the very edge of the house, grimly silent. As long as the dead was there, custom decreed that she could not do a thing, neither eat, except to drink chocolate, nor talk at length. She also had to be bathed with hot water by a woman after the body was removed. Meanwhile the Organizer of Feasts arranged the banquet which various women were preparing over a big fire inside the house. He also fixed the raised shelf which was rather fragile.

[112] Gabb, 1875, pp. 497–99.

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to [767] resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burío*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the
[775] ceremonial one which had the food for the dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the
[825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as
[775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the
[775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[997 184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
[184] ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are the only persons to touch the body, however. The preparations, including a funeral feast and the blocking of cross roads on the main trail, are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves or a cloth were the usual procedures on the Pacific side before placing the dead in the grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for the first time. The school gave the planks and nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture. A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed mattress, a sack which was over the bed and upon which she lay, were removed by the Burier. On this occasion there were three Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped body and the planks for the cover were nailed on.

During this whole procedure, the family disappeared and none of the stand-bys would look at what was happening. When the coffin was ready, a girl took branches which had been cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretching from both doors of the house to the main trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery, blocking any opening in the path with branches. When a river had to be crossed, branches were placed on the rocks and at the shallow edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house from the grave. The Buriers followed with the coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hurwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the world. The task of the Singer was performed [767] by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[649] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[118]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[184] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[116] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[964] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pу*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[118] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-501.
[116] Pittier, 1938.

[P.35(A)]

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[228] records the
782 [TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 35(B)—Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
224 stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[228] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[229] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

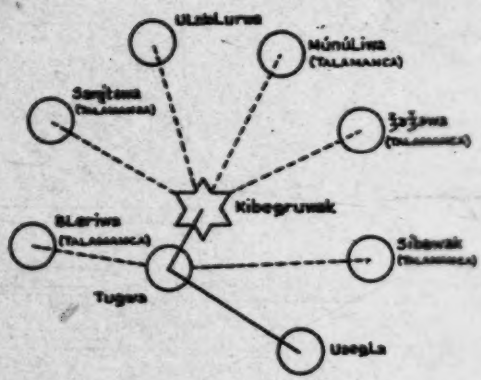
614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[627] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[692] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[681] usual method is for the family of the culprit
[184] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[423] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

[P 36(A)] Bribri Cabecar

614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128] *Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica*

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

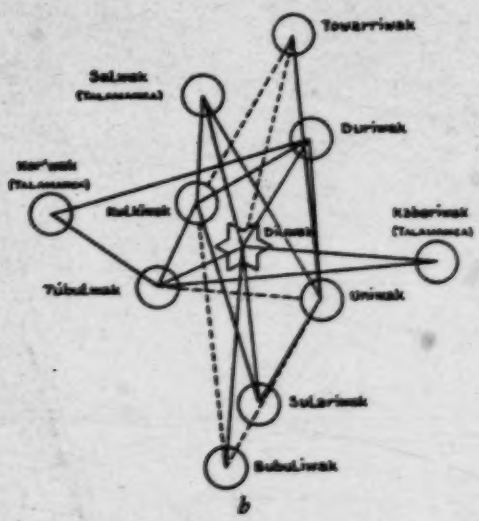
[text continues middle of P. 36(B)—Analysis]

614 177 manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614 463 [565] Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari 262 614 [443] region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

[117] The *saLwak* and *tsirrariwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupowak*.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar
[P.36(B)]
614
582



b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séké* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ké* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *dítsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *suwəet* meaning "other group."[118]

[582]
[614]
101

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *sévak* meaning "our group or seed."

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

[118] In the Cabécar, *dəsəwak* means "same group." *séberəetur* is "other group."

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkiwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

sibawak	mediwak
mogriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest
611 in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves members of their *father's* clan in spite of the
[851] fact that the father has married outside of his people

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *túbor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

614 582 [591] people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənjtswa, ʒəʒəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənjtswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [121] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[122] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

601 There are distinct designations for relatives depending upon which side of the family they belong: whether on the mother's or the father's side. However, there is more than one way by which to denote certain relationships.

Kinship Terminology

Bribri

Female Line

Reference Terms

ʒeami	Mo	Literally: ʒe (my) *ami* (mother); *be* (your or you) can be substituted for ʒe in all cases.
ʒeʒéuị	Fa Mo Mo	Literally: ʒe (my) ʒé (father) uị (grandmother)
ʒeuiʒé	Mo Mo Fa	
nauʒum	Si So	
	Si Da	
	Br So	
	Br Da	
ʒeamịeL	Mo Si	
ʒeamịeke	Mo Br	

Reference and Direct Terms

uị	Mo Mo	
uịami	Mo Mo Mo	
sibaʒem[125]	Mo So Da	
	Mo So So	
	Mo Da So	
	Mo Da Da	
nsú	Mo Br	(rarely direct)

Direct Terms

amiLa	Mo Si	
nauʒeke[126]	Mo Br	
	Cousins (male)	
amiLaʒeke[127]	Mo Si	
	Cousins (female)	
	Mo Br Wi	
taLá[128]	Mo Mo Br	

Male Line

Reference Terms

ʒeʒéduś	Fa Wi Br
	Fa Si Hu
ʒemịduś	Mo So So

[125] Is term Mo Mo *or* Mo Mo Mo uses when she speaks to grandchildren.
[126] Rare.
[127] Also reference term.

[P. 38 (B)]

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Bribri

601

	Mo Da So	
	Mo Fa Fa	
ʒedúsamj	Fa Mo Mo	
	So Mo	
	Da Mo	
	Da	(rarely used)
duʒeke	Fa Fa	
	Fa Fa Br	
	Fa Fa Fa	
	Fa Mo Fa	
[582]	Also signifies people one can marry, i.e., people who are not "our" family.	
ʒeʒe or ʒiʒé	Fa	Literally: *ʒi* or *ʒe* (my) *ʒé* (father); *ʒi* is used at times instead of *ʒe* because of sound. *be* (your) can be substituted.
ʒedúʒé	Fa Fa Fa	
	So	(rarely used in this sense)
ʒeʒékuní	Fa Si	
ʒeʒéeL	Fa Br	
éLie or éL	Fa Br So	
	Fa Si So	
	Distant male cousins	
kuní	Fa Br Da	
	Fa Si Da	
	Si	
Reference and Direct Terms		
duú[128]	Fa Fa	Reciprocal in all cases.
	So So	
	Da So	
	Da Da	
	So Da	
	Mo Fa	
	Mo Fa Fa	
duaLa[129]	Fa So Da	
	Fa Da So	
	Fa So So	
	Fa Da Da	
Direct address		
kaʒéke	Fa Si	
ʒé	Fa	
ʒéLa	Fa Br	
ʒʒék	Fa Mo	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
duwa	Fa Fa	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
ʒeaLaʒéke[131]	Fa Br	

[128] No term for male side.
[129] Very rarely used as direct address.
[130] Used by paternal grandmother to grandchildren.
[131] Rarely used.

Both Lines

601 *Reference Terms*

aLabusi[183]	Da or girl
nsuʒum	Si So Si Da Br So Br Da
kabo	Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate.
[192] akeʒeke	The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things.
aLa[188]	sibling (child) So
[582] soʒámi	Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. *so* (our).
ʒeaké	Si referring to Br (female ego).
ʒeeL	Reciprocal between sisters. Reciprocal between brothers. Reciprocal between brothers and sisters.
ʒekutá	Br referring to Si (male ego).
tuʒe	Br referring to Si (very affectionate term). Cousins
kutaʒeke	Male referring to distant female cousins.
kutaie	Male referring to distant female cousins.

Direct Address

eL[184]	Br Si Mo Si So Mo Br So

Terms Denoting Sex

192

aLakerpa	woman (any age)
aLawebLa	man
aLaduLaken	boy
duLaduLa	youth; young (only applicable to males)

Non-Blood Relatives

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

nsíki	Da Hu	Wi Fa
ʒík	So Wi	Wi Mo

[183] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.
[188] My child is *ʒeLa*.
[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 39(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
Cabecar

601

aLakar	Wi
wam	Hu
ʒéʒike	Mo Hu (stepfather; rarely direct)
maLa	Br Wi (between women only)
dəbəkɔr[185]	Wi Si Si Hu

Direct Terms

duá	Si Hu to Si Hu (reciprocal between brothers-in-law only)
aLaʒeke	Used by stepfather or stepmother for spouse's children.

Cabécar[186]

Female Line

Reference Terms

miku	Mo Mo
s mikú mina	Mo Mo Mo Mo
s ʒiba mina	So Mo my wife
aLagLo	Wi or woman
s ʒiba busí mina	Da Mo my wife
s mina kaga	Mo Fa
s miku kaga	Mo Mo Fa
s mina kuta	Mo Si
s mina eL	Mo Br
s mina	Mo
wajbo	Si Da
nujbo	Si So
tLa	Si Da ch Br Da ch
duawa	Fa Si Da (are available for marriage with Mo Si So)
ʒís tachi jengata[187]	Mo Fa

Male Line

Reference Terms

s kaga tachi	Fa Fa Fa Fa So So
juʒogua	Fa Mo
miku[188]	Fa Mo
s kaga kuta	Fa Si
s kaga eL	Fa Br
kaga	Fa
s kaga kaga	Fa Fa
dobai	Br So (also direct) Fa Br (reciprocal)

Reference Terms

eL	Br
kuta	Si (usually youngest)

reference term between male or female cousins.

[185] Reciprocal only between women.

[186] Throughout: *ʒís* or *s* alone signifies "my."

[187] *Jengata* signifies "own."

[188] This is rarely used for father's side.

601

ʒis kibí	Elder Br
ʒis bacha	Youngest Br
ʒis kuta nuLej	Eldest Si
ʒis kuta tsisekek	Youngest Si
ʒis kuta bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Si youngest Da
ʒis eL bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Br youngest Da
sibaiba	Mo Mo So Mo Mo Da
ʒiba	Da So child
ʒibabusí[189]	Da young girl

Reference Terms

ʒiba jiʒiʒi	So Hu of Da
dabai	Stepson; Br of the uncle Stepdaughter; Si of the aunt
dəbo	Si Da Hu Br Da Hu
dəbəguət	Br Wi, Hu Si } Reference and direct
dwa	Si Hu, Hu Br } Direct. Reciprocal between men.
mą	Br Wi, Hu Si } Direct. Reciprocal between women.
nuąki	Hu Fa Wi Fa
ʒak	Hu Mo Wi Mo
klawa	Cousins (female)

Direct Terms

ʒis kaga	Fa
ʒis kaga eL	Fa Br
ʒis kaga tsisekek	Fa youngest Br
nusí	Mo Br Fa Br
kaʒigue	Fa Si (also reference) Mo Si
ʒis tsisekek	Youngest Br

Both Lines

Direct and Reference Terms

eLwa	Fa Br sibling Mo Br sibling Fa Si sibling Mo Si sibling
tschí	Mo Fa (reciprocal) Fa Fa

[192] [189] *busi* means "young" and is used only for the feminine sex.

601 tschiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

449 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
484 Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected
757 magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[142] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[457] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 41(B)—ANALYST]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 41(B)—ANALYST]

[495] [101] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[102] Usually 100 pounds.

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabé-
[614] car, an aspirant must belong to one of the following clans: túgwa, bLeriwa, sibawa, sənʃtswa, ʒɔʒɔwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred
[198] songs with words in an ancient or secret language unknown to the general public. These
[778] last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri
[754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and
[436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
776 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[144] Aguilar P., 1953.
[145] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Ocón Jiménez Lachmer of San José.

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[770] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
[172] which are obviously ceremonial have been found in caches associated with the Highland archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American
[171] trait and are still used by medicine men among the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and medicine man staffs were carved as late as the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish, the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11, *c*) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood. There is a mystic[illegible] connection between the medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact benevolent spirits who help him cure. In Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to the songs of the medicine man in the night; *kər* = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used
756 for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuʒeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside the ill person whose hand is held by the curer or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms part of this ceremony.

756 Stones are another very special part of the
778 equipment, the origin of which is also bound up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs). A medicine man may have any number of stones but there are two principal ones with a covering name which is sometimes mistaken by laymen as a third stone. This collective

It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[146] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 term is *siɨ́* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are
778 called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
swa. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves.
Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to
the medicine man on special occasions, or are
handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan.
When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish
to give his own stones to a young professional,
his brother or clan keeps them until a new
doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without
these two stones although other ones are also
used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild
pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the par-
ticular animal when one hunts and it is for this
reason the Indians say that medicine men never
lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *ailk* (*Aracea*
sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing
paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf
is used more as an indication of magic power
than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during
childbirth. Other articles which compose a
medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a
lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the
feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quet-
zals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and
shells of which three are of particular impor-
tance. These are *tsunanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose
and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no
fixed time required for preparing to become a
medicine man, it usually takes from two to
six years, depending upon the capacity of the
novice's memory. The first six months are
intensive. The apprentice goes for three days
without eating. He makes a lean-to in the
woodland out of all the herbs he can gather,
edible and non-edible, and stays there for two
days so as not to see the sun. At night he can
go outside. During this period, the medicine
man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After
two days and two nights the teacher and his
pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the
hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This [787] is extremely important because without a staff contact with the spirit, *duLar*, the messenger [776] of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLar*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLar* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis* [825] *Episcopus Diaconus* Lessom), hawk, paraquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ékéké*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *siąkure*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *siąbko*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

756 head man placed five folded carrying bags,
[352] one with a stone inside belonging to the novice; a paper package; two stones; and the basket with the feathers. These stones were not part of the *sɨ́ɸ* and were handed to the chief medicine man by his wife. As each object was put on the bench, every medicine man and the aspirant had to put a hand on it. The principal medicine man took the basket and put it first on the stool and then on the earthen floor of the house and announced that it was time to rest. All got up.

At this point, the first wife of the head man handed him a gourd lined with banana leaves and filled with hot chocolate (unsweetened). He took it and all left the main house, singing, and went to a smaller one where there was a kitchen. There they said to two women who were cooking by the fire, "*ịɛkeʒịcbɔrkɩ*" (here many people do not fit), and "*sɨ́ɸ tsurɩ́ ibɩɩ sɨ́ɸ*" (*sɨ́ɸ* chocolate heat for *sɨ́ɸ*).

[224] Then they took a pile of *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) leaves from a *tabanco* and brought it to the first house saying, "*ʒɔbi* (this stands for *sɨ́ɸ*) *dibaLa* (chocolate hot; if *ʒɔbi* were not before this word, it would mean water hot, but the name for the stones changes the meaning) *mekɩ* (put)." This is a phrase used ceremoniously. Freely translated it signifies, "They are going to heat chocolate for *ʒɔbi*."

The witnesses answered, "*ɛ́kɛ́kɛ́*" (good).

The medicine men brought in the chocolate in an iron pot and placed it on the floor beside the bench with the stones, another bunch of leaves, and leaf-wrapped packages of white maize chicha. The *bijaguas* were to be used as cups for the chocolate. They said to those present, "Wait. We are going to serve the feast." All replied, "Good."

They brought in more leaves and a child came with water in a gourd. This was immediately taken by a medicine man and was placed on leaves on the floor beside the bench.

The first wife of the head medicine man and another woman sat on a long bench. They were to serve the feast. All women who participate in this ceremony must be old or at
[187] least middle-aged. The men sat opposite on another long bench and the chief one began to chant, "*milkadiɔʒɔk*" (let's drink this). Each medicine man, always holding his staff and

756 sitting on the bench, repeated this chant and as he did so, the principal one passed him chocolate in a leaf cup. More women joined the others on the women's bench facing the men. One woman then commenced to serve the drinks from the pot while a man stood and passed cups, holding his staff all the time. He started to sit down but all yelled at him and he jumped up as if he realized what was wrong. He then changed each cup from the left hand of one person to the right hand of the next person as they sat on the bench. In this way, each person received his neighbor's cup. It was important that this be done because the ceremony referred to *sibu*, and, therefore, the cup must be held in the right hand. Now all drank the chocolate and some even emptied part into the cups of those who drank faster.

As the standing man drank, the novice rose and offered him a drink, then he did the same to each man, the first wife continuing to pour the chocolate. While this was going on the head man sang.

Next chicha was passed in fresh cups of leaves in the same manner as the chocolate. This time the head man took a sip and divided the rest in his cup among the other men. The standing medicine man poured some of his into the women's cups. The novice repeated with chicha the same rite he had performed with the chocolate.

At this stage, the head man emptied all the carrying bags on the bench. Some had little ones inside and all had stones wrapped in cotton. There were as many as thirty stones including an opal. The head medicine man sang over them and exchanged some with the aspirant. There was one large marble over which the head man sang and then touched his own foot, knee and other parts of his body, telling the novice that he must sing to each part when one is sick as well as to the important stones and to the spirit who must talk to *sibu*.

A discussion over the merits of certain stones and an exchange took place among the medicine men, each one piling up his own heap. After the argument, every owner sang over his own stones. Meanwhile, the chief man sang over each stone in the center of the bench and as he touched one he sang to the novice. All the medicine men had to do likewise, facing

756 the largest stone on the bench. Most of the songs referred to certain birds in the woodland. As the aspirant cannot touch the stones until they have been put into his hands, each medicine man took the stones from the center and placed them in the hands of the novice.

[354] It was quite dark, so the first wife made a candle from beeswax, rolling it long, and tore a strip of cloth to wrap around it. When finished, it appeared very much like a licorice whip. She put this candle on the side of the bench so that it lit up everything on it.

The aspirant had had to fast all day within his room. Now two ears of white maize and one raw palmito (which is white) was put inside the room for later use.

At 2:45 A.M. the same ceremony with first chocolate and then chicha was held. This must be done four times during the night. The [80] number four is bound up with all semireligious acts as it is intimately connected with certain histories of *sibu* (*see* Legends). The head man put two pieces of cotton on top of a carrying bag. Then all went to the kitchen house and brought back a white chicken and a white rooster saying, "We are going to serve the feast" to each person. The witnesses answered, "Good." An iron pot containing bananas and palmito was brought in and the same statements were repeated. The first wife took another bundle of leaves from the *tabanco* and the women served rice and chicken in them. Again there followed the ceremony of the cup being changed from left to right.

At 4:00 A.M., two medicine men, including the chief one, went to the kitchen house with the novice, taking some *sik* leaves. They were followed by the first wife carrying a sick child. This was one of the important steps in the initiation because it showed the aspirant how to go about curing an ill person. The head medicine man took the novice by the hand and together they drew the leaves over the fire so as to soften but not burn them. They fanned the child with the leaves. During this process there was not a whimper from the patient. This was done four times and then the novice repeated it four times alone. The chief man stayed beside the pupil, however, and warned him not to burn the leaves. When [187] they crackled and popped as they were being drawn over the fire, it was considered a good

756 sign and that the novice would turn out to
[787] be a good curer.

After the fanning, the group returned to the main house and once more partook of the chocolate, food, and chicha. This time the aspirant took the place of the medicine man who passed the cups and was coached by the chief man.

The head man took a piece of cotton and picked up the pebblelike stones of the aspirant and sung over them. He wrapped them in cotton and put them in a small carrying bag with the largest of the stones on top. He placed this carrying bag in a bigger one and tied it up for the novice. He took another bag and lectured over it to one of the medicine men and then put it around his own neck. The other *jawá* picked up his stones and put them in the two carrying bags from whence they had come, while the chief man did the same with the stones of the others. Finally, he hung the bag belonging to the aspirant around the latter's neck.

A medicine man, acting as assistant, brought the head man five leaves of *poró-poró* (*Cochlospermum vitifolium* [Willd.] Spreng.) who
[824] shaped one of them into a cup and put it on the small bench. He put a pinch of Honduras bark, *cáscara amarga* (*Sweetia panamensis* Benth.), on each of the other leaves piling them on top of one another. The rest of the medicine he tied up in a leaf and gave to the aspirant who put it in a carrying bag hanging on the wall. Both then moved to the entrance of the house and the novice went outside. The chief man poured water from a small special gourd into the *poró-poró* cup and the novice had to mix the bark from one of the leaves in it and wash out his mouth. This had to be repeated until the contents of each leaf was used. The medicine left in the carrying bag was to be used in the same way after four days, with the chief medicine man present. On that occasion, the new doctor must talk to the stones also.

When the mouth washing was over, the head man took the carrying bag of the novice from the wall and put it over the latter's shoulder so that it hung down his right side. He proceeded to give the young man two
[352] new low benches made of white balsa wood and a white blanket which he wrapped around

756 him. Both benches had four feet, but one had
[352] a protruding tail and head with a red spot.
[532] The two men then went outside and the chief doctor closed the door to keep others away. From within, one could hear the elder man's voice in a song which gradually became louder and louder.

According to custom, they sat on benches in front of the house and the head man sang to the novice. Two of the assistant medicine men went out to watch for the sunrise so that they could warn the chief that it was time to put the novice back in the hut.

When they came in, the aspirant took off his white blanket. The head medicine man took the feathers from the first carrying bag which was still on the low bench, some stones, a staff,
[534] a jaguar skin, a long reed flute (*kuLu*) which only the medicine men can make and put these things in the leaf room. The two new benches were not included. Then the head man entered with the aspirant to arrange the details. When he came out, he said to the novice who remained inside, "You do not have permission to sleep, not even a little."

The aspirant had to stay in the room all the following day without sleeping because to be a doctor he must show his power of self control. In fact, this endurance test was explained by a simple question: if a medicine man were to have a very sick patient and fell asleep, what would happen?

The drinks and food were now passed for the fourth time with the same ceremony as
[534] before. Then the head man blew a conch-shell horn right by the novice's wall and pushed the leaves. This was to be certain that he was not dozing. The aspirant was forbidden to talk, but he answered by blowing at times a conch-shell horn and at others a flute. Every now and then the other medicine men would poke their staffs at the wall and receive a blown attestation of his wakefulness or a knock. This continued throughout the day.

At night the ordeal ended and the novice could leave his leaf compartment and take his stones. However, he had to wait four days before he could finish the mouth-washing ceremony and become in truth a *jawá*.

758 **Sickness.** On the Caribbean side, but less often on the Pacific, a lean-to for a sick person is made of *pejibaye* leaves at one end of the

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hák-namú* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 Curing. Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wímbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
for prophesying the result. When one of the
787 *siq* is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
kuisk (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[845] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[783] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
[752] should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

[825] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
926 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[148A]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[149] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sníftrwa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

173 Cabécares, and only a very few managed to
726 escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[151] cleaned
[727] them, and used them for cups. They cooked the heads and dried them well and then put them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive
[727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

[172] [151] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[648] [152] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.48(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar, Changuena
Bribri
Terraba

173
726

He slept near her and told her that if she saw a large jaguar or a large alligator in a pool, it would be him. Knowing that some *usegLa* had fled in the forest, the uncle further advised her to search for her relatives.

It happened as the uncle said, and the girl told all about it later.

Vengeance for the Cabécares

(*Cabécar*)

During the same war, the Terribís climbed trees to look for the Cabécares and Bribri. They would spot a *palenque* (house) and then sleep near it so as to make a surprise raid and kill everyone in the early morning. One day the Terribís went to the upper Estrella River without seeing a soul as all the people along the way had fled. Twenty-five Terribís paused on a hilltop and spotted a large *palenque*. They surrounded the dwelling and some guarded the roads to see where the people were.

Time passed. They heard the cocks crow but they didn't see a single person. This made them think that all the people were within the house. *Palenques* only have one door, so the whole twenty-five entered along with a large wasp which killed them all.

Thus it happened that when another Terribí, who had stayed behind to gather rope for hanging the heads the band expected to collect, tried to find his companions he failed. The truth was that there had never been a *palenque* at that spot on the upper Estrella, nor were there roads. It was part of a scheme of *sibu* against the Terribís. It was he who had sent the wasp to avenge the Cabécares.

The War of the Changuinas [153] with the Talamancas

(*Cabécar*)

The war between the Changuinas and the Cabécares was fought for such a long time that

[648] Changuina River, a tributary of the Diquís or Río Grande de Térraba. Here they had a tremendous battle with the Borucas and Cabécares of Ujarrás as the graveyards in the vicinity testify. *See* Stone, 1958, p. 45, fig. 1. Today, legend holds that the Changuinas are still at the upper reaches of this tributary, but that they disappear when one arrives.

173 726 the medicine men of Ujarrás went to Talamanca to look for the best medicine man there.[183] He was known by the name of "He who taught medicine men." The medicine man converted himself into a combination of a jaguar-rat. The warriors, who accompanied him, brought arrows and joined those of Ujarrás. The great medicine man who appeared as a rat had his companions from Talamanca carry him in a cage over the cordillera. The people from Ujarrás met him and all went well armed, including females.

They met the Changuinas who had joined with the inhabitants of Cabagra (Bribri) on the other side of Buenos Aires[184] and had a terrific battle. The medicine man from Cabécar was more powerful than the one from Changuina, however, and the Cabécares kept winning.

[712] The wounded Changuinas and Cabagras (Bribri) went into a large underground house made of cut stone which served as a fort. The enemy followed them and made them march ahead while another encounter with the Changuinas and Cabagras was prepared.

The medicine man from Talamanca went ahead of everyone and his enemies allowed him to sit down. He sat on a wooden bench which immediately broke, so he sat on a stone one which did the same. The medicine man of the Changuinas seeing this grew afraid. He withdrew into the underground fortress. There was a saw which the Changuinas and Cabagras used to cut off heads of the people from Talamanca and Ujarrás. Then they gathered the blood and drank it calling it cacao. The medicine man of the Changuinas wanted to cut off his Talamancan colleague's head but he was not powerful enough.

It was then that the warriors from Talamanca and Ujarrás moved in. Seeing their medicine man seated on sticks and stones instead of a gold seat, such as the Changuinas had, they proceeded with such fury that the enemy became frightened. The Changuina's medicine man grabbed a gold seat in the shape of a horse and through magical means made it fly with him through a door which was in the center of the large building.

[183] Cabécar, in Talamanca, is still the "seat of learning" for medicine men. (*See* Medicine Man.)

[184] I.e., south of Buenos Aires, above where the

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173 The Talamancan medicine man also used
726 his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[188] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured. The place they chose is known today as the
[103] *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper
776 Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress
[103] and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited
[614] by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried
173 *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he
776 wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called
[103] *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[188] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

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Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 648 The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[156] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 597 [714] The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*broshi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[157] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 793 643 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[156] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
643 to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because of King *Berchí*[188] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[189] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was
173 not baptized, but later he was and received
797 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzín* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[187] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[188] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[189] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

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[P. 51(1)] Cabecar Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[100] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking 775 of them. The good and bad people all go to *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything 772 from beneath the earth to make place for the 776 Indians there. In this underground domain, there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one 753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals themselves. This is one reason why the medicine [756] man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-

776 [100] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

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771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by
776 spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god,
776 had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
[614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ṇą* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tpmí* are guardians of animals. *Lạn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[1] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbó*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dínamą́* in Cabécar and *díkuṇ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bík-namą́* in Cabécar and *tsirule* in Bribri.[181] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuṇ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

1 [see category 116, p 64. Analyst.]
2 [see category 116, p 56. Analyst.]

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* who are souls of the dead. There is more than [774] one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

There are also spirit lords of places and fish. 776 None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLáÿibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLáÿibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [101] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ká* in Bribri and *namá* in Cabécar.
[102] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small [484] fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they [782] do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at [487] *surstsaṇku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

urigakí is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book.[1/2]

(1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order [776] to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[772] [163] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

1/2 [See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

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*539 The medicine men left her alone but decided that, during the night, they would find out the truth. The God-babe read their thoughts. As soon as they left the house, he advised the sacred stone, *siɸ*, that if the medicine men asked if he were God to answer "yes," and if they asked if he were a person to answer "yes."

At night, when the medicine men consulted *siɸ*, the stone replied as God had told it. With this answer, the men were confused and did not know what to believe. Thus, God was able to grow up; and when he was older, his enemies killed him.

The Birth of *sibu*[164] (Version 2)

(*Cabécar*)

sibu does not have a father but he has a mother. He entered inside a woman in the form of wind, but he himself went below the earth and returned in four days.[165]

The pregnant woman went to get water at the edge of a river. On the bank, she gave birth to *sibu*. The woman picked him up and took him home. There were his uncles who were great medicine men. They asked her where she had found the child. She replied that he was the chief foundation of the race. Then the uncles who were powerful medicine men suspected it was *sibu*.

While he was still a little child lying down, *sibu* thought that he would prophesy with the stone. He thought that the medicine men should leave the house so that he could talk alone to the stone. So the uncles left and *sibu* talked.

He told the stone that if the medicine men asked if he, *sibu*, were the son of God, to tell them that it seemed so. And if they asked again if he were God, the stone should answer that so it seems.

At dusk, the medicine men left to prophesy and consult the stone. The stone replied as *sibu* had instructed him. Then the medicine men stopped asking without learning that it was *sibu* but thinking it was a person.

sibu grew up and the enemies killed him.

[164] *See* Linguistic Texts for this tale in Cabécar: *sibu trikineL*.

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The Origin of the World

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 There was no sky, so *sibu* made the sky. He brought a basket full of maize seed. There was no earth, so he kept the seed in his house and went to look for earth. All he could find was a hard rock and a bat hanging from it. Then he looked again and he found a little bit of earth.

sibu asked the bat, "What'll we do? What do you eat?"

The bat answered, "I eat fruit and from my feces comes earth."

sibu sent the bat to eat more, believing that the devil would cut the bat in half.

This is what happened, and the bat returned furious and said, "I go when I want to eat, but you sent me right away, and the devil was prepared."

sibu replied, "All right. I'll go and punish the devil. I'll get him to take out earth." And *sibu* entered the rock and went down to see the devil.

Then he decided to consult Thunder and sent a woman who was the Sea to talk to him and say, "Thunder, come, and we'll break rock so that people will make earth."

"No," answered Thunder. "I am waiting for all the people that *sibu* makes so I can eat them."

Repeatedly *sibu* sent Sea but with no result. Finally, however, Thunder agreed. He gave his "cacique staff" to Sea to carry, warning her not to leave it alone. On the way to tell *sibu*, however, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave the staff alone. I'll do it and see what happens."

Unfortunately, when she returned to the spot, the staff had disappeared, and when she searched for it a snake bit her. Now Sea was pregnant, and when this happened she died. After she was wrapped in her death bundle she began to swell: *sibu* put a frog on top of her to hold her down, but the frog grew hungry and jumped off to catch an insect. Sea then blew up into the sky and *sibu* changed her into a tree.

The tree kept growing and pierced the sky

[188] The Cabécar-Bribri heaven is inside the earth (*see* Theological Beliefs).

*539 which annoyed *sibu*. He sent to *okama*, a person who had tools, to fell it. *okama* was not very willing to carry out *sibu's* bidding until the latter said, "Listen to the sound of that tree. Soon it will break the air."

This convinced *okama* and he agreed to help down it. Then *sibu* told the deer to run and make a trail so that the tree could fall. This is the reason why the deer runs swiftly.

He sent the kingfisher and the cormorant with orders to take an end of the tree and make a large circle in the air until the two met. With that the tree fell and turned to water becoming the sea.

When the tree was in the sky, all the birds made nests in it. With its transformation into the sea, the nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles, and the leaves turned to crabs.

After this happened, Thunder broke a stone and from it pulled the large son of the devil and flattened him out in a round shape, making earth from him. This is why the earth is round.

Then *sibu* wanted to plant so he sent for a devil called Earthquake and said, "Move the earth."

Another devil, however, said to Earthquake, "Move the earth so that people will know that when there are earthquakes nothing will take root and sickness will come."

sibu liked the idea, so he planted wood and maize. The maize sprouted into men who were the Cabécares and Bribri. Then the bat asked, "*sibu*, how'll you pay me for being cut by the devil?"

"Oh," said *sibu*, "Just wait until there are people in the world and cows and pigs and horses. If you want to eat, you can eat these."

[825] "Thanks," replied the bat. And it is for this reason that the bat likes to suck the blood of animals and of men.

There were now men but nothing to eat. So *sibu* said that he would bring and plant large pumpkins (*ayote*), yuca, *tiquizque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), plantains, *ñame*, and alligator pears. He brought the pumpkins, and from them came *tepezcuintles* (*Cuniculus virgatus*). He brought *tiquizque*, and from it came the wild boar. He brought yuca, and from it came the fish. The large plantain turned to deer, the *ñame* to tapirs, and the alligator pear to monkeys.

+589 When the world was ready, he brought a woman from under the earth with each vegetable, and cut a piece off and gave it to the men. This is why man kills animals and woman cooks and divides them.

The first people to be born were the *usegLa* group. Then came the Rey or Kings, and after them the *túgus*. From then on there was no order of appearance. All the other groups were born automatically. The *usegLa* were first because as man came from maize, *sibu* felt that a peon was needed to guard the maize. Therefore, he created the *usegLa* whose duty was to protect man from sickness, wild beasts such as the jaguar and the crocodile, and send rain, flood, etc. As the first to come were this group so they were the first to die, and bit by bit man will die off. *sibu* also caused the Rey or King clan to disappear, because they, like the *usegLa*, knew too much and controlled too many things. Both groups were so powerful that they could do much damage.

(2) The Creation of Earth [168]

(*Cabécar*)

At the beginning of the world, there was only rock and no people. *sibu* passed and noticed excrement in which plants were rooted. It occurred to *sibu* that this material was good to cover all the rocks so that there might be animals and plants of every kind. He hunted all over the rock to find what had left the excrement and discovered a vampire which had feet like a bird and walked like a bird.

sibu asked the vampire what he ate which caused his excrement to raise plants. The creature replied that he nourished himself on the blood of a little jaguar which he sucked when the mother was not present, and that this animal was to be found very deep below the rock.

sibu wanted the vampire to accompany him to see the young jaguar, but he could not penetrate the stone. He called his cousin, Thunder, to use his enormous shotgun. Thunder told *sibu* to kneel down and to close his ears. Then he shot three times at the rock and broke it.

[168] *See* Linguistics Texts: *jiluko* (earth) *ʒamaL* (made), which is a combination of this and the following myth.

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It was then that *sibu* saw that the little jaguar had his umbilical cord tied to his grandmother. *sibu* quickly cut it and carried him away. He rubbed the small animal on the rock and the creature went to pieces easily.

When the little jaguar's mother returned, she noticed that her son had disappeared and commenced to search for him. *sibu* had been prepared for such a move, however, and built a wooden deer which immediately turned into a real one and cried like a little jaguar.

The mother, thinking it was her beloved son, ran to meet him. When she found that she had been deceived, she stretched the legs and the neck. This is why deer have long necks and legs. And this is how earth was made.

(2) The Myth of the Earth Mother, *namąbasią*

(*Cabécar but adopted by the Bribri*)

sibu thought of making earth so that men would have a place to plant because when he made the world it consisted only of rocks and stones. One day, *sibu* saw on a blue rock some bits of excrement in which a balsa tree had rooted and above these he noticed a bat hanging in the holes of the stone.

sibu asked the bat, "What did you eat?"

"I ate a little child," he answered.

"Where did you eat this because there are no people?" questioned *sibu*.

"I entered below the rocks," the bat replied.

sibu thought of going below the rocks to bring up the child who made earth so he called Thunder and Lightning to break the stones but without success.

The mother of this child was *namąbasią*, the most valiant jaguar who guarded her offspring very carefully and had entered the world below with her followers. The jaguar was fooled, however, as she was called aside to grind cacao. While she was working, *sibu* pulled out the child from the underground world. On the way, he left the congo monkey (*Alouatta* p. *palliata*) and a deer to fool the jaguar.

In this manner, *sibu* brought earth to this world which he spread over the rocks so that man could plant.

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The Stars [187]

(*Cabécar*)

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When *sibu* began to make the sky his house, he needed a vine with which to tie it. There was a large serpent with great whiskers who dwelt below in the east where the sun rises.

sibu said to him, "I want a whisker to tie my house because there are no vines, and you have such lovely whiskers."

Now *sibu* was the first born so his mother's umbilical cord was long. His staff was made from this, and his mother kept it until he needed it. He sent five men to the snake for a whisker, giving his staff to one of them. He told all that when the sun was hot they should say to the serpent, "Uncle-by-marriage, how do you sleep?"

They did this and the snake answered that when his eyes were closed, he was awake, and when his eyes were opened, he slept. "But why look at me from so near?" he asked in anger.

One man approached even more closely and pulled out a whisker. It was so large that it took twenty-five men to roll it up and carry it to *sibu*. However, the man who pulled the whisker died. *sibu* did not like this and brought him back to life.

sibu used the whisker to tie his house in the fashion that modern houses are tied. The only difference was that each knot formed a star.

The History of the Sun and the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

The sun and the moon were twins, children of *bruonia* and his wife, *sĩ'tɔmé*. The twins caused the wrath of *sibu* because they committed incest. As punishment, he took away the force of the moon who was the female, and, therefore, she has no warmth.

The Creation of the Moon

(*Bribri*)

sibu ordered a woman to make a clay moon. She made it and hung it in the center of the sky. It gave so little light that it has to be used at night.

[187] A version of this is given by the writer in Spanish; *see* Stone, 1949a, pp. 20-21.

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The Creation of the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

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82

sibu thought of making a moon so he got *arragropa*, a woman, to make it. It wasn't bright enough so he had to get a man to make a disk.

The Creation of the Sun

(*Bribri*)

sibu was annoyed that the moon did not brighten the world because he wanted to create man. He made a man and ordered him to make Sun. The man made a clay sun and hung it in the center of the sky. It brightened the world.

(3) The Myth of the Sun [168]

(*Bribri*)

The sun is Christian and a man, a valiant man, which *sibu* left us to light up the world. And he also left the moon to help him. If *sibu* hadn't left the sun, the world would be dark and cold. This is why *sibu* gave the sun heat so it could heat up the earth.

The moon was a woman and has no heat. *sibu* left her to light up the night.

As there are both the sun and the moon we can exist and live well.

The Reason for the Sun

(*Cabécar*)

Below us lies another world where the sun goes at night to light up. There is still another sun, however, which never moves but stays with *sibu* in heaven. When the world was first made there was no light. The devils were masters of the world, but *sibu* was the king. The chief of the devils said he would make light because he detested darkness. *sibu* did not approve, but the devil chief made a very small light because the devil's eyes were fire

[168] *See* Linguistic Texts: *diwo*.
[169] Today in Panama.
[170] This is a Spanish term applied to Indian graves. It also signifies buried treasure.
[171] The Cabécares claim that the *arbaLu* made the

[776]

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* 539 821 and they could catch light in their hands. It could not shine far, but it was light. *sibu* thought if he didn't do something, the devils would be more powerful than he. This is why he made the sun. He made it so everyone could see it, even the ants.

The Sea

(*Bribri*)

* 539 *sibu* made the world for his house and the sky for the roof. In the center which was in Chiriqui[169] he put a tree. This became the center of the world. The tree grew so rapidly that *sibu* was alarmed it would pierce the roof. He sent for the *kambra*, the lords of the [776] *buacas*,[170] who inhabited the world before the sun dawned and who made the grinding stones one finds in ancient graves. The *kambra* were bad spirits and *sibu* thought he could get rid of them by chopping the tree and having it fall on top of them. He only cut the portion with leaves, however. When this fell, the *kambra* held on to it and it became the sea. As this happened in Chiriqui where there was salt, the sea is salty.

The *kambra* later left Chiriqui and made the savannas here.[171] They wanted to work and plant them, but they were bad people. *sibu* felt he could not let man have what they had. For this reason there are two kinds of all the plants the Bribri need. When the *kambra* planted agave with thorns, *sibu* planted it without thorns. Good *pejibaye* was due to *sibu*; the bad to the *kambra*. The same is true of cacao.

The Sea[172]

(*Cabécar*)

In the beginning, there was only a large rock and no earth. *sibu* wanted earth so there could be people. He sent a beautiful woman named Sea to tell Thunder that he wanted to consult with him. Thunder refused to leave, so *sibu* continued to send Sea to persuade him. When Sea became pregnant, Thunder decided to go.

savannas and were the original occupants of the general region on the Pacific slope.

[172] This version was published by the writer in Honduras (*see* Stone, 1949a, p. 20) and was later reprinted in Costa Rica.

*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

sibu arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[175] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

Lightning

(*Cabécar*)

*539 821 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuṇban*.

The Rain

(*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karṇibiké-*

[825] [175] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybidae* Fam.).

[176] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

*539 *gra* and *karpimina*. The medicine man has to
821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
776 make rain or to stop the rain. September is
756 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds
[241] will not be washed away. It is then that the
jsuné chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him rise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jsuné* chants:

karpiblégra, karpimina
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [174]

(*Bribri and Cabécar*)

When *bukubLaste*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

(*Cabécar*)

*589 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jabu*
(basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the
worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
[753] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we
have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jabu* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tinbinaL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1908, pp. 2-4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

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*539 trees and invited him to drink cacao out of new gourds. The chief replied that he would like to very much, but these little trees never produced. *sibu* answered, "Look! They do have fruit."

The other turned and seeing that the little trees had borne fruit said, "Good. Let's prepare the drink."

sibu made a mixture and together they started to drink but he only pretended. The worm chief set to and when he was full, vomited the *jaba* he had previously swallowed with everything in it.

Then *sibu* collected his seeds, saying that they were his. He dried them in the sun and from these we came.

The Populating of the Pacific Side of the Cordillera of Talamanca

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

At the beginning when *sibu* made the world, it was dark. Three men left Cabécar, in Talamanca, and cut a trail across the range. They were, *səLəʒəbí*, who led the group, *kuasran*,[176] who became the first member of the Borucas, and his brother-in-law, *ləwik*.

In those days, the savannas on the other side (Pacific) were inhabited by the *sórbru*, the owners of the *wakas*.[177] These were bad people who lived by killing others and did not want the people of Talamanca to dwell amongst them. When the three men reached Ujarrás, there was still no sun, but on arriving at Térraba, day began to break. It was then that a jaguar upon which one of the men was riding, [778] put his paw on a soft rock and the print stayed there.[178]

The owners of the *wakas* disturbed the men so that they sent for an *usegLa*. He came from Talamanca in the form of a jaguar and killed all the *sórbru*. Then other people began to come from Talamanca to populate this side of the range.

[103] [176] Today this name is applied to the ridge that runs from China Kichá, in General Valley, to Boruca. According to the Borucas, *kuasran* fled there during the Spanish conquest and lives in a cave. He is the oldest of the Borucas and knows all about their beginnings, but no one has seen him. They do not say that he came from Talamanca.

[192] [177] This is a phonetic (Cabécar) interpretation of

(6) The Myth of the Eagle [179]

(*Cabécar, but taken over by the Bribri*)

* 539 The *túgwa* say that in the beginning of the world there was a large eagle who carried off all men and animals to his nest for food for his young ones. This eagle lived on a high peak in a place known as *suLáʒibí* which lies at the headwaters of the Tiliri River in Talamanca.

People did not know what to do because everyone was carried off. Finally, one man offered to kill the eagle. He made a cage of black palm (*Iriartea* sp.) and a knife of the same material. Then the man entered the cage.

The eagle carried him in this to the peak thinking he would have good food for his young ones and left him there believing his prey was safe. Returning to earth, he seized another man and fed him to his offspring.

When the eagle and his companion were asleep, the man in the cage crept out with his knife to kill the eagle. The eagle's companion turned to stone and the eagle himself fell head-first into a lagoon which lay below his nest. When he touched the water, flames came forth; he was furious because he was the owner of the lagoon. The man became frightened at this and re-entered the cage. Then he threw a rope over the cliff and lowered himself to the ground.

He told what happened to another person and because he did so, he disappeared.

The Stone in the Talire River

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[778] In the upper Talire, there is a large boulder. This was the big eagle *p'u*. There were originally four: the mother, the father, and two children. They fell in flames into the lagoon and are now the boulder in the river. (*See p'u* in Linguistic Texts.)

[192] the Spanish word, *busca*, which literally means "a buried treasure." It is the term used in Costa Rica to signify Indian burials and the objects obtained from the graves.

[778] [178] This rock is situated in the savanna known as Mano del Tigre on the trail leading from Buenos Aires to Boruca.

[179] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ʒis, mę ilu Lɔga p'u.*

(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(*Cabécar*)

*539 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother
776 left him to live with his uncle by marriage,
821 *tio politico*, and had another son called *cubura*.
823 *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namę́*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the
[825] Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[178] [180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sajerso* (people) *juar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 *anus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
823 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
[825] lightning bolt. He also frightens people who
try to harm the Indians. This is why when a
storm is brewing, first the water birds appear;
next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise
and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
821 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his
quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, im-
mediately a chasm forms causing *dínamɨ́* to
move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamɨ́*. This is
why there are always a few of these birds on
the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamɨ́* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must
sing the following song to convince him to
stop blowing:

> It is not with me
> This tree is my fruit
> This house is mine
> The trees are mine
> Go on to fight with others,
> This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people
to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to
serike saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come
and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamɨ́* (*bák namɨ́*) couldn't drown the people.

[P.60(A)] Bribri Cabecar

(8) *serike's* Mother[181]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 776 *serike's* mother is *itsǫ's* daughter. *serike* himself is eight men in one. *itsǫ* ate his own daughter, *serike's* mother. *serike*, the eight-in-one, wanted to go with a woman. He became angry with his grandfather and went with his family to the place where the world ends for four days. He told his grandfather to wait for him. He then went to his grandmother for four days and returned to look for the grandfather. He put on a feathered headdress and carried away and killed the grandfather. When the wind blows daily in the summer it's a sign that *serike* is mad. [821]

How *serike* Got his Staff

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 The family of *serike* had four long benches on which they sat to play ball. One day while he and his older brothers were playing [182] ball, he threw it too high and it fell into the largest *jaba* (basket) which hung on the roof side. Everyone looked for it without success. Finally *serike* said that he knew where it was and climbed up to the *jaba*.

There he found the ball and a jaw with teeth which said to him, "My son, why are you so careless that you don't know what's happened? I am your mother and you haven't noticed."

"When were you killed? Who did it?" the boy asked.

"It was your uncle who lives in the pool by the cliff."

"My little mother, tell me in what way we can revenge your death," the boy cried.

The jaw with teeth replied saying, "Don't you know that with two chile peppers you can get him. The old man eats chile. Take your hook and bait it with chile and fish out the demon, *bík namǫ́*. Deceive him as he deceived me.

"He deceived me telling me that we were going hunting *dæntæs* (tapirs) as he knew I like *dæntæs*. Why I even carried a *jaba* full of peeled and toasted plantains and made a small shelter to sleep in.

"Your uncle sent me with a dog to run a

[181] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tserke ami*.
[182] It should be remembered that *serike* is considered [776]

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*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namą́* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namą́*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [188]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namą́*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namą́* and his uncle, *aroromǝsa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromǝsa* smokes cigars there is a breeze.

[821]

as five or eight men together.

[188] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

[776]
[416]
[82]

The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[184]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

* 539 776 823 *dínamą́* is an evil spirit. When the river water is white or milky, it's because *dínamą́* has colored himself white. When it becomes a muddy red, it means that he has changed his color. If the rising or flood river is red, however, and not a muddy red, it is because the mother of the river *díminą́* is menstruating. There is more than one water-jaguar and they function below large pools or waterfalls or when the rivers are high. Their fangs are large and red, and they have two tails. When a water-jaguar bites trees, as happens in flood times, the trees dry up from the heat of these fangs. When they bite people, they drag them [761] down in the water, drown them, and eat them. It is easy to tell when a water-jaguar has caused a person's death. Their method of killing is to break the front of the skull in two places, and to bite them on the forehead and on the knees.

The first *dínamą́* was the grandson of an old woman named *díkú witcké*. She was so bad that *sibu* did not allow her to live on earth. Therefore, her home is under the sea where she lives together with her grandson. *dínamą́* inherited much of his grandmother's meanness, and she keeps an eye on him. When the surf thunders, it is a sign that he is about to leave the sea and go up the rivers after people. It is his grandmother who makes this noise because she is afraid that he will not return, and she watches at the river mouths to punish him.

(9a, b, and c) The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[185]

(*Cabécar*)

This river flows and goes and where it ends *oLobəsią* is watching that animals do not pass who eat men. When *oLobəsią* grows careless, however, the water-jaguar who eats men [761] passes. It is then that people drown. What

[184] Known also as: *dínamą́*, *bík-namą́*, *jík namą́ tsirute*, and *díkun* or *díkum*.

[185] *See* Linguistic Texts: *jík namą́* (stone-jaguar) *dínamą́* (water-jaguar). Also see The Myth of *óknamą́* and Linguistic Texts: *ók-nam-qə́*.

* 539 really happens to them is that they are eaten
776 by the water-jaguar.
823 *oLobəsią* becomes aware that *dínamą́* has
[761] gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

(10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 The river flows downward and reaches the
776 mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the
823 water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the
821 river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it
[731] carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

(11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He
776 lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the
823 river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,
761

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *ṇią́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombraén*, and Linguistic Texts: *dí-namą́*.

*539 776 823 761 make him sleep. It is then that the water-jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He searches for cacao, and when he discovers a well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamą́* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamą́*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 776 761 [823]

(*Cabécar*)

When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao. [825]

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 103 [133] [487]

Mano del Tigre is one of the large savannas through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on almost all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamąse*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namą́ tó* (jaguar print).

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large
103 rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
[133] caused by nature which with the help of the imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

*539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *ɨɔwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *ɨɔwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

(14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave. [778]

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *hɨʃɨuLu namɨ* (hunt jaguar).

*539 At night, they were given a large jug for a bed.

One of the prisoners noticed that the head of the house would go out to hunt but as soon as he left, the roar of a jaguar was heard. He spied on the man and discovered that outside of the house he was a jaguar but, by shaking himself, his hide fell off and he became a man who went into the forest.

The watching prisoner crept up to the jaguar skin and carried it off. When the man returned and did not find his jaguar skin, he became furious and began to eat the people.

One old woman, seeing the awful things that were happening, heated an earthen rod and stuck it in the mouth of the man-jaguar while he slept. Then she quickly hid in a little tunnel she had prepared beforehand. This is how the people in Alta Talamanca were rid of such a terrible scourge.

The Medicine Man's Stones

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

*539 756 778 When *sibu* made the first eight medicine men, he died for four days. Three of these men predicted that he would not stay dead but would go to the sky. One of these was *díkúswa* who was once a water bird and when he said that *sibu* would never die he was made into the most powerful of the *siá* or medicine man's three principal stones. All medicine men know when they themselves are going to die as [763] *díkúswa* disappears or divides himself in half. He is so powerful that only the most powerful doctors dare to use *díkúswa*. The majority rely on *sorkuswa*. All the *siá*, however, communicate with *sibu* and the medicine men in a [198] "sacred" or private language unknown to the layman.

(15) The Sacred Stones[198]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

There is a spot in Talamanca where there are large boulders. Here live the *siá*, the medicine men's stones. A new medicine man, if it is possible, goes there and leaves grains of white maize on the rocks at night. The next morning the stones appear.

[198] *See* Linguistic Texts: *siá*.

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [125] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *sibøwak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

*539 614 [824] [825] *grurwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLibu* or *sɔnɨtsrua*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sɔnɨtsrua*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177] [196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

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Bribri

*589 [595] taught people how to dance and to sing the following song:

sibu came in the form of a buzzard
dressed as a man,
Collar on his neck.
The collar reflected,
He came with the collar
Ejené, ekujé,[190]
Ejené, eanjé,[190]
He came to give us the dance
He came from the air.
Ejené, ekujé,
Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound [825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [190] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.

[593] [190] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

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duLi

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

* 539 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO[200]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiqo* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiqo* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *patante* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dsu* (tobacco).

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* 539 Humb. & Bonpl.), and the two kinds of what
[824] is commonly called wild cacao (*Theobroma angustifolium* D.C. and *Theobroma purpureum* Pittier) are formed from *spaLbu*, *soro*, and *tipa* respectively. Of these, only *siru* has won the hearts of all people, not alone of Tala-
[595] manca, but of the entire world. And thus it is that as *sibu* had four wives, the Cabécar and the Bribri can have four also, but should not have more.

The Origin of the Whale

(*Bribri*)

A bad spirit disguised as man took up with a woman and she became pregnant. Eight days later she gave birth to twins who were crawling within four days and walking within the next four days. Still four days later, they began to kill birds with a blow gun.

It was then that the grandmother said to her daughter, "Your sons are not the sons of a man because they've grown so large. I am going to find out."

The twins heard their grandmother's remark.

When the old lady went to the forest where they hunted birds, instead of the boys she found two big snakes beside a wild fig tree. These serpents had birds.

The grandmother ran to the mother and cried, "Those two sons of yours are not human."

The boys, however, returned to the house as twins.

"You see," said the grandmother.

"Don't scold me so, mother," the woman replied. "Tomorrow I am going to see if it's true that they are not human."

The next morning the boys said to their mother, "We want you to go to the forest and pick up the birds we kill."

When the mother reached the woodland, she found that her twins were two large snakes. And they ate her.

The grandmother who was waiting at home, asked the boys at their return where their mother was.

"I don't know where she went, grandmother," one replied, "because she wasn't following us."

The next day, the twins said to their grand-

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[P.66(A)] Bribri
*539

mother, "Come with us and bring the fish we are going to catch."

As she reached the pool, she saw that there were two great snakes seizing fish and they seized her. After which they coiled up and made a very large pool.

Then *sibu* became alarmed because he felt that if things went this way the world would all be water and human beings would be destroyed. So he began to think and said to himself, "I will look for other twins belonging to the same people but who are now men."

He found them and gave each one a bow and arrow saying to them, "Go shooting at a place where you find some very large animals."

One went first to experiment, while the other stayed about a thousand yards behind. When the first arrived, the great snakes resounded loudly. The man shot his arrow and at the same time warned his companion. As this one caught up, he noticed that the first man was not shooting as he shot.

The great snakes began uncoiling and stretched and stretched going down river until they reached the sea. Here they became whales.

The Beetle

(*Bribri*)

When the first man died, the beetle, who was a large man, asked, "What'll we do if no one of us knows how to bury?"

He had two assistants (*bika'kra; see* Organizer of Feasts) who asked him, "Whom shall we use? Here nobody knows how to bury. Let's look for the famous one, the man beetle."

"Absolutely," the others said.

One went searching and when he found him said, "I have been sent by *sibu* to look for you because someone died."

sibu and one assistant said, "We'll prepare food so that the beetle will work with relish."

When the beetle arrived he asked, "What can I do for you?"

sibu answered, "I sent for you to bury." And he gave him something to eat.

After the beetle finished, *sibu* said, "Now do your work."

And he taught man how to bury.

Because of this the men who bury must be *ókym* (*see* The Buriers).

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Bribri

Non-Theological Tales.

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The Grandmother of the Toad

(*Bribri*)

buké winchké is the grandmother of the toad. She lives where the sun sets and is a helper of *sibu*. When he gives her his hand, amoebas come. Therefore, it is impossible to cure them. He who is born to die of amoebas, must do so.

[761]

Why the Toads Have Ugly Buttocks

(*Bribri*)

Long ago the toads liked to dance the Monkey Dance (*see* Dances). This disgusted *sibu* so when they sat down, he partially dried their buttocks making them thinner than the rest of their body.

The Alligator[201]

(*Cabécar*)

The alligator lived in a large pool where he had a balsa (raft). He had a beard and a long tongue to catch whatever he wanted. When he saw people, he would stick out his tongue and pull them in.

sibu was annoyed with this and sent a man to pull the tongue out, giving him his staff to help with the task. The man put the staff on the alligator's tongue and pulled it and the beard out, both of which he gave to the sun to make its rays.

The Iguana

(*Cabécar*)

sibu heard a cry from afar. He told the iguana to find out from whence the cry came. The iguana, however, refused to do *sibu's* bidding. As a punishment, *sibu* beat him. Then the iguana cried, "If you put me in the river, I'll die."

He was put in the river, but he was content, because there he found the alligator, the serpent, and the crab. All were his friends and he liked to stay with them.

[136]

[201] There are no alligators in Costa Rica, only crocodiles.

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The Armadillo

(*Cabécar*)

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sibu wanted someone to guard the corn. The armadillo offered himself saying, "I can because I have no teeth."

On the third day, however, *sibu* discovered that the armadillo was eating the corn and he beat him. The animal cried and said to *sibu*, "If you throw me in the water, I won't die, but if you throw me on the earth I'll die."

sibu threw him on the earth and the armadillo promptly dug a hole.

The Armadillo

(*Bribri*)

The armadillo wanted to steal the four grains of maize *sibu* had to form the nation (our race). He planned to use a shell as a basket to carry them.

sibu found out and told the armadillo he should not do this and certainly should not use that shell.

"Don't punish me and you'll see I can be very useful," said the armadillo and put the shell on his back.

sibu picked him up by the tail and started to throw him when the animal said, "Don't throw me in the air. Throw me on the land."

sibu did so and where he fell he made a hole. The armadillo kept on digging in the hole. This is why he has a shell and why he lives in the earth.

The Lizard

(*Cabécar*)

sibu ordered the lizard to go underground on a mission for him. Instead of going, he forgot and slept in the sun. As a punishment, *sibu* put cacao butter on his back so that whenever he goes in the sun he shines.

The Crab

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

The crab was *sibu's* helper and was sent to earth to see what he could find. He dug in and fresh water came up for man.

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The Spider

(*Cabécar*)

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Most spiders in Talamanca have white eggs. These symbolize the stones which *sibu* left. *sibu* blew and the spider eggs became round and white. The medicine man's best stones are round and white. The Catholic priest also must have stones as *sibu* left them for both the medicine men and the priests. Without these stones there could be no mass. The Indian's stones are more valuable because *sibu* left them first. The stones found in graves are of no use now because the people then had other medicine men.

[177]

The Whale

(*Bribri*)

The whale lived in the sky with *sibu* but he liked to go to earth to eat people. *sibu* became worried that he would do away with man so he expelled him from the sky to the sea.

The Congo Monkey and Lightning

(*Bribri*)

Lightning in the form of man went hunting and met the Congo monkey. When he went to shoot, the monkey said, "Wait while I cover myself with my hands."

Then Lightning shot and all of the monkey was blackened by this except where he had his hands which was his lower portion between his legs. This is why the Congo monkey is black all over with the exception of this white part.

Later the Congo met the jaguar. The jaguar said, "Look, you have a loud voice but not so loud."

"Say," answered the Congo monkey, "my voice is louder than yours. I am going to be in the trees and my voice has to be heard from there, so yours can't be more powerful than mine."

The jaguar replied, "No, you're wrong." And he produced a cow's horn to help his voice along.

The monkey grabbed it and carried the horn to the tree top. The jaguar remained sad.

"Now we'll see who has the loudest voice,"

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting
521 for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men
[538] and women often tell theological or lay "his-
tories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the
[184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation
521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often,
[184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to
[888] as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally,
431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from
484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone,
[576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
533 sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsɨn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəɲé* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
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[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except [571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69(B)--Analys]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[824] the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 69(B)--Analys]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their
labor free until the project is completed. These
affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the
over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep
guarded by his female companions or vice-
versa, and the joint work of the men begins
as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[200] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kẹmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen
[184] today outside of upper Talamanca.

Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

*539
533

Sacred Songs

(18) Singer's Song[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsó*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

(19) *dikúswa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755
787] This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúswa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúswa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúswa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúswa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

Lay Songs

(20) The Monkey Dance[211]

(*Bribri*)

[535] This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:
Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsua* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

[756] [209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *biɜabLɜ-kak-keLi*. This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.

[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúswa*.

[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLɜakuLe*.

[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLeɜ; also* The Arts.

(21) *duLetɔ*[212]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
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Old timers, let's go;
Let's dance.
Now let's walk forward;
There's a place to see, old timers;
There's no place to see.
masLakésLa, the mountain, touches the river.
Let's go.

(22) Song for Cutting Wood for a House[213]

(*Bribri*)

We are going to tear down the house of *itsǫ́*
where we went to hide
and when we reach our house with it
then we shall sing.

(23) Sister[214]

(*Bribri*)

Where sister, little ugly sister,
Where are you standing?
In what place are you coming on a raft?
Or in what place are you going.

(24) Lullaby,[215] Version 1

(*Bribri*)

Hush little one.
Don't you cry dear child
Sleep quietly
Why cry little one, baby.
Sleep, sleep, quietly sleep
Mother has gone to bring you a flower
Little ugly one, sleep quietly.

Lullaby, Version 2

(*Bribri*)

Little child, don't you cry, don't cry
While your mother goes to bring plantains.
Don't cry while your mother goes to plant
cuttings.

[776
342]

[212] *itsǫ́* is a spirit who doesn't die so they sing this in the belief that the house will last a long time. *See* Linguistic Texts: *itsǫ́*.
[213] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tɔ́ʒe*. This song is sung frequently by women when working.
[215] *See* Linguistic Texts: *aLaLa bua*.

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I am going to pick yuca; to pull up *ñames*.
Don't cry little child.

The Dove

(*Bribri*)

When the young pigeon flew in the world
Now he wants to do the same
To fly also as the young pigeon flew
I am
So that you hear that I am on this earth.

Song

(*Bribri*)

Now it is day, I am going to sing
because it is day,
Saying goodbye to my people here,
I sing to my people so that they will
hear me.

(25) The Bird[216]

(*Bribri*)

This is your child who stays,
Go to the mountain as I go.
You, buzzard, on your dry road
And I, buzzard, on my dry road
I try, you try to reach the shores of the sea.
You go with a good wind and I go also in the
dawn.
Sea where you go;
Wind where you go.

(26) On the Back[217]

(*Bribri*)

He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
little monkey,
He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
white-faced monkey and a little periquette,
He who doesn't put on the back an important
person,
They have put him on the back,
Great *sibu* has been put on the back.

[216] *See* Linguistic Texts: *du*.
[217] *See* Linguistic Texts: *iiiągę tsé*.
[218] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dinu dinauj*. This has the character of a calling song, or one to boost one's ego.
[219] *See* Linguistic Texts: *bLó* (chicha) *tse* (song).

(27) Water-Jaguar[218]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
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The water-jaguars want to eat.
Don't be afraid.
There are many jaguars who want to eat.
Don't be afraid of them.

(28) Chicha Song[219]

(*Bribri*)

What's the matter with the way you're thinking!
Is it that you think I cannot grind
either chicha or chilate?
Then take this as if it were like good chicha grinders make,
Not like a poor person holding a gourd,
Not like one who doesn't grind chicha,
And listen to what I have to say.

(29) Fighting Song[220]

(*Bribri*)

The grasshopper and the alligator ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large snakes ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large alligator ate the grasshopper.
The large snake ate the grasshopper.
I am not afraid.

(30) Cemetery Song[221]

(*Bribri*)

We'll try to see if we can lift the stones and logs.
We'll put them on our shoulders as men.
We're going to try.
We'll lift the log as a tiger,
We'll lift the log as an alligator,
We'll lift the log as *serike*,
Drinking our chicha to get strength as men,
We'll sing all of us boys.

[154]
[578]

This song is sung when one is angry and out of patience.

[220] *See* Linguistic Texts: *iqijpak-tsé*. This song is in a sense a challenge to fight.

[221] *See* Linguistic Texts: *apú tsak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.73(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar

* 539
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(31) LULLABY[223]

(*Cabécar*)

Rock-a-bye baby, sleep,
Little mother went to look for flowers.
We must sleep before little mother comes
home.

[223] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ɜabuLá pabLeɜɜ*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P.73(θ)]

Cabecar

* 539
533

(32) PLANTING SONG[238]

(*Cabécar*)

Let's go to work
Let's go to plant corn
Plant the corn well
When it's planted we'll leave.

[238]*See* Linguistic Texts: *tks.*

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

114 Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have
194 been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, é, ę, ę́, ə, i, ĩ, o, u, ũ, ṵ, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a
193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, kə, ká, ki, kj, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, tə, sa, se, si, su, uk, ṵk, šę.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ŋa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use
194 of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and
114 Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[224]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental pho-
193 nemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

194 > The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement.... The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types.... Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except ĩ, ę, ṵ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *is'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ją, ąj, ʌi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, ąu) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the
195 medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also
533 generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred
*539 or curing chants of the *jawá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba
[198] (Tiribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[224] Jones, 1959.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

Theological Myths [225]

* 539

1. *sibu* was born (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* is wind. He has no papa but yes mama. He entered as wind in a woman, but his person[226] went below the earth during four days. After he was born then he appeared.[227] (*2*) A pregnant woman went to fetch water. She found a man-child at the water edge.[228] She lifted him and brought him to the house.

2. There were the uncles. They asked, "Where did you find the man-child?" The mother answered, "This is [my first] son[229] I found." (*2*) It happened that the uncles were great medicine men and thought perhaps it might be[230] *sibu*.

3. *sibu* was a young child. He thought, they could find me through[231] the stone. Then *sibu* thought he would go outside to talk to the stone. (*2*) Thus very well, the oldest great [medicine man] went outside. There he went to talk with the stone. "When he asks you [if he is the first] son,[232] then you answer so it seems. [If] he asks you again [if it] is *sibu*, then you answer perhaps it is *sibu*."

4. When night fell, the oldest medicine man went to find out. Then the stone answered as *sibu* had told him. Thus he left without knowing if he was *sibu* or a person. There *sibu* grew up. Then his enemies killed him.

---

1. sibə tsikeneL

1. sibə ró siwą́. ijié karó kágata atara minata. pé LagLəwa-na ijęk-patkąwą siwą́ šə, atá iwagə mené ką diar tkárami tká tkiL. bigógə ikonéL jegəpa idejúne. (*2*) pé LagLəwá bukLu mené digLó tsą. jete šiba duLuná kwá digLó kúska. kagęite betéseiwą juga.

2. jéska inuąwa tsǫ́nę. jete išagą́, "mai bete šiba kwąna?" imina teikugágą́, "jérə skáktə kwaje." (*2*) jeṇera i-nuąwa ró jawá ktaj teibigətsá sibə Leirə.

3. sibə kaLmé duLunágLa. bigətsaite, a-chagemiksáite sią́ wa. jera sibə-te ibigitsá ibiá-mijų nąLąbataga jié któgLə sią́ra. (*2*) jebi boi, kekektaj majų juləboga. jeska jié mené ktə sią́ra. "berbena bə-chagegęitera šiba-sakətə, irə-j jéra buteikuge jebi itséLarə. siga chagemíte sibə irəj, jera bute ikuge sibə Leirə."

4. bigəge katuirrawąra, nǫ́ keke ktaj majų itə́tkə. nǫ́ siáte ikuga mene sibə teiišąją gəpi. jebi i-jawąite kawą ijuṇer sibə irəj atára tsejersə irá. jeska sibə tLaná. jegəpa i-boLkiwate i-ktajuamí.

[225] Words in brackets signify words which are understood but do not appear in the Cabécar text.
[226] I.e., his physical person.
[227] Literally, "arrived."
[228] Literally, "bank."
[229] Literally, "staff."
[230] Literally, "is."
[231] Literally, "with."
[232] Literally, "child-son."

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

* 539

2. The Making of Earth (*Cabécar*)

1. In the first place [when the world] was made [there was] no earth. Then there was only hard stone. The bat lived in a large stone. He excreted. Thus plants were produced.[225] (*2*) *sibu* saw this was good to produce seed. Then he asked the bat, "What do you eat?" The bat did not tell him. "But [if] you give me a bite, then I'll tell you." (*3*) "Sometime I'll give you [one]," answered *sibu*.

2. Then they went to see underneath the stone. *sibu* asked, "What do you eat?" The bat answered, "Below the stone I suck the blood of the son of *namá-bosjá*.[226]" (*2*) *sibu* said, "Show me." They went.[227] *sibu* sent Thunder to shoot it. Thunder said to *sibu*, "Kneel down[228] but shut your ears." He shot two, three [times].

3. Immediately the stone broke. *sibu* saw *namá-bosjá* faint.[229] The umbilical cord is united with his mother's. He cut this quickly. He carried him. He threw him away like earth.

4. When his mother awoke her son was gone.[230] She looked for him. *sibu* sent the deer to cry like her son. (*2*) *namá-bosjá* ran to see. Only the deer was there. She stretched his neck. Meanwhile, *sibu* made earth out of[231] her son.

---

2. jiłokó šəneL

1. ságotə ką šunéLra ká jiłokəta. jera kerrua siú bə irə. dukúr sęrgę́ ják ktajna. ąawəgé. jegj kąkó tsikiną. (*2*) sibəte je suą́ ba ditsó tsenagLə. jegépa teichagá dukúrją, "jirə́ kətábete?" ká dukúr tei-seną, "atá bətesią kaku memí, jera mią-iłeje." (*3*) "bigəge-Lé mią imeje," kuká sibəte.

2. jera i-menejLumi isuą́ ják-təmi. sibəte ichagą́, "jirə́ katábeterəna?" dukúr teišá, "ják dəginą́ namą́-bosją́ šiba pí šáerə." (*2*) sibəte išá, "bu-kusią-i-kałə." idemłjLu. sibəte tLá pagá tsikjwą. tLá teisá sibə-ią, "bəjekkəwą kichugj ata bə kukó kətkəwą." tiáite bóL, manąL.

3. éguəta ják konąjunąmi. sibəte isuą́ namą́-bosją́ siwą jánąwą. imə rə́ wəjieLə iminamj. jé tiajsąite békti. ijkájumi i-újse. jé jiąchąite jisəgə šə.

4. bigége i-mina łkinagą́ i-šiba łenąwą. šuLáite. sibəte duwé pagá janą i-šiba šə. (*2*) namą́-bosją́ tunąmi isuą. duwé bu katę. ite ikuLí jiąšaną. jé-dLéiska, sibəte i-šiba šuá jisəkó šó.

[225] Literally, "born."
[226] This is the son of the mother of earth who became earth.
[227] Literally, "arrived" or "reached."
[228] Literally, "sit on knees."
[229] Literally, "weak fell."
[230] Literally, "lost."
[231] Literally, "in."

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3. The Sun (*Bribri*)

*539 1. The sun is like us. He is a man. The sun is a very brilliant man. *sibu* left this very bright. He left a place to give birth[240] to the stones.

2. Then *sibu* left a very dark place for the last. [If] *sibu* would not have left us who live, then we would not be.

3. The moon is a woman. Because of this *sibu* left night. [If] he had not [left the moon] to brighten this, it would have stayed horrible, meaning for us in these hours. (*2*) We see in this dawn that there is a moon, that there is a sun, because of this we live.

4. The Rainbow (*Cabécar*)

1. *bukubLute* is smoking his pipe. This smoke is the wi[illegible]hts the tobacco with the rainbow. This is the spark for the tobacco.

5. We are born (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* kept us in a basket. There the large worm swallowed us with the basket. Then there were gourds. There was cacao [which does] not flower.

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3. díwə

1. díwə erər sé. erər wébLa. tąj dəLóLəé díwə wébLa. tąj dəLóLəé é meąt sibu-tə[241] sią ką-ṇiụkəL é-kemú.[242]

2. sibu-tə ema[243] ką tsétséé eątą[243] i-meąt e-batáie. sə-tso·sen é-kemú-paąt sibu-tə, ema ké səkú.

3. síwə erər aLákəL. é-batáie meąt sibu-tə ką tsétséé. é ḳụṇjụkəL, é-kemú-paąt suLóe iątə, itə-sią ichəktə i-jkętą. (*2*) kąṇjna ékj sə-isuę́ kąṇjna síwə tso·sen,[244] díwə tso·sen, é-bata sə-tso·sen buą.

4. ḳkba

1. bukubLute kachjmo[245] suogę. jeḳkLęj jene-ró siwą-ró ḳkba jenę-wa idua wóigawagęterə́. jé-ró idua wəkata.

5. sejé tsikineL

1. sibote as bLá kokobLəną. jéska sitLá kégLəte sə mąLąkpajụnj kokobLó-ra. jera jéska ka mé ta. tsirú tsó ká worta. (*2*) sibote iṡá tsitLá kégLəna,

[240] Literally, "*sią́ kə́niụkəL*" signifies "dawn for everybody."
[241] *-tə* signifies that *sibu* made or did something.
[242] *kémú* or *kéwą* is a form of "no" which is only used in myths by medicine men.
[243] As in Cabécar, there are various forms for "then." The reason is for the sound.
[244] *tso'sen* means "there is" or "there are." With *sə* it stands for "we are."
[245] "Cachimbo" is an Americanism used in Spanish for pipe. It is an indigenous word.

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*539 (2) *sibu* said to the large worm, "Why don't we drink in[248] a young gourd?" Then *sibu* thought of this so that[247] he [the worm] would get rid of us.

2. There was no cacao. There was no gourd. He [*sibu*] saw that there was. He broke it.[248] He heated it.[249] They drank. *sibu* made as if he drank, but he did not drink.

3. Then the large worm vomited. There he got rid of us with the basket. Then *sibu* dried us in the sun. He said this, "I am keeping my seed."

6. I am going to tell about the eagle (*Cabécar*)

1. The *tágwa*[250] say the large eagle ate the Indian people. [In] Cabécar, the eagle is called *Ləgap'u*. [On a] large mountain, *suLǎšibí*,[251] [like] a great house, there lives the large eagle. He carried people [for his] young ones to eat. The people [did] not return.

2. [A person] made a *chonta*[252] cage. A person entered. The eagle carried the person in his claws. [The person] brought a pejibaye[253] rod to kill him.

3. The eagle raised him to *suLǎšibí*. He carried the person high in the air. He saw the sea. He carried the person. He put him [on] *suLǎšibí*.

"jirəwągLə ká-séte[254] tsirú báL šə mé duLuná ną?" jéra je bigətsa sibəte ró sejé təwəgLətsąiwą.

2. ká tsirú-ta ká mé-ta. išie teisuą tsǫ́ jeiró. butsáite. bawąite. šaite sibə jek šauateišəgé nębi, atára kate išeguna.

3. neŕó[255] tsitLá kegLə chuLtuajumi. jéska sejé tuaktsajte kokobLá-ra jegəpa sibəte só páktsiwąne kǫ́Lbaga. teišą jeró, "s-ditsó bLagę́."

6. šís mą išə Ləgap'u[256]

1. təwa išə Ləgap'u tąj sąkówak šugúta. sąkąská,[257] Ləgap'u kié Ləgap'u. kábəta[258] tąj, ju ikəbi, suLǎšibí, eska isęrgę Ləgap'u tąj. pé migęiwą išibaLá šəkə šə, kai dəté sertsó.

2. wąite dikatəgLə kaLgLə.[259] sertsó jie-jekpatkaua. Ləgap'u sertsó clemira. ketkə datewa eiktugLuwąwá.

3. Ləgap'u butsagaj-te suLǎšibí. sertsó menéwą siwą́ kəbi.[260] dəše sąai-te. sertsó menéiwą. mągąi-te suLǎšibí.

[248] Literally, "with."
[249] Le., broke the gourd off.
[250] This is one of the clans the medicine men come from. *See* Social Organization.
[251] Name of a high forest land at the source of the Tiliri River.
[252] A stilt palm (*Iriartea* sp.).
[253] The Cabécares say that a *chonta* or *pejibaye* knife is understood as that is all they had in those days
[254] *-séte* is akin to a double negative.
[255] There is no reason except sound for the varied forms of "then."
[256] Literally, "is."
[257] Le., the cacao.

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4. The eagle did not eat him. The eagle brought his young ones another person for them to eat. The young ones ate him. The eagle slept. (*2*) [The person] went forth with the pejibaye rod to kill the companion of the eagle. [The eagle] turned to stone. The eagle fell into the lagoon.

5. Flames burned in the water. The owner [of the lagoon] came out furious. The frightened man entered the cage. (*2*) He threw a rope. He lowered himself [down] the cliff. He told it to others. Because of this he died.

7. Multiplication of People (*Cabécar*)

1. The [human] race was only men. There was one sister. She cooked only fish. The brothers asked her, "Where did you catch the fish?" (*2*) The sister answered, "Your brother-in-law gave me this." The eldest brother asked, "Who is my brother-in-law?"

2. At night he waited to see the person. He saw a large jaguar arrive where his sister was sleeping. The jaguar[351] gave the sister something. (*2*) The brother quietly pulled out an arrow as he was there. He shot it. The jaguar fled. The sister became very angry.

3. [When] dawn came, she went after her husband. The youngest brother [remained] alone weeping. He went after his sister. He saw that a road went into the water. He went over[352] this. There was a house. There was his sister.

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4. Lagap'u katei-te. šibaLaią pé kuǫwá Lagap'u dateiwą kətəite. šibaLá eikatawąi-te. Lagap'u kapąu. (*2*) deksąu ketkə LagLəwá wapé Lagap'u. idęunę ják. Lagap'u jąnąwą digLəna.

5. tsini wəwgaLu digLə jarga. Lagap'u wagə kəsigašé deksąu. suá-šə jəšišiwa teisuane jek-patkawą dika'gəkaLgLə. (*2*) tsá kagąi-te jákri. jąną-wá. i-pakaite sikauaja. jenewa i-šənawa.

7. səjerstsə juar

1. kəšəibawá ró jəšišiwaebo. ikuta ró egLawəą. jete njmą ebə Liwegę-i-kəwate ichagá, "mąj bete njmą tsęgeną?" (*2*) i-kutate ikuga, "bə dwá jenęte imęgę-sią-rá." ike kəbíte iła baile, "širo ró sdawáną?"

2. təwiną ikjtsąwąjte wagé sąągLəiwą. sąąjtera namá ktąj dagaątə mąj ikuta kəpə gęska. jete jiró chemá ikutaną. (*2*) ikəte jukabata tsątsą bitaba iduLbí. tkaite. namá tur. ikuta uLunąwą ktąj.

3. ką njnąwąrą, imęnę ijišiší tugj. ike batásku ataná jją ebə. imęnę ikuta tugj. sąąjtera digLaną ąąLa damjju. je giga imęnę. ju kate étka. jeska ikuta kaLu.

[351] Literally, *Lagə* (Royal) *p'u* (Hawk).
[352] *kə* (place) *sękə* (Cabécar or Talamanca). Literally, "our place."
[353] This word also means "volcano."
[354] The complete phrase: *dikatagLu kaLgLə* signifies a *chonta* cage.
[355] Literally, "peak."
[356] Literally, "This one."
[357] Literally, "on top of."

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4. The brother asked the sister, "Why did you come?" She answered her brother, "I came to return [to] this place." Thus they conversed together.

5. He heard the jaguar roar. The jaguar said to the woman [and] her brother, "We shall live in the house." They all went to work. When they returned, then everything was cooked. Thus it happened daily.

8. *serike*'s Mother (*Bribri*)

1. *serike*'s mother is the daughter of *itsǫ́*. *serike* is eight men [in one]. He once wanted to go with a woman. *itsǫ́* ate [*serike*'s] mother. Then they [the family] became angry with their grandfather. Afterwards they went where the world ends. (*2*) But then they said to their grandfather, "We will return to see you within four days. You remain waiting for us here." Then [*serike*] went where his old grandmother [was[383]].

2. Four days went by. He returned right away to see his grandfather. Then he [*serike*] put plumes on his head. He met his grandfather. Then he carried away the root[384] to kill him. (*2*) Then we see much wind blowing.[385] This happens in the summer all the time.

9a. The Stone Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the stone jaguar. Everywhere *sibu* made the

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4. ikəte íchagá ikutąną, "jirəwągLə bə betena?" ike kugaite, "sbitə-jika ką mjnąną." jebibə ikta ną́ra.

5. ksaitera namą́ uLurgę́. namąte iła iLagLǫ́ną šəbuku bəkeną, "sąte senewemi jujarga." jiewą migę kLabé škabLə. biguge danera, jirə bikəLe tsǫ LiLəjka. jerə kegarra.

8. serike amí

1. serike amí-rər itsǫ́ aLabusi. serike rər pagəL wepa. emí ké ą́ aLakarpa ką́ e-tągLətą. itsǫ́-tə[386] imí kate-wa. nęę iepa uLụna iduo-kj. ukaska i-michórąk wę ką-ąak wəbLerkęę. (*2*) ę́rə étą iduó ą́ i-cheąt, "ką́ tkeL-ąjwową sarəmęLę bəsəuk. je mąąte sá kistsək." nęę i-michoe iujkékeLasąk.

2. kąre tkeL-ąjwowatą. ilkəąnąmęLę iduó šuLánmeLe. ętą iwókir-kj dukə tuLákąiwą. iduó kụwą étą ikuąmiwą[387] ujtéwą. (*2*) étą sé-tsó isuúktą simpé buLar tafe. é wambLéke duás kékara.

9a. ják namą́

1. šis-mą ilə namą́ ják. jiska sibəte išowa namą́ ják tsəwoiaégLa.

[554]
[888]

[383] Literally, "it was."
[384] I.e., the grandfather who is considered the root of the family.
[385] Literally, "sounds."
[386] Here *tə* signifies action.
[387] *ikuą* is root; *miwą* is carried away.

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#539 stone jaguar small. *oLobosjǫ*[200] [who is a] man was watching. He slept. (*2*) He saw [that the stone jaguar] had passed. He sent the kingfisher [and] the cormorant after [him]. He awoke. He sent searchers. *oLobosjǫ* was going to eat him. He passed through the center of the sea. He remained on the earth.

9b. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*, another version of the Stone Jaguar)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. *sibu* made this earth for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile he [the water-jaguar] passed. He woke up. (*2*) Then *serike* sent a cormorant to look for him [the water-jaguar] to eat. The road of the water-jaguar goes within the sea. He stays here in this place.

9c. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*) (Version 3)

1. [The water-jaguar] goes up the flowing river. *oLobosjǫ* is there where this river ends. The water-jaguar goes up this [i.e., the river]. He eats us. When the river rises high, then the water carries us away. Then he eats us.

2. Then *serike* comes to carry him beneath the mountains. [From] there he takes the water-jaguar [and] carries him to *oLobosjǫ*. (*2*) *serike* comes. He comes with wind, with rainstorms. The river rises [and] he arrives to fight with *bukubLura* who carried off the mother of *serike*.

3. To this place he carries everything he finds as he carries the devil to give him to *oLobosjǫ* to eat. When it thunders then *oLobosjǫ* [is] hungry.

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oLobosjǫ jəšišiwa mege iswą. kapawą. (*2*) swąitera ikawmi. trak patkaite, tǫgLə patkaite itogi. škjnągą. išulak patkaite. oLobosją te i-kəte-géwa. tkageu dəše[200] šaną. atanagę ji kągi sokəta.

9b. dí-namą

1. šis mą išə dí-namą. ką ji šuá sibəte səjeną. jəšišiwá káLu ikənana. i-kapáqa. jedLéiska i-jkájų. škjnaga. (*2*) jégipa serikete tógLə patká išəLə kəteite. dí-namą ną́La tkəwró dəše šawą. jiaka kągi i-atańągę.

9c. dí-namą

1. jí digLə ramèu jenena ítkageqra. oLobəsją káLme jí digLə ną́jkukə ska. dí-namą rogetеu jete sejé kətégewą. míga digLə pąr tąi, jera digLową so manętsęmi. jera jiete so katáwą.

2. jera serike betagene itąami kąbta rgina. jéska jiete i-šegesą míge-ne oLobəsją ją. (*2*) serike betagera. idatse sjwą ra kLjra. digLə pąr gera bukubLura nąjpegę serikera jenerə imina-ná maLetLətsejwa.

3. ką jéró bigúLe knąite nębi boirə je mjgęneiwą oLobəsją chową-gLə. míga ką buLągę jera oLobəsją blišatá.

[776] [200] Many spirit names are formed by components of the words for the sacred stones and the buzzard (see Songs: *Song of the Buzzard Dance*) or by the words themselves. Thus in *oLobosjǫ* we have *oLə* (buzzard in Cabécar; in Bribri *oLə*) and *sjǫ* (the over-all term for the sacred stones).

[200] Also means "salt."

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10. *serike* and the Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. In the beginning *sibu* made this place for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile the water-jaguar passed. He woke up. (*2*) Then *serike* sent the cormorant to look for [him so that] he could eat [him]. The road of the water-jaguar passes through the sea. Here in this place he remained.

11. *ók-namá-te*[275] (*Cabécar*)

1. *ók-namá-te* protects us. In the time of[271] pregnancy then he sleeps. Then the water-jaguar passes to bother us. When we drown[272] in the water then he drinks us like cacao. (*2*) He considers[273] us as ripe cacao. He breaks [it[274] and] he puts [it] on his back. He goes with this from pool to pool[275] [saying] "let's drink cacao." People do not believe him.

2. Where the owner of the pool says, "Good," then there he drinks us. Then he throws away our body. Then *ók-namá* awakes. He sees [that] the weeds are dry.[276] Then he passes quickly. He sends the cormorant to look for [him] with *serike*.

3. The water-jaguar [is] bad. Because of this he hides far away. But there *serike* takes [him]. (*2*) All who drink cacao like this *serike* carries all to *ók-namá*.

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10. serikete dí-namá

1. šis mą ilə dí-namá. ką jí šuá sibote ságotə sə-jéną. jəšíšíwá káLu ikónana. i-kapáuą. jedLéiska i-jkájų. ikjnągą. (*2*) jégipa serikete tógLə patká iş̌əLə kətéi-te. dí-namá ną̨Lągj tkóju ró dəše šąwa. jiuka kągj i-atanągę.

11. ók-namá-te

1. ók-namá-te sejé kənanęgę. bigugę bukLu[277] késka jera jié kapajánami. jera dí-namá tkągę́jú sejé wabLéwą. bigugé sejé šénawą digLó-ná jera jiéte sə šawą tsiru šé. (*2*) sejé sąite tsiró Li. butsogęksąite je megígai-te itikigj. je-wa imigę tipo etkə, etkə, "sə tsirú šə." ka pote ikuge.

2. maj tipo guaguá teišá, "ajə," jera jéska sejé šegę́wąite. jera sə kuLítə jąájtsąite.[278] jera ók-namá ikinagá. teisoęgę kakó tsinatuLamí. jera ijkájų békti. togLə patkegęi-te iş̌uLə serike-ra.

3. dí-namá rə seLwí. je-kueigj jekbLągę komi. jera jéska serike teišegę́tsą. (*2*) kLabéte tsiró ša jegəpi kLabé migę serike-wą ók-namá-ją.

[776]

[275] This spirit guards the entrance to the world under the sea.
[271] Literally, "when."
[272] Literally, "die."
[273] Literally, "looks at."
[274] I.e., us.
[275] Literally, "pool other other."
[276] The mark of the water on the vegetation on the river banks is a sign of flood.
[277] A pregnant woman is said to be *bukLu*. The idea is that something evil or dangerous is in her (*see* Taboo).
[278] This signifies that the body is washed to the river bank and floats.

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*539 4. The pot of *ók-namá* is large. He cooks [the water-jaguar] in this. Afterwards he eats [him]. If *ók-namá* were not protecting us then the water-jaguar would have terminated us.

12. *onombrasén* (*Cabécar*)

1. It gave blood. Stone jaguar drank cacao. *onombrasén* [did] not. He sent stone jaguar to drink hot cacao. [He sent] the cormorant quickly after [him] to watch him. He sent the kingfisher quickly to see where he was drinking cacao.

13. The Jaguar Footprint (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* made [the sun] here on top. *sibu* made them [the monkey and the peccary] here. The sun was born alone. *sibu* did not [want it] to light on top. It became night. There were no moon [nor] stars.

2. They went together well, the monkey [and] peccary, brother-in-laws.[279] They went ahead of many people. The peccary brother-in-law quickly arrived in soft mud. (*2*) They could not find the peccary.[280] The Borucas [said that in] the morning they would come to look for him. The monkey arrived [and] many people behind. They did not find [him].

3. The brother-in-law of the monkey did not die. They looked for him in Térraba. Huge *Iowík*[281] arrived. This was the *Iowík* who came on the road, between the brooks,[282] savannas, water, [and] soft mud. (*2*) He put his paw upon a stone. The print remained on top the stone. *Iowík* died here.

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4. ók-namá-wą ą ktąi kábLagLi. jenenájte Líwęgé. túgiga ikətegęwai-te. ka ók-namá gąna gəpi sejé tsátkə jera dí-namá-te sə ewąwąjka.

12. onombrasén

1. pi megę́ite tsiró šɛ. ják-namá-te tsiró šá. onombrasén ka. ják-namá pátkei-te tsiró-baL[283] šá. tǫ́gLə békti tugiga isąá. trák pátkei-te békti šąją mai tsiró šegega.

13. namá tó

1. sibəte išuwa jiska ikiga. jiska sibəte jiewa šuwa. káwó tsəgina egLaweą. kąi sibo kiga ikiane wonar. kątəwináwą. təLu ka-ta beku kata.

2. ąara i-migę boi, saL sini, idəware. tąj buLi sertsə ąaLawətsą. səni dəwa beti daLi səwjną. (*2*) ka səni conę. buLia brane ikwą buLcagte. saL dəwá tąga sertsə tąj. kai koné.

3. saL duwá kai duné šewa. je šuLegę́ite buLat. *Iowik* tąj idəwa. jerə šowík rąu ąaLągj, digLə šabaLána, sək, digLə, duLi səwjna. (*2*) juLa magą ják batągj. ikLásku tó ataná ják gj. *Iowík* duąwą jeska.

[279] This is a term used endearingly. *See* Kinship Terminology for legitimate term.
[280] I.e., he disappeared in the mud.
[281] This signifies the great jaguar.
[282] Literally, "small rivers."
[283] Literally this means that the chocolate is ready to drink.

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14. Jaguar Hunt (*Cabécar*)

1. Before the Indians feared no one. They went to hunt. They spent much [time] in the forest then returned. One time one [person] went to hunt [and] found this house.

2. The people did not let him return.[284] They made him sleep in a clay vessel. He saw that the people went to hunt. (*2*) There they turned into jaguars. He saw that the jaguars turned [into people and] they shook themselves. The hide fell off. Then he became a person.

3. He who saw this hid the clothes. When the owners saw there were no clothes they turned into jaguars [and] ate this person. Then[285] the elder people killed the jaguar.

15. The Sacred Stones (*Bribri*)

1. The pool of the stones [of the medicine man], the pool of the stones, *sibu* left the stones [of the medicine man].

2. He left the pool of the stones for the world, the pool of the stones.

16. Tobacco (*Bribri*)

1. *sibu* is thinking[286] with us. A hummingbird came.

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14. kąšuLu namą

1. kę̃r skąwak káte jirə bigətsəta. imigę kąšuLə. sęrgę kąną taj jegəpa iədəgęnę. étabagLə egla imenę kąšəLə jete ju kwą.

2. ká-pete ipátke. skajuína pete ikəpəwą. sąąi-tera pé míge kášəLə. (*2*) jéską ijągę namą šę. pé jišišiwá te-isąá namą ratsę nąpákpə. ikuLítə jąnątsą. jera tsértsə-irə.

3. je pé te-isąą, téipaigLə bLáwa. bigúge iguaguá te-isąąra kái-páigLə juəna jera išanáne namą šę jéte tsertsə kátáwą. jégipa pé míkoLate namą ktaąą.

15. sią

1. sią-dité,[287] sią-dipe, sią-męat sibu-tə.

2. sią-dipe kąta-tęjat,[288] sią-dipe.

16. duą

1. sibu tsó-bikak[289] šątą. ną̃ləətsą[290] debjtę.

[284] Literally, "sent them behind."
[285] Then *or* afterwards *or* later.
[286] Literally, "curing" as the medicine men do is implied here and not thinking.
[287] This signifies a place, i.e., the sacred pool in Talamanca where the stones "live."
[288] Medicine man's word.
[289] Medicine man's word.
[290] Medicine man's term.

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2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

Sacred Songs

18. The Staff of the Thinkers[291] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsǫ́* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsǫ́*.

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2. "anaą́," isuebškaLa,[292] "mą-suešə." duá-bité, duá-uąLowa[293] iriria.[294]

17. šipə

1. ę́ tsá kuLę́isúk,[295] etą sibu kirínawą. étą sibutə šipə kié ébuaąk[296] męLę. étą sibutə šipə patkęmj. ę́ tsá kuLę́itsúk.

2. šipə mią i-tsá kuLę́isúk. étą i-mią tsək.[297] emę kéwą iujchenę, tə[298] i-ruówami. buLame-tą sibutə ichake i-ątə, "šə-ruówąmi?"

3. šipə iąté, "tó bu-ruówąmi." ę́ kuęgj sibutə šipə jkó tuwą i-wəbLar kąchək.

18. bišəbLə-kar-keLi[299]

1. ęmatą́ səmj́ uiąchó.
səmj itsǫ́ tsąk wę sorá ibLókwą,
ę itsąk męLę.

2. dé-męLę węlke,[300] étą səmíketké tsək itsǫ́ wós.

[195] [756]

[291] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."
[292] Medicine man's term.
[293] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.
[294] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *iką́k* means "land" or "earth."

[195] [755] [533]

[295] This word is a combination of *kuLę́* (to cure) and *itsák* or *itsák* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.
[296] This only means to cure.
[297] The lay word "to sing" is *tsąk* or *tsək*.
[298] *tə* here in front of *i* signifies "if."

[756]

[299] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."
[300] *e* is "house." This word means "within the house."

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19. *dikúswa*[201] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikúswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikúswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikúswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[202] You will never die." (*Z*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikúswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *kúswa*], dance [of *kúswa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

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19. dikúswa

1. ętsą kụLę,[203] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[204] patkęmj ętsą kụLę-i-tsúk. buLáme-tą, sibu-tə dikúswa ichake, "šu-ruówami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iąté, "ké bu-ruókua. be-ęə emę. ké be-ruókwą šątę.[205] (*Z*) ó-kuęgj sibu-tə dikúswa[206] meąt-aé buąúnmeLe.

20. buLtakuLe[207]

1. kooęęą[208] koaęeé jaęęoange[209] koanjé jaęęęng.
koanjé eęoange koanjé.

2. ta-kueą,[210] kuen-dí,[211] ta-kuen-dí, Ląn[212]-dí,
ta-soLoLa soLori,
ta-doa-donchi.
ję[213]-iberke ikotsą, ję-iberke jęn.

3. koanjeję́[214] jekoa jóeé.

[755] [552] [778]

[197]

[172]

[201] This is the medicine man's song against sickness. [202] I.e., that you are sick.
[203] *kụLę* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kụLę*.
[204] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cuyeo.
[205] This also means "nothing."
[206] The connotation is that the bird, *dikúswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikúswa*.
[207] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[208] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[209] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[210] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[211] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle. [212] *See* Theological Beliefs.
[213] *ję* and *jęn* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *kúswa*.
[214] These sounds signify adornments.

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4. There is the turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
(*2*) Shell pool,[215] devil pool, dance of *kásuwa*, dance [of *kásuwa*].
(*3*) *Ledj*[216] horizon,[217] beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon.

5. Brave child, beautiful horizon, brave child he, ended brave.

6. *See* Linguistic Text.

7. I say nothing more.

21. The Dance of *duLętə*[218] (*Bribri*)

1. The elders are going to [dance] *duLętə*;
Let's go [dance] *duLętə*;
Let's dance; now let's walk. (*2*) In the front place there is no place to see.

2. Sir,[219] sir, *masLakésLa*.[220]
It touches, touches [the other world].
Lari river does not touch, touch.

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4. jaekaka kaaenje ta-kuea, kuen-dí, ta-kuen-dí, Ląn-dí, ta-aaLaLa saLanchi, ta-daa-donchi.
(*2*) tadon-dí,[221] suen[222]-dí, iberke kosa ję́-iberke.
(*3*) ję́-Ledj ta-mątedia ta-Lotedia, ta-nąwengiwę,[223] ta-nąwendia, taigewendiaLe, taigewendiaLe.

5. ta-natę́ manbLi,[224] taigewendiaLe, ta-natę́-i-manbLi, taiLote[225] manbLi.

6. kaake[226] kaajeje jaekaajeé.

7. ejke-šér-iche.

21. duLętə[227]

1. skępępa mi-duLętə;
mjlka duLętak;
sadaLetó; iké-saika. (*2*) waka[228] kę́šą kjsąuk aje-kąni-kę́tə.

2. kę́ké, kę́ké, masLakésLa.[229]
i-kana, kana[230]
di-paLj Larj kei[231]-kana kana.

[535]
[825]

[215] Certain shells were part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Medicine Man's Paraphernalia).
[216] This is a name.
[217] Literally, "where ends the sky."
[218] This is a dance name as in English one says waltz or fox trot.
[219] This is a term of respect used for elders.
[220] A mountain going down the Lari River.
[221] *tadon* is the *caracol* or water snail.
[222] *suen* is Térraba for *Lon*.
[223] This and the following three words signify "to adorn."
[224] This is a Térraba word to signify "something red" or "reflects."
[225] Literally, "closed" or "finished" or "end."
[226] These three words are included for sound only.
[227] This song is in part Bribri and in part Cabécar.
[228] The following is in Cabécar.
[229] Bribri begins.
[230] "The other world" is understood here.
[231] This is Cabécar.

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THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

*539

22. *itsǫ́*[332] (*Bribri*)

1. Then we are going to hear him sing.
We are going to bring *itsǫ́* from where we hid him,
To bring him again inside the house.
Then we are going to sing with *itsǫ́*.

23. Sister[333] (*Bribri*)

1. Sister where [are you] where [are you]?
Little ugly[334] sister,
Where did they hide the sick poor daughter?

2. *See* Linguistic Text.

3. Sister from what place do you come, come, come, angry [one], you come ugly [one].
From what place do you come? Where are you going?

---

22. itsǫ́

1. ẹmatá somj uiątsǫ́k.[335]
somí itsǫ́ tsúk wẹ sɔ-rá ibLɔkwaą ẹ,
itsąk mẹLẹ demẹLẹ wẹ̃́ke.[336]
étą somj-ketké tsak itsǫ́ wɔ́s.

23. taše

1. taše wẹ́-La[337]-wẹ́?
as[338]-taše-suLuLa,
Lá-nuLą[339]-durkj siąe[340] ibLé-durkj?

2. ąsteweste[341] westewe stewée,

3. a[342]-taše wẹ́ ką-wẹ́kj[343] iro-ro,[344] iro-ro, iro-ro, uLuLą, iro-suLú.
ką-iro-wé?[345] wé-La[346] iromi?

[601]

[332] *itsǫ́* is the grandfather of *serikr*.
[333] This is an affectionate term applied to cousins, brothers, sisters.
[334] This is an affectionate term. It can also mean "angry" in an affectionate sense.
[335] This signifies to pray and to sing. It is also pronounced *siástuk*.
[336] *a* is house. *wésks* is "inside the house."
[337] For sound only.
[338] This word also means "convalescent."
[339] This word signifies "poor in spirit." The word "poor" or *side* is usually accompanied by a noun which denotes what one is poor in, such as land, food, etc.
[340] This whole line is for the sound only.
[341] For sound only.
[342] Literally, "in what place."
[343] *ro* here and in the two following words is for sound only.
[344] For sound only.
[345] For sound only.
[346] For sound only.

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LINGUISTIC TEXTS

24. Good Child, a Lullaby (*Bribri*)

1. Quietly child, don't cry,
Little ugly child, sleep quietly.
What do you say now little baby?
Baby sleep, sleep quietly.

2. Sleep, you will sleep now.
What do you say oh baby, little ugly baby?
What do you say? What do you say?
Little ugly baby, what do you say today?
Oh little ugly baby, oh little baby.

3. Oh little baby, oh little ugly baby,
Sleep quietly.
Your mother went to bring flowers.
Oh little ugly baby, be quiet.
Sleep.

25. The Bird (*Bribri*)

1. Oh hawk, hawk, you hawk leave.
You go high;
There I go.
You buzzard, you dry the road.
I dry the road of the buzzard.

---

24. íLaLa buą́

1. bęnét íLaLa, ké bé iúk,
aLá suLóLa, bé kapowó bęnét.
iręLa ichebo bębęLą?[247]
bębę kapotkewoLa, kapowé bęnét.

2. bé kapotkeLa, bé kapowąidir iręLa.
ichebo abębę, bębę suLóLa?
iLą ichebo? iLą ichebo?
bębę suLúLą, iręLa ichebo?
abębę suLą́, abębęLą.

3. abębęLą, abębę suLóLa,
bé kapowó.
bé mamaLą[248] miąLa mamawo e-tsúk.
abębę suLą́, bęnétLą́.
kapotkeLowawé.

25. dú

1. airoLą, iroLą, bé iroLą ję otę.
bé-miro kabota;
ea ßé miro.
bé oLó, ną́La tsią.
ßé oLó ną́La tsią.

[177]

[247] This is adopted from the Spanish.
[248] This is adopted from Spanish.

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THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

2. You glide;
I glide.
You go to the edge of the sea;
I go to the sea.

3. Oh hawk! You are carried on good wind.
Let's talk, oh hawk.
I myself am going to meet the dawn at the sea.
Wind, where are you going? Where are you going?

26. On the Back Song (*Bribri*)

1. Who does not touch it;
Who does not touch it;
To fling on the back the son of the monkey.

See Linguistic Text.

2. Who does not fling on the back the son of the white-faced monkey.
To fling on the back

See Linguistic Text.

Song the son of the sloth,
To fling on the back.

See Linguistic Text.

---

2. bé eeLaá;
šé eeLaá.
bé miro dəšé-jkəə;
šé miro-La[355] dəšé.

3. airəLą! bé butaką simǫ́bLu[356] buae-kj.
sjtə-Lą,[357] airəLą.
šé iminą kanjnta dəšé.
węLa bé miro simǫ́? węLa bé-mi?

26. tiujką tsé

1. ši ketə ketaiké;[358]
ši ketə ketaiké;
sąL-aLą tiujką.
Lajesą.[359]

2. ši ketə tiujką ok-aLą.
tiujką
Lajesą
tsé sinąL-aLą,
tiujką
Lajesą.

[355] This is a term of endearment.
[356] Literally, *simǫ́bLa* signifies "wind king."
[357] *-Lą* is a term of endearment.
[358] Double negative.
[359] For sound only.

3. Who does not fling himself on the back,
Song of the great person,
To fling on the back.

4. *See* Linguistic Text.
Great *sibu*, to fling himself on the back,
See Linguistic text.
Who does not fling himself on the back.

27. Water Jaguar, Water Jaguar (*Bribri*)

1. Water jaguar, water jaguar,
There are many [who] eat one another,
Don't be afraid,
Water jaguar, water jaguar.

2. There are many jaguars [who] eat one another,
Don't be afraid,
Water jaguar, water jaguar.

3. Eat those large snakes,
Don't be afraid,
Water jaguar, water jaguar.

---

3. ši ketə tiujką,
tsé biká-bLutə[354]
tiujką.

4. Lajeme[355]
sibu-bLutə, tiujką
Lajé[356]
ši ketə tiujką.

27. dí-na, dí-namą

1. dí-na,[357] dí-namą.
tsó taj ni-kətógçwą,
ké bé suaną-šokj,
dí-na, dí-namą.

2. numą tsó taj ni-kətógç,[358]
ké bé suanašą,[359]
dí-na, dí-namą.

3. tkəbé ktaj-njsç kətəwą,
ké bé suaną,
dí-na, dí-namą.

[354] *bLutə* literally means "great" or "a personage." At times this word is used for "king."
[355] For sound only.
[356] For sound only.
[357] As abbreviation for sound.
[358] The difference in the termination between this and *kətógçwa* is for sound only.
[359] The difference in this termination and *suana-šokj* is for sound only.

Bribri

[p. 92]

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THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

28. Chicha Song[880] (*Bribri*)

1. What do you think [that] I [can] not grind "chilate"?
Then you will not catch him making good chicha!
You catch him as a good brave [man].

2. You catch him with the good chicha that you make.
Catch him, poor dear, He's a person.
Then listen now to what I told you.

29. Fighting Song (*Bribri*)

1. Grasshopper, grasshopper, large alligator, large alligator
Large alligator [which between themselves] eat [one another],
I am not afraid [of alligators].
Large snake, large snake, large snake,
[Which between themselves] eat [one another],
I am not afraid [of snakes].

2. Grasshopper, grasshopper, grasshopper, grasshopper, large alligator,
The large snake eats the grasshopper, eats the grasshopper.

---

28. bLó tsé

1. ímąLą mękə ké-šeą šuLarLą, ną́rLą,[881] úrwą?
ké ę́mata beikLə wę-są́ bLó-bLą, šabLą,[882] buą́.
beikLowę-są́ keria buą́.

2. beikLowę-są́ bLó-bLą buą́.
ikLowe-są́, iseLątą, sé idír.
íętą nęe jsé šemią[883] iché.

29. inijpek tsé

1. dítsik, dítsik-ma,[884] tLók tąj, tLók tąj-ma,
tLók tąj inj-kətewa,
kibí šé suar-išokj.
tkəbé tąj, tkəbé tąj-ma, tkəbé tąj,
inj-kətewa,
kibí še suar-išok.

2. dítsik, dítsik-ma, dítsik, dítsik-ma, tLók tąj,
kətę tkəbé tąj, dítsik kətę.

[880] This song represents two women squabbling over a man.
[881] For sound only.
[882] For sound only.
[883] This form makes it clear that it is "I" and not another person.
[884] The suffix -ma is for sound only.

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LINGUISTIC TEXTS

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30. Cemetery Song (*Bribri*) (Version 1)

1. [like] a man
Let's try,
Let's not worry, brave says,
Boy for whom.

2. In the afternoon, in the morning,
Like an alligator,
A strong boy.
In the afternoon, like a jaguar,
Like an alligator,
Let's try,
Like *serike*, *serike*.

3. [like] a jaguar, like he himself,[555]
Let's try,
Boy let's not worry,
Don't be afraid
For whom do you come?

4. When *serike*, man, boy,
To bring stones,
Now man, now for whom boy like a man,

---

30. apú tsok

1. jóikĩjóojó* webLasą́ jó*
amąú-so, jóreigeLa* jó*
kó-soę́ndiar, diLo jó* chegę,
jó* aLa-webLa jó* šięurą́, jó*

2. tšą́L-jtą, jó* bLuLáme jójójó,*
toĽók-są́ jó*,
aLa-igeLa jó*.
tšą́L-jtą jó*, nąmu-są́, jó*
toĽók-są́ jó*,
mąú-so jó*,
tserkes-są́ serike jó*.

3. nąj-namą́[556] jó* wak-są́ jó*,
ąmąu-so jó* jójó* kirigi* jójó*,
aLa-webLa jó* kó-ędiar jó*,
kó-suar jó*
šięrwa jó* ídọ jó*?

4. serke jó* miktą jó*, webLa jó* kebinjó*, aLa-webLa,
jó* jók súk jó*,
webLa igę́, jó* šięrwa jó* aLa-webLa igę́ jó* webLa-są́ jó*,

[764]

[555] This is a song used for carrying or hauling heavy logs or stones to the cemetery. Almost every other word is an exclamation. Such words are indicated in the linguistic text by an asterisk.
[556] Le., the jaguar.
[557] A Cabécar manner of saying *di-namą́*.

[P.99]

Cabecar
Bribri

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

#539

Like the devil himself,
Let's try,
Good man, Talamanca,
Oh man, the devil returned.

30. Cemetery Song (*Bribri*) (Version 2)

1. Now let's raise the stone and fling it on our shoulders,
It is said [to show] braveness [not] through [anger but] strength now [hauling the stone].

2. Now let's try, a man [should] not [be] afraid.
Boy, don't be sad.
Now let us try like a jaguar,
Let us try like a monkey hawk,
Let us try like an alligator.

3. [Fling it on] the shoulder,
Let us try like *serike* himself.[sss]

31. Child Caress, a Lullaby (*Cabécar*)

1. Rock-a-bye baby, sleep.
Mother went to look for flowers.

---

kritam jé° wak-ą́ jé°,
mą́-so jéjé°,
webLa buą́, jé° kąka jé°,
a-webLa jé°, kiritam jé° demęLę jé°.

30. apú tsek

1. ják kugą-so pugatké-so ike,
iLąna injkj ši erwaso ęrauLú chégę.

2. iketą́ mą́-so, aLa-webLa ké ĩuane.
aLa-webLa ké ęriána.
ike mą́-so numą́ ękipi,
mą́-so aĩL-pą ską́,
mą́-so toLók ską́.

3. pugátke,
mą́-so serke nuj-namą́ wak ską́.

31. šabaLá pabLewą

1. uoóaLa[sss] boboLa, kapowąLa.
míną-wóLa mją́ mámawó tsą.

[sss] Literally, "master of the water jaguar."
[sss] Bribri word signifying the action of rocking a hammock; it is equivalent to the English "rock-a-bye."

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

* 539

Sleep before because it is for us[370]
Mother comes from work to the house.

32. To Plant (*Cabécar*)

1. Let's go to work,
Let's plant maize,
Plant the maize well;
[When] we plant the maize, let's go.

---

rɨ́-seją-se kúpówąLa tagi
nu[371] míną-wóLa ratsę́-kenę.

32. tkɔ

1. sɔ-ĩkɔ ĩkąbLɔ,
sɔ-ĩkɔ kwó tkɔ,
kwó tkɔ-wąró boi;
kwó tkénąra, sɔ-ĩkane.

[370] I.e., the flowers are for us.
[371] Bribri word.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 97]
[P. 96 is Wank]

ooo

APPENDICES I–III

Cabecar
Bribri

[p.99(A)]
[p.98 is blank]

APPENDIX I: CULTIVATED FOODS AND DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

000

[p. 99(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

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262
192

BRIBRI

rice	*árros* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*)
beans	*átuwo* or *átu* (this covers all varieties)
Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.)	*shá átu*
black beans	*átu doLoLó*
red bean	*átu mátkLe*
butter bean	*wówo*
pole bean	*átu kLśie*
yuca	*aLí*
black maize	*ikwś doLoLó*
yellow maize	*ikwś tsikríri*
white maize	*ikwś sururú*
bananas	*kLśm*
red banana	*kLśm mat*

[Text continues top of p. 99(C)--analysis]

CABÉCAR

yuca	*ǐkɔ*
pole bean	*kɔni kaLiá*
black bean	*kɔni doLoná*
red bean	*kɔni matká*
vegetable pear	*jarwɔ*
tiquízque	*buɔ*
pejibaye	*diká*
seedless pejibaye	*diká jɔʒerrirbɔ*
rice	*arroz* (Spanish)
banana	*chomp*
plantain	*kalbí*
pig banana	*kɔchi chomp*
maize	*kwś*
black maize	*kwś doLana*
Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob)	*sejé kaikwś*
pumpkin	*pis*
coffee[1]	*capé* (corruption of the Spanish *café*)

[Text continues bottom of p. 99(C)--analysis]

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

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[P.99 (C)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated Foods and Domesticated Animals

BRIBRI

241
262
192

guineos	*chimú*
plantains	*tsaLá; mná*
sugar cane	*pákəL*
United Fruit Company bananas	*síwəwə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
pumpkin	*apí*
swine	*kácbi*
chicken	*tkró*
cow	*baca*
horse	*no word*
duck	*no word*
cat	*michi*
dog	*chíchi*
pejibaye	*dikó*
alligator pear	*amók*

CABÉCAR

mango	*mango* (Spanish)
orange	*china*
chile	*lá*
Inga	*waLoa*
chocolate	*tsirá*
alligator pear	*jomó*
yam	*tsəLirba*
sour sap	*tsá*
papaya	*kicha*
sugar cane	*palta*
cow	*vaca* (Spanish)
pig	*kəchi*
chicken	*jóskivo*
dog	*chichi*
cat	*michi*
turkey	*chó*
duck	*pato* (Spanish)
horse	*caballo* (Spanish)

[P. 100(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

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		Red Variety	*Yellow Variety*
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	*Use*
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLə	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kúLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever—mash stem and boil
[342] tsíchica	*Menispermacen Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] təbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
duáskLə	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

824
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	Latin	*Use*
harbə	*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri	fish poison
chatə	*Serjania* sp.	fish poison
	Pothomorphe piperaceae	boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] botuLá	*Euforbia sapinou*	glue
chicarté	*Bocconia frutescens*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--analyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P·100(B)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

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		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824
[278]

[845]

[272
844]

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apiskicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
ldokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

CABÉCAR

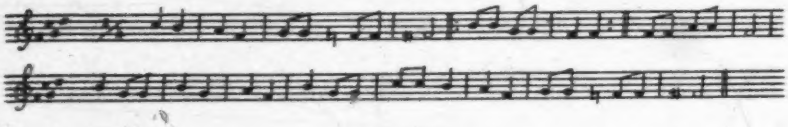
[278]

[386]
[515]
[278]

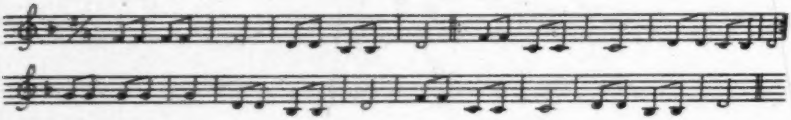
	Latin	Use
popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bɔ́Lk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacia sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

APPENDIX II: MUSICAL SCORES OF TWO BRIBRI SONGS

dina-di-namij



buLsakuLe



6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. [643] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

[177] It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

721 628 At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

643 There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the 643 National Congress passed a law signed by the 648 President of the Republic making the Talamancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148-49.

[P. 102(B)]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

643 648 capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

643 578 Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLwak* clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. [669] In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

643 648 [682] In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

643 As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old, Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was [644] Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301] [292] [293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648

The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the
visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the
648 government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into his own hands. On more than one occasion,
[439] he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria,
644 the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

643 funeral feast. It is said that his death was due to having mistakenly drunk tincture of iodine. What is probably the truth is that he was poisoned because of personal hatreds. Kohkemper[11] recounts the version which seems most acceptable. He states that Antonio fell out with an Indian woman and she poisoned him and afterwards met the same fate.

José, the nephew, died a few days later. It is not known whether his death was due to natural or violent causes. With his passing, the kingship of Talamanca remained vacant.

[292] [301] Some years after this, the French traveler Périgny, found the insignias of royalty well preserved. These included a headdress of eagle

[11] Kohkemper, 1954, p. 60.

643 feathers and the necklace with six large golden
292 eagles, the remaining testimony of the last
[301] monarch in Costa Rica.

In 1957, a group of Bribri Indians from Talamanca brought a headdress of eagle plumes, fashioned in the same manner as the one used by King Antonio, to the National Museum of Costa Rica. They asked that it be placed near the portrait in oil, dating from 1892, of the deceased ruler (fig. 14). This hangs in one of the halls of the museum and shows
[301] King Antonio Saldaña with his royal jewels. This gesture is evidence that the memory of the last king has not been forgotten and that in spite of his debilities he remains important in the traditions of his people.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 107 (A)]
[PP. 105-106 contain no textual material]

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Bribri
Cabecar

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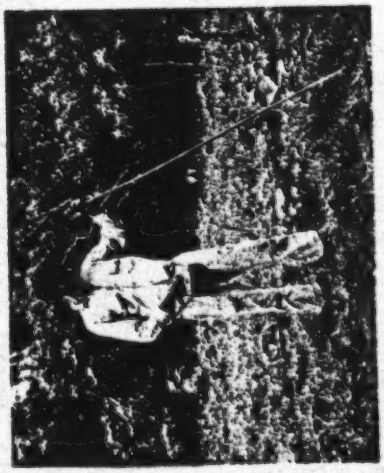
133
137
241
291
482
492

a

b

c



d

a–b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. c, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. d, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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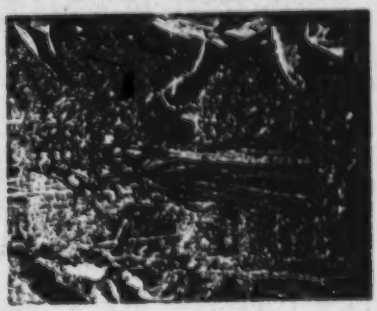
291
411
417



a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Shooting fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Shelter for children.

[End Plate 2]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

291
252
353
354
412
516

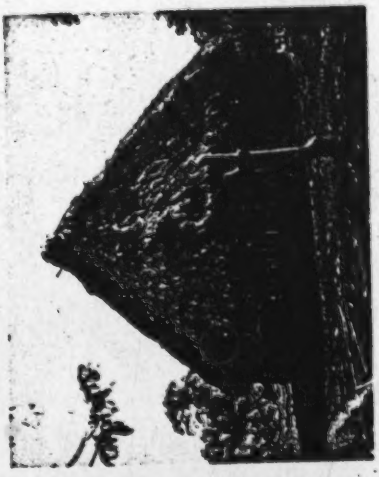
a, Natural smelting areas in a savanna. b, Natural smelting areas in a house. c, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. d, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

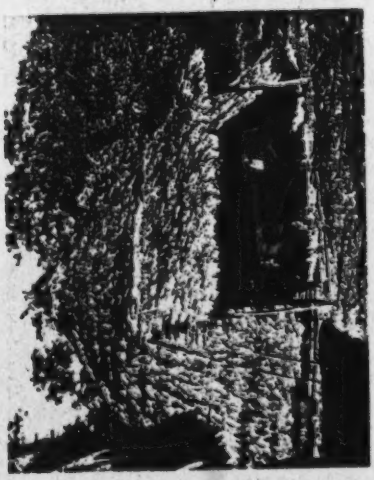
[END PLATE 3]

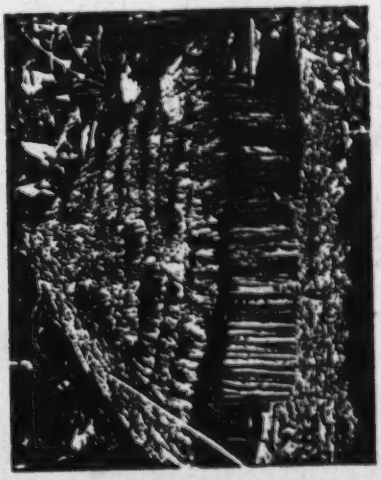
6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

342







a. Bribri round house, lower Talamanca. Note vessel on roof peak.
b. Bribri round house with "modern" annex, Alta Talamanca.
c. Cabécar round house, upper Coen. d. Bribri round house, Talamanca Plain.

[END PLATE 4]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

342
291
285

a

b

342
284
516
291
354
415
231

c

d

a-d, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. e, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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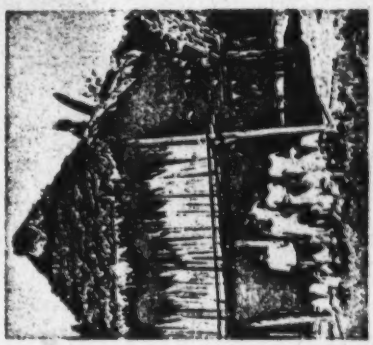
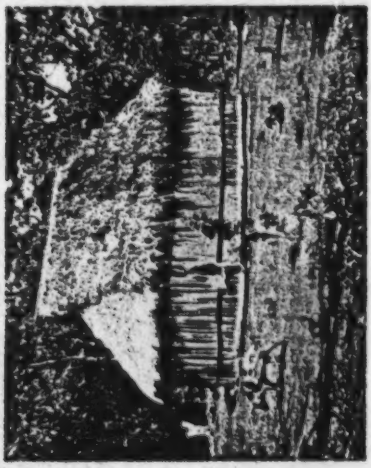
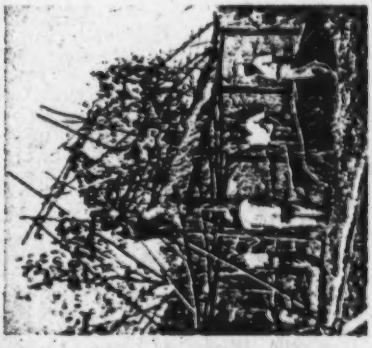
351
291
231







a, Cabécar combined rectangular and round house, Ujarrás. Note the grass and palm roofing; *b*, Cabécar round house, Ujarrás. *c*, Constructing a Bribri rectangular house, Cabagra. *d*, Bribri raised rectangular house.

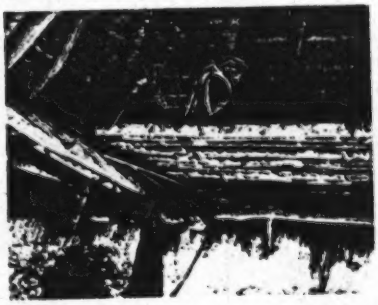
[END PLATE 6]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

353

b



d

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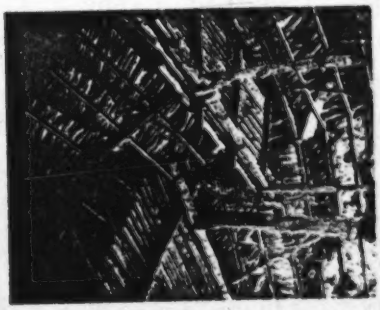
a



c

a–c, Details of interior roof walls in a Bribri house, Talamanca. d, Detail of wall construction, Cabécar house, Ujarrás.

[END PLATE 7]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

142
291
301
302
[531]

a

b

[854]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. c, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. d, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

142
291
302

a

b

[516]
301
[854]

c

d

a, Bribri man. b, Bribri woman. c, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. Note Boruca mats on women. d, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

[END PLATE 9]

2

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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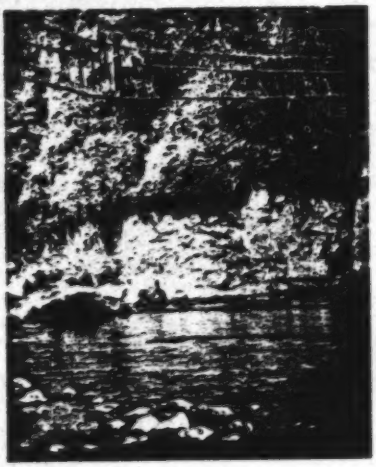
491

415
764



a

b

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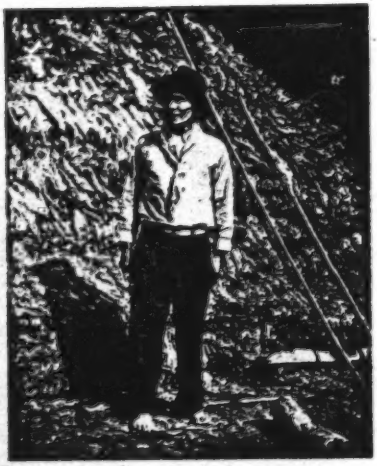
342
756
778

c



d

a, Vine bridge, Alta Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alta Cocn. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

532
756
778
[172]

a

b

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789
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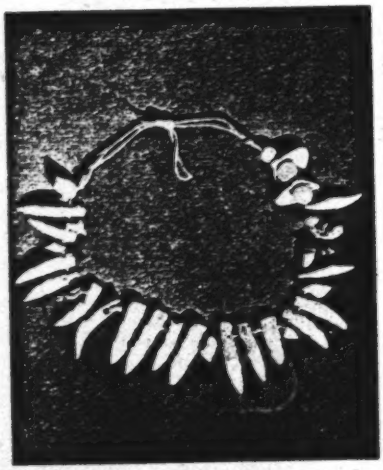

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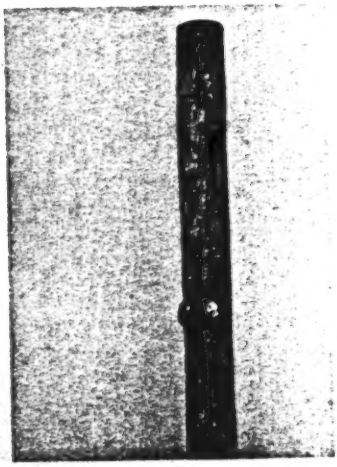

d

a, Ceremonial staff from cache on slopes of Irazú volcano, Central Plateau. *b*, Ceremonial staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Orón Jiménez L.). *c*, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bone, and beads to ward off evil (property of Don Julio Calleja T.). *d*, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beetle sights.

[END PLATE 11]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
302
291

a

b

142
302
291
854
231

d

c

a, Bribri boy. b, Bribri girl. c, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. d, Bribri man.

[END PLATE 12]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

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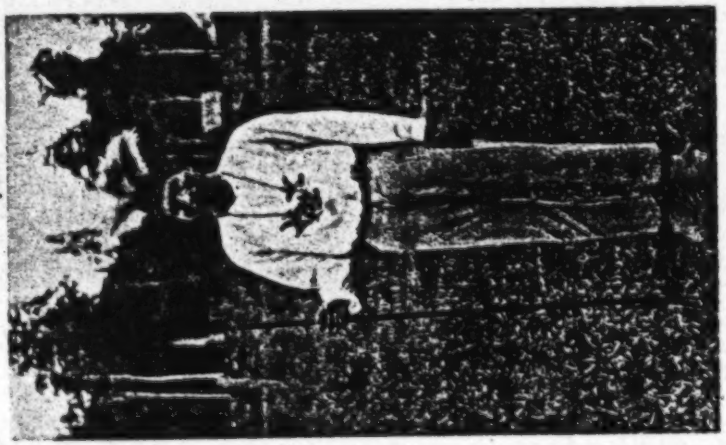
301
643
292



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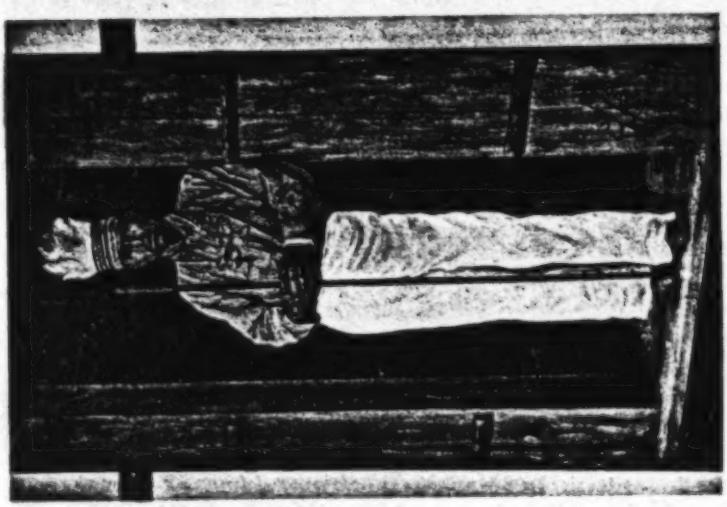

a

a, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
b, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (from Fernández Guardia, 1913).

[END PLATE 13]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
291
301
302

a

b

c

d

Bribri children from the Pacific slope at the school in Salitre. (Photographs courtesy of Ing. José Fabio Góngora.)

[END PLATE 14]

539

[For the native text of myths and songs, see category 116, pp. 52 (B)-68 (B), 71A-95.]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

121 THE following paper on the present-day *Boruca* Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not a complete ethnological study. In fact, it might well be termed an "introductory paper" on these people. It is the result of four short visits into Boruca territory. The first trip was made with the idea of becoming acquainted with these people, and the remaining three visits were made to study the conditions under which the greater portion of autochthonous Costa Ricans exist today. The purpose in mind was to understand the new problems created by the first steps in constructing the Pan-American Highway. The
177 line of the proposed highway goes between
648 *Térraba* and *Cabécar* Indian country, and indirectly affects the *Bribri* and the *Boruca*. With its start, came the flood of opportunists to claim lands that are actually occupied by
[191] indigenous groups, many of whom do not even speak the national tongue, Spanish.

[p. v-a]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

648 As a result of these field trips, the Costa Rican Government set up, on December 6, 1945, a *Junta* or Committee to form a long-term educational program and to demarcate various aboriginal zones to be used as reservations.

177 114 Little or nothing has been written about the *Boruca*, who are by far the most Europeanized of the southern Costa Rican tribes, and who, because of this, are fast losing their aboriginal characteristics. The report which follows is 121 a series of facts concerning the life of the actual *Boruca* Indians; facts which, in a few years, may be obsolete or unknown. For this reason, they are offered here as part of the record of our knowledge of man's cultural changes, and, as stated before, do not pretend to represent a thorough ethnological study.

DORIS STONE

San José, Costa Rica, 1946

[p. v-b]
[p. vi is blank]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

THE JOURNAL OF

AMERICAN FOLK-LORE.

VOL. XVI.—JANUARY-MARCH, 1903.—No. LX.

FOLK-LORE OF THE BRIBRI AND BRUNKA INDIANS IN COSTA RICA.

THIS is, I believe, the first attempt to collect the tales and legends still preserved among the Costa Rican Indians. My primary object in compiling them was to obtain original texts for the study of the languages of the tribes mentioned, and a few of these texts, all belonging to the Bribri, have already been published in German, in the "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien."[1] 121

As far as our very imperfect knowledge of the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of Costa Rica allows us to admit, the bulk of the population consisted at the time of the Spanish conquest of five or six main groups, differentiated essentially by their languages. The *Chorotegas*, in the peninsula of Nicoya, belonged to a northern stock, as did the small *Nahua* colonies scattered among them. The *Votos* or *Corobicias* occupied the low plains along the San Juan River and the northwestern end of the main cordillera; they are still represented to-day, at the headwaters of the Rio Frio Valley, by the ill-fated Guatos, whose complete disappearance is a question of only a few years. The *Huétares*, *Huétares* or *Guetares* extended all over the central part of the country; they have become extinct, or are mixed up and lost among the present half-bred or Spanish population in the densely inhabited strip between Port Limon and Puntarenas; but far to the east, in the valleys which originate in the highest region of the cordillera, and descend towards the Caribbean Sea (Chirripó, Estrella, Tariro, Coen, Arári, Uren), there still live in an isolated state about 1500 of their descendants, divided into the two chief groups of the *Cabécaras* (including the Chirripóes and other scattered families) and the *Vyceitas*, *Blancos*, or *Bribri*. The *Tirub*, *Térribes*, or *Térrubas* formed another stock, once powerful, but reduced to-day to a miserable handful located near the headwaters 101 131 [162]

[1] H. Pittier de Fábrega, *Die Sprache der Bribri Indianer in Costa Rica*, etc. 1898, vol. cxxxviii.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

located in this city, where they are examined, and afterwards a duplicate of them is sent with the statements of results of such examination to the Tribunal of Accounts of *Santa Fé*, so that the officials there may approve or criticise the results of the audit by the *Contador* thereof.

This completes what was asked for in said Chapter 8 of the *Apuntamiento* and I refer to the Document No. 6.

ANTONIO GUILL Y GONZAGA.

Doc. 178 Report of Fray Manuel de Urcullu. Missions of Talamanca in 1763.

GUATEMALA, November 3, 1763.[1]

114 Fray Manuel Urcullu, in the regular service of Our Father San Francisco, Apostolic Preacher and Guardian of this College of the Holy Propaganda of Christ Our Lord Crucified, of the city of *Guatemala*.

121 In accordance with the request and charge made to me on the 10th day of the past month by the Superior Government of this Kingdom, that, in compliance with a Royal *cédula*, I should, within the period of one month, submit a list of the friars who are living under my direction, stating their names, ages and personal qualifications, the offices or positions they hold, and also the *reducciones* (settlements of converted Indians) and existing Missions which my said College has under its care; and giving the number of the missionaries engaged therein and those that are needed in each year, in order that the propagation of the Holy Gospel and the conversion of the heathen may suffer no detriment; the locations and sites of each mission; the settlements formed; the number and character of their inhabitants; the time during which they have been established; the missionaries who have died therein; and what settlements and *reducciones* are now being undertaken for curacies and secular parishes; I have to report as follows, making an individual statement of all that is asked me. * * *

[1] Archives of the Indies at Seville. Shelf 100. Compartment 7. Bundle 1. Peralta, *ubi supra*, p. 130.

FOREWORD

121 101 [177] 115

THESE pages present the life of two indigenous groups, the Cabécares and the Bribri, who number among the first-known inhabitants of Costa Rican soil. They are people in varied stages of acculturation, but many are now taking part in the national environment and life of the republic.

There are numerous informants who helped with the gathering of details which have contributed to the making of this book. Among these were two young teachers, Teofilo Mayorga, a Cabécar from Ujarrás, and Gabriel Figueroa, a Bribri from Salitre. Both took down the linguistic texts in phonetics and aided in the literal translations. Saturnino Ortiz and Marcos Ortiz, also from Salitre, and Herman Villanueva of China Kichá supplied much important data.

There were two medicine men whose aid was invaluable, Telesforo Figueroa, Bribri, and Victor Challe, Cabécar, and the late Bribri Burier, Jaime Ortiz.

To these, to Roger Thayer Stone, and to the countless others who cooperated in the preparation of this text, among whom figure Agnes Gamboa, Francisco Amighetti, and Naomi Stratton, the author renders profound gratitude.

Doris Stone

San José, Costa Rica, 1960

[P. V]

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 10 (A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

● 121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically distinct groups as each one demonstrates a different [177] stage of acculturation.

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. Transportation is restricted to foot with the 489 exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent 491 and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- 177 quest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the 648 republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

dividual affair, and looked on with great disfavor by the tribe. Matters 622
went on very well for a few months under the new regime. But Birche, a 648
man of little capacity, at the same time a coward and a tyrant, could not be content with his position. He began a system of ill treatment against which the people grumbled, but which they feared to resent. At first both Lyon and myself tried to quiet the complaints, believing that punishment had been justly inflicted, and knowing that

> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With just opinion of the law,
> Or held with judgment orthodox
> His love of justice in the stocks."

But it soon became apparent that his majesty (they are always called king) was abusing his power. The Indians dared not quarrel with Birche, for fear of offending the government, but came to Lyon almost daily with complaints. At last we decided to effect a change. Birche went to Limon to draw his salary, and at the same time to complain of a purely personal quarrel with Willie, in which he had fared worst. I arrived there a few days later, having completed my exploration, and being on my way to the Capital. On being asked for information and advice by the Commandante, I told the story and urged his removal. This could only be done by the minister, but he was suspended until the decision of that officer could be obtained. In a few days I saw Mr. Herrera, and after a conversation he decided to endorse the Commandante's action. Birche was accordingly removed, Willie was given a nominal chieftainship, and Lyon instructed to assume all responsibilities. Thus in less than two years the people have, without knowing how it happened, been deprived of their hereditary chiefs, and a foreigner placed over them. Willie remains with the empty title of chief without even the power to issue an order or punish an offender, except when ordered by Lyon. This gentleman has their entire confidence and respect, and many of the Indians begged to have even the title taken away permanently from the "royal" family. I have been thus prolix on this branch of the subject, [123]
because I was an eye witness, a participator, in the latter part of the events I relate. Trivial as they are, they may interest some, throwing light on the manner in which one tribe after another is subdued.

A strange fatality seems to hang over these Isthmian Indians. Even 161
when not brought into contact with the debasing influences of civilization, the tribes are visibly diminishing. Less than two centuries ago, the population of Talamanca, as Costa Rica calls her southeastern province, was counted by thousands, now barely 1200 souls can be found. The Shelaba tribe is extinct; the Changinas are at the point of extermination, the Tiribis number but one hundred and three souls, and Lyon tells me that the Cabecars of the Coen have diminished fully one-half within the last seventeen years, while the decrease in the Bri-bris is hardly less rapid.

During my travels in Talamanca I collected in each district an accurate 124 161

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

[123] I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an ob-
534 server are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one
535 or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes impromptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, however, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place. 766 535 [534] [533]

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chicha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch, that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom. 766 [584]

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains, several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been devoured, the *bi-ka-kru* or steward announced that the commissary had given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path; of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precipices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself. [123] [574] 533 766 775

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 533 766

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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766 in part unintelligible to the uninitiated. At the end of each stanza was
[533] a chorus, where the priests, who during the stanza kept time with their rattles, now gave a peculiar twirl, and the lay singers joined in the chorus.

As the song approached its end, the leader was furnished with a big gourd of steaming chocolate, holding about a quart. As he finished, landing the dear departed safe beyond further troubles, he announced it with a most unearthly yell, in which all hands joined; he at the same time turning the chocolate over the fire, totally extinguishing it. The party at once arose and for a minute or two all was bustle and confusion of preparation.

[767] A person, whose office it is to handle the dead, endeavored to lower the bundle but it was a little out of his reach. Nobody else could touch it
[783] for fear of defiling himself. To lend a hand would have cost an Indian three days of purification. I drew my long knife, which all learn to carry in this country, as an actual necessity; and with a couple of blows cut the fastenings and brought the little cane rack, bundle of bones and all, tumbling into the outstretched arms of the official, with much more haste than solemnity. Nobody seemed shocked, and being a foreigner, and
[123] withal a medicine man, who had made cures where their best doctors had failed, I was of course impregnable to *bu-ku-ru'*. The aforesaid official now lashed the package to its stick, and two long slender strings of loosely twisted cotton were tied to the head of the package.

[587] Santiago had had three wives. One of them had re-married to his successor; but there were two remaining in widowhood. A procession was formed. First came the priests with their rattles. Next the chorus singers with their drums. Next the corpse, borne by two men, and preceded by the two widows, each holding the end of one of the cotton strings, leading the dead, as it were, to his final resting-place. Next ourselves, as the most distinguished persons present, and escorted by the two chiefs. Behind us came the older men, and following them the usual rag, tag, and bob-tail of young men, women, boys, and persons of no account generally. Some of the boys however, true to boy nature, were as usual irrepressible, and instead of keeping decorously in place, skirmished ahead, and on the flanks of the procession, mounting stumps, logs, or other commanding points to take in the general effect of the pageant. As the procession filed out of the house, some old chicha jars
[768] were carried out and ostentatiously broken; but I observed that nothing of real value was destroyed. As soon as the line got fairly under way, the priests struck up another song which was kept up until the procession halted.

Everybody had been on so long a debauch that it was decided to take a rest of three or four days before the party started off. But it was necessary that the bones should be removed from the house. A temporary ranch had therefore been built a few hundred yards distant; and to this the remains were carried and deposited until the bearers were in a fit condition to proceed.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the 756
Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take for- 791
eign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of
purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads
of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away
rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. 789
He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, [276]
calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever
place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two
swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford;
one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in
our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather.
He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke
would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Cartago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the
name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success,
and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he
had the effrontery to calmly claim it as his doing! They also
"blow" a proposed route of travel, so as to drive away snakes and
good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically
the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming 755
away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sick- [123]
ness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one
to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he
made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any
small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are
used, and are said to be equally efficacious.

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew
tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about
diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt for a
day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated
under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular
periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addi- 756
tion to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would
have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the
other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmi-
ties. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic [778]
merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are
supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend,
who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One pur-
ported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other
animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they
were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamor-
phic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction.
My little knowledge of medicine, and a moderately well-supplied medi- 123
cine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-se'-ka-ra* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *ba-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *ba-ku-ru'*.

The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
474 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an
574 extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461] the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273] man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been pre-
[431] sented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of choco-
late, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green
corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made
[123] friends, fared sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse any-
thing.

The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet
342 in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long
poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of
withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on
a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a
third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring,
if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not rest-
ing on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched
with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop
the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large,
squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes
made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark.
Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular
form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and
the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now
most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the
ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a
roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at
both ends. The Tiribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts,
sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon
told me that formerly the Tiribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses
like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness.
The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even
in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to
put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The
Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better fur-
nished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made
by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-
sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the
sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made
of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together.
In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends
of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by plac-
ing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as
they burn off. Over the fire is a barbacue or frame, sufficiently high to
let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way
of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient
protection from the latter

386 threads, the Indians lamented to the writer that they had forgotten how to make many of the beautiful colors their ancestors knew. In particular, they wanted to know how to obtain a bright blue. As a consequence, the seeds [123] of the broad-leaf indigo were sent them for planting.

The colors still made by the *Boruca* are black, light yellow, pale blue, and purple. Light brown is obtained by using the natural colored cotton, as stated before. Formerly, red was made by boiling the leaves of the sangrilla tree which is called *rus kra'* in Boruca, and is abundant in the neighboring forests. At present, they do not make this dye, as they seem to think it too much trouble. A fast jet black is procured by cooking the bark of a tree called *carbonero* (*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.) in Spanish, and *grifin-kra'* in Boruca, and combing the liquid with a black clay found in the vicinity. Light blue is made from a narrow-leaf indigo (*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.) which abounds by the river. The leaves are boiled for dye. Purple is obtained on the sea coast near Punta Mala and Dominical. Here a mollusk (*Purpura patula* Gould), called *la morada*, is gathered at low tide off the rocks which jut out of the water along the shore. Formerly, the Indians swam out to the rocks with the cotton thread on top of their head
237 to collect the animal.[26] The *Boruca* have no
386 tradition of any of this. At the present time, they gather the mollusk when the tide is out from the shore, and from the rock they can reach by wading. Great pain is taken not to let the creature die. On obtaining the mollusk, they first turn over the shell so that the sea water runs out. Then they blow into the shell, holding the thread in front. The angry animal spits out a fluid on the thread, after which he is thrown back into the sea. This fluid is at first a greenish-yellow, but when dry, becomes deep purple.[27] They say that the ink is best when the moon is full, and no good when the moon is new. At other times, the color is not so strong, nor does it dye evenly.
[648] This dye has long been prized not only by the

[26] See Cockburn, 1779, p. 112.

[27] According to Dr. W. J. Clench, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University, this dye is a drug used by the snail to anesthetize its victim.

[28] See Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 353–54; Cock-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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dividual affair, and looked on with great disfavor by the tribe. Matters went on very well for a few months under the new regime. But Birche, a man of little capacity, at the same time a coward and a tyrant, could not be content with his position. He began a system of ill treatment against which the people grumbled, but which they feared to resent. At first both Lyon and myself tried to quiet the complaints, believing that punishment had been justly inflicted, and knowing that 622 648

> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With just opinion of the law,
> Or held with judgment orthodox
> His love of justice in the stocks."

But it soon became apparent that his majesty (they are always called king) was abusing his power. The Indians dared not quarrel with Birche, for fear of offending the government, but came to Lyon almost daily with complaints. At last we decided to effect a change. Birche went to Limon to draw his salary, and at the same time to complain of a purely personal quarrel with Willie, in which he had fared worst. I arrived there a few days later, having completed my exploration, and being on my way to the Capital. On being asked for information and advice by the Commandante, I told the story and urged his removal. This could only be done by the minister, but he was suspended until the decision of that officer could be obtained. In a few days I saw Mr. Herrera, and after a conversation he decided to endorse the Commandante's action. Birche was accordingly removed, Willie was given a nominal chieftainship, and Lyon instructed to assume all responsibilities. Thus in less than two years the people have, without knowing how it happened, been deprived of their hereditary chiefs, and a foreigner placed over them. Willie remains with the empty title of chief without even the power to issue an order or punish an offender, except when ordered by Lyon. This gentleman has their entire confidence and respect, and many of the Indians begged to have even the title taken away permanently from the "royal" family. I have been thus prolix on this branch of the subject, because I was an eye witness, a participator, in the latter part of the events I relate. Trivial as they are, they may interest some, throwing light on the manner in which one tribe after another is subdued. [123]

A strange fatality seems to hang over these Isthmian Indians. Even when not brought into contact with the debasing influences of civilization, the tribes are visibly diminishing. Less than two centuries ago, the population of Talamanca, as Costa Rica calls her southeastern province, was counted by thousands, now barely 1200 souls can be found. The Shelaba tribe is extinct; the Changinas are at the point of extermination, the Tiribis number but one hundred and three souls, and Lyon tells me that the Cabecars of the Coen have diminished fully one-half within the last seventeen years, while the decrease in the Bri-bris is hardly less rapid. 161

During my travels in Talamanca I collected in each district an accurate 124 161

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
●124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are
[211] accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each
house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the
whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the
museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
[461] dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
146 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase with-
out care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and
262 almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the
165 entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Chapter II.

THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN COSTA RICA.

Section I.—The Bri-bri Language.

In the following notes, I have endeavored to embody such ideas and conclusions as I have arrived at while studying the language and compiling the vocabulary. From the difficulty of obtaining information from ignorant people, and from my own, by no means perfect knowledge of the language, possibly errors may have crept in, but while I do not think any important ones will be found, I do not venture to claim infallible accuracy. For a year I labored to find some rule for conjugation, and was obliged, as it were, to educate my informers up to the point of being able to give me information about a subject they had never thought of, and could see no use for. Not content to accept their statements categorically, I watched carefully the use of the verbs in their inflexions, and by dint of cross-questioning a number of people, and rejecting everything that was contradictory, I think the few verbs I have selected are correctly given. I have had the advantage not only of a year and a half in the country, in daily contact with a fellow-countryman who spoke the language fluently, enabling me thereby to learn it; but for two months, in the meantime, while absent, I had several intelligent Indians with me who understood Spanish, and finally, after returning to civilization, I had with me for eight months a native, with whom I talked habitually in his own language, and from whom I obtained many corrections of the errors that a stranger must necessarily make. This boy became an apt teacher and voluntarily set me right whenever he heard me use an incorrect expression. 124

Counting the few abstract words which have doubtless escaped me, and all the specific names of animals and plants, and many of the latter are made up of an adjective, or the name of some plant, combined with *wak* (tribe), I do not think the language can contain two thousand words, and perhaps not fifteen hundred. In preparing the vocabulary I have rejected most of these specific names, because there is no corresponding English word, and a complete natural history collection, carefully studied by competent students, would be required, so as to obtain an equivalent. Even then it would have been useless, because the names vary locally as much as similar words do in English. 192 128

In compound words, I have in most cases pointed out the roots, and separated the component parts by a |- sign. Although so much detail may have been unnecessary, the study was interesting to myself, and some of the curious results may also interest others.

There can be no doubt but that this and its allied dialects, like all unwritten languages, are undergoing great changes. The language spoken in Terraba was formerly, and probably not long ago, the same as that of Tiribi. There are marked differences between the Cabecar of Coen and that of the Estrella or North River, and even local differences in the use of *r*, *l*, and *d*, can be observed between the half of the Bri-bri 197

773 Very little remains in the field of legends or myths. Certain ones, told as recently as the time of Pittier, for example, "El Encanto,"[40] are now forgotten. The tales which are still told appear for the most part to be unfinished, half-remembered stories, and are, to a great extent, crude and unsatisfactory. The writer found that the telling of legends was similar, in a measure, to the gathering of language data. Few people remembered details, and no two people agreed on all details. The fundamental note in the tales collected is the importance placed on witchcraft, in spite of the fact that the *Borucas* like to give the impression that they no longer believe nor remember anything about witchery. The following are four myths which are still told by the *Boruca* Indians.

[124]
[754]

539 **The "Mamram."** These are two bewitched women. They were orphaned girls who were from Boruca, and who used to fish the crabs and the crayfish in the creek which runs through the town. Each day, as they exhausted one spot, they moved a bit further along the water course, until one day they disappeared completely and did not return.

The shamans, however, found the girls and tied them up, then moved them to Barranco. You know they are there today, because you can see the stones of their hearth. Their bodies are covered with hair, and they are ugly, not only in appearance, but also in character. They are very mean, and have bothered people so much in the vicinity, that more than one community has had to move. The last place they destroyed was Camakrán by Paso Caracol.

The Grandfather of the Volcano. A long time ago, the grandfather of the volcano fell in love with a girl and took care of her. She became pregnant. He brought her partridges, wild turkeys, *paweeles*, wild hogs, wild pigs, and deer. The girl had a son, and she took care of him and raised him until he was six. Then the father came with a great wind and took the boy from his mother, and carried him to his house.

The father continued to visit the mother nightly, however, bringing her dried meat.

[40] Pittier, 1941, pp. 93–94.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for [126] half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

767 Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like 793 the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular, but many of the nouns are peculiar. *Si-bu*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they knew. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

756 Finally come the *Awas*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profession, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges 791 and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

171
352

using stools is an ancient one in Costa Rica, and that these seats seem to be but degenerate survivals of elaborately carved stone stools, such as those taken from the graves at Las Mercedes and Anita Grande. They may bear some relation to the *duhos* of the West Indies.

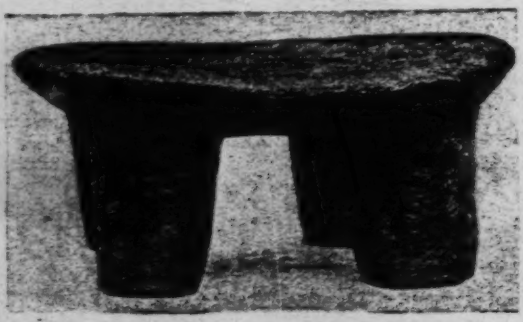

FIG. 2.—Wooden stool (length 13½ in.).

126
352

The writer was fortunate enough to obtain some modern Bribri seats crudely hewn to represent tortoises (pl. IV), while one example had, instead of the usual legs, supports of wood carved in crudely rectangular figures (fig. 3) that recall the fine stone lattice-work found in the graves.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

127 192 THE following is a comparative vocabulary of the Boruca language of words used in this paper. The earliest vocabulary is that of Valentini, dating from 1862. This has been taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–48. In the chart, it is listed as Valentini, 1920. The next oldest are those of Gabb and Monseñor Thiel, and are placed according to their publication dates, the first being Gabb, 1881, and the second Thiel, 1882. The second Thiel vocabulary is taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–56, and was collected in the year 1892. It is listed as Thiel, 1920, in the chart. The following three lists are from Pittier dating from the years 1891, 1892–96, and published by the National Museum of Costa Rica in 1941. Because of this, it is listed as 1941. The last Pittier vocabulary appeared in 1908. The final column was gathered by 192 the writer in 1945, and contains the Boruca 104 name for the principal items mentioned in this paper. The orthography used in the 1945 column is based on the international phonetic alphabet of G. H. Camerlynck. This alphabet was accepted at the International Congress of Phonetics in 1926. The key to this spelling is given below. (Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining special phonetic characters and setting these in the typeface as used herein, certain substitutes in the phonetic alphabet have been made. It has been necessary to make

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

●128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that
827 which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the
843 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods
[343] and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *ba-ka-ra'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *awa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Tiribi *shgu-ring'* and the Terraba *zhu-ring'*, seem to be specific; but the Cabecar, *kong-we-her'-ka* is "the atmosphere burns," while the Brunka *jl'-kra* is simply "fire." 197

Like the two or three cases of imperfect plural in Bri-bri, already mentioned, the Terraba has a single plural word; or rather only an approach, a sort of transitional form. *Zhgring* is a rib, and *zhgring'-ro*, the ribs in their collective sense, rather as the bony case of the thorax, than as the several bones.

As stated above, the compound words in the vocabulary of Bri-bri are divided by a + sign between the component parts. In the other languages, there are doubtless many that have not been properly separated, because I have not ventured to make theoretical divisions, and have only separated those that were obviously compound. My less perfect acquaintance with them has not warranted me in this step, nor in the probably unnecessary detail of analysis to which I have subjected the language of Bri-bri.

In Terraba the 3d person, singular, pronoun *kwe*, while not varying for gender or number, has three forms which always appear according to a peculiar condition, thus:

he, she, (sitting or lying down)	so'-kwe.
" " (standing)	shon'-kwe.
" " (going)	her-shon-kwe'.

In Brunka, I, thou, he, (or she) and we, (*a-dē-bi'*, &c.,) are used with the termination *dē-bi'* whenever they occur alone. When combined with other words in a sentence, the first syllable only (*a*, *ba*, *i*, and *ju*) is used. The termination is almost an integral part of the word and must be used when alone. This is the reverse of the termination *re* in Bri-bri, which is rarely used except in a sentence, and then only for euphony or emphasis, and at the option of the speaker.

CHAPTER III.

VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRI-BRI INDIANS.

[NOTE.—In this, and in the accompanying vocabularies, the vowels have the same sounds as in Spanish, unless marked with a special sign; 104
ē is pronounced as in English *met*; *i* as in *pin*; *ü* as in *mum*. *J* has the sound as in *John*; *ng* as in *thing*; *ñ* like the French nasal *n*; *kh* like *ch* 128
in the German *ich*; *h* is aspirated as in English. A few words having 194
unusual vowel sounds are noted separately, not to add unnecessary complication of conventional signs; like *ei-ai'*, blue and *ku-ku'*, our.

Compound words are written with a + sign between the component parts. Accent is of great importance, the change in position of the ac-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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104 128 194 cent sometimes changing the sense of the word entirely like *i-juk'* to drink, *i'-juk* earth, soil.]

to ache	i-dĕ-ll'-na	See *pain*.
192 to adhere	i-ha'-ism-wa	See *against*.
afraid	aĕ-wa'-na	
afterwards	e'-wa	Not *i'-wa*, interrogative, "what with."
again	i-aĕ-ka'	See *also*.
against	i-bĕ-tsu'-wa	See *to adhere*.
ago	er'-a-ja	Immediately past time.
	on-i-al',	Hours ago; this morning.
	nyo-nyo'-ni	Very long ago; days, months, years.
to agree	i-ahun'-lu	See *to arrange*.
	nyi'+wo-yu	*Nyi*, together.
to aim	i-ahun'-an-u	
air	koŋ'+ahu-wang	*Koŋ*, see country; *ahu-wang*, from *ai-wang'*, wind.
alike	nyi+ka'	*Nyi*, together.
	nyi+ĕhtsei'	Exactly alike; *tsei*, much, applied to words or two people speaking alike.
alive	tae'-ka	See *awake*.
all	aong	
	o-ri-to-ne'	
alligator	to-rok'	
alone	e'-kur	*E* (*ei*) one.
	e'mi	Used in the sense of *only*.
alongside	i-yaw'-mik	
already	jo-bak'	
also	i-aĕ-ka'	See *again*.
always	ahu-ar'-i-a	
angle	bĕ-ta'	A point; the angle of a surface or the corner angle of a solid.
	ai-chi'-a	The angle of a prism; see *square*.
angry	o-ri'-na	
ankle	o-ra-bo'	
ant,	tae'+wak	*Wak*, people, tribe. *Myrmecophaga jubata*.
ant-eater	a-ri'	*Tamandua 4 dactyla*; *ta*, a forest clearing; from its being often found in such places.
	ta'+a-ri	

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

[P 36(A)] Bribri Cabecar

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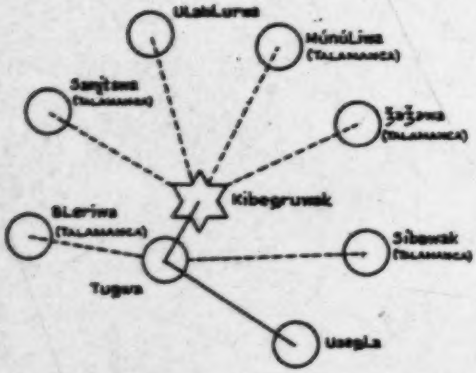

a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128] *Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica*

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 36(B)--Dwalyst]

614 manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan
197 does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614 Indeed, we found that the clans and the
463 professions connected with them functioned in
[565] a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *durirzak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari
262 region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are
614
[643]

[117] The *sulcuak* and *tsirrurirzak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupawak*.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially, 101
politically, and religiously, but differing markedly in language. The 131
Cabecars occupy the country from the frontiers of civilization to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tiliri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bris occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquin and the valley lying around the mouths of these streams. The Tiribris, now reduced to barely a hundred souls, live in two villages on the Tilorio or Changinola River. It is said that on the head waters of the Changina, a large fork of this latter stream, there are yet a few individuals of the Changina tribe, but the other Indians report them as implacably hostile and their very existence is only known by vague reports of their savage neighbors. The Shelaba tribe, formerly living on the lower part of the same river is now entirely extinct. A few half-breeds are all who perpetuate the blood, and their language is utterly lost. Still further down the coast, beyond the Costa Rican boundaries is another allied tribe, partly civilized, in so far as that they trade and work a little and drink a great deal of bad rum, spending most of their earnings on that bane of the race. They are called by foreigners Valientes. Crossing over to the Pacific slope, the Terrabas are tribally identical with the Tiribis. The tradition still exists in a vague form, that they are emigrants [173]
from the Atlantic side; but when or why the emigration took place, is forgotten. The home of the tribe is in a very narrow, rough cañon, traversed by a river that might better be called a torrent, a country strongly contrasted with the fertile plains and broad savannas of Terraba, and it is not improbable that under the press of a crowded population several migrations took place. They still tell how, twenty or thirty years [797]
ago, a priest came over from Terraba, baptized all who would submit to the rite, and by glowing stories of the abundance of meat and other inducements that he shrewdly imagined would tempt them, carried off over a dozen of their best men, who never returned. A glance at the vocabulary will show how little separated are these two branches of the tribe in language. The Borucas or Bruncas, who occupy a little village, not far from the headquarters of the Terrabas, are apparently the older occupants of the soil; perhaps crowded into a corner by the invaders.

Other tribal names are mentioned by various authors, such as Biceitas, &c. The name Biceita is not known in the country, and, although 101
used to the present day outside of the Indian country, is unknown to them, or at best, is supposed to be a Spanish word. The district of that name is probably the western part of Bri-bri, the most eastern point to which the slave-hunting expeditions from San José Cabecar penetrated. The Blancos are properly the Bri-bri tribe, but this word is rather loosely used, and is often applied alike to the Cabecars and Tiribis.

But little can be gathered of the history of these people. What hap- 173
pened in the times of their grandfathers is already ancient history and partly forgotten. All recollection of the first arrival of the Spaniards is now lost. They have no traditions of the use of stone implements before the introduction of metal. When asked what they did for axes before the traders

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF COSTA RICA

By Alanson Skinner

INTRODUCTION

BELONGING to the Chibchan linguistic stock are the Bribri Indians, a small but primitive tribe inhabiting the mountainous district watered by the eastern branches of the Teliri river near the central southern boundary of Costa Rica and extending into northern Panama. They have been visited by a number of observers, including Dr William M. Gabb[1] (whose valuable account we have not hesitated to quote extensively) and Dr Henry Pittier de Fabrega.[2]

The writer spent the months of March and April, 1917, in collecting among these Indians for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at which time the

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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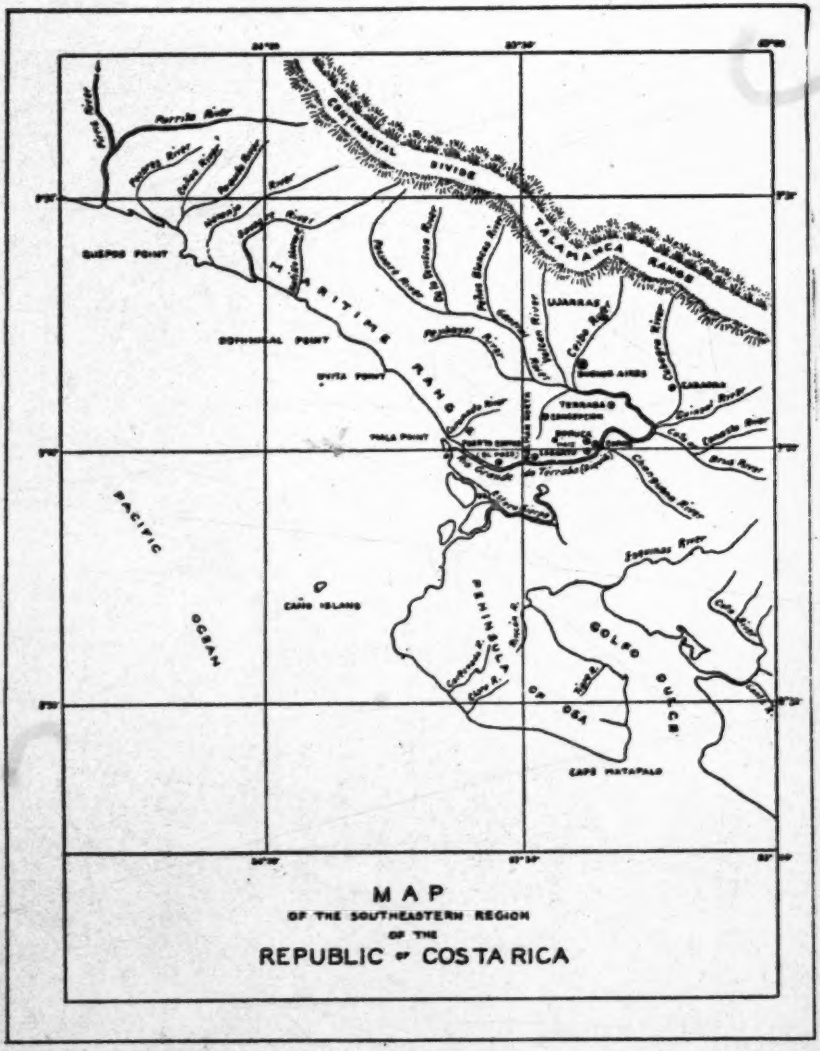

FIG. 1. Map of the southeastern region of the Republic of Costa Rica.

GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. *Diquis* is the older 103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Rio Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east. 162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five 361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory 175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

THE JOURNAL OF

AMERICAN FOLK-LORE.

VOL. XVI.—JANUARY-MARCH, 1903.—No. LX.

FOLK-LORE OF THE BRIBRI AND BRUNKA INDIANS IN COSTA RICA.

THIS is, I believe, the first attempt to collect the tales and legends still preserved among the Costa Rican Indians. My primary object in compiling them was to obtain original texts for the study of the languages of the tribes mentioned, and a few of these texts, all belonging to the Bribri, have already been published in German, in the "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien."[1]

As far as our very imperfect knowledge of the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of Costa Rica allows us to admit, the bulk of the population consisted at the time of the Spanish conquest of five or six main groups, differentiated essentially by their languages. The *Chorotegas*, in the peninsula of Nicoya, belonged to a northern stock, as did the small *Nahua* colonies scattered among them. The *Votos* or *Corobicies* occupied the low plains along the San Juan River and the northwestern end of the main cordillera; they are still represented to-day, at the headwaters of the Rio Frio Valley, by the ill-fated Guatos, whose complete disappearance is a question of only a few years. The *Huétaru*, *Huétares* or *Guetares* extended all over the central part of the country; they have become extinct, or are mixed up and lost among the present half-bred or Spanish population in the densely inhabited strip between Port Limon and Puntarenas; but far to the east, in the valleys which originate in the highest region of the cordillera, and descend towards the Caribbean Sea (Chirripó, Estrella, Tarire, Coen, Arári, Uren), there still live in an isolated state about 1500 of their descendants, divided into the two chief groups of the *Cabécares* (including the Chirripóes and other scattered families) and the *Vyceitas*, *Blancos*, or *Bribri*. The *Tíruh*, *Térribes*, or *Térrubas* formed another stock, once powerful, but reduced to-day to a miserable handful located near the headwaters

[1] H. Pittier de Fábrega, *Die Sprache der Bribri Indianer in Costa Rica*, etc. 1898, vol. cxxxviii.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[776] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyta;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thóxar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymí.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 Contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail
487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - Guaiyst]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[635] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - Guaiyst]

[115] [3] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116–30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to
[133] the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued

[Text continues top of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P.4]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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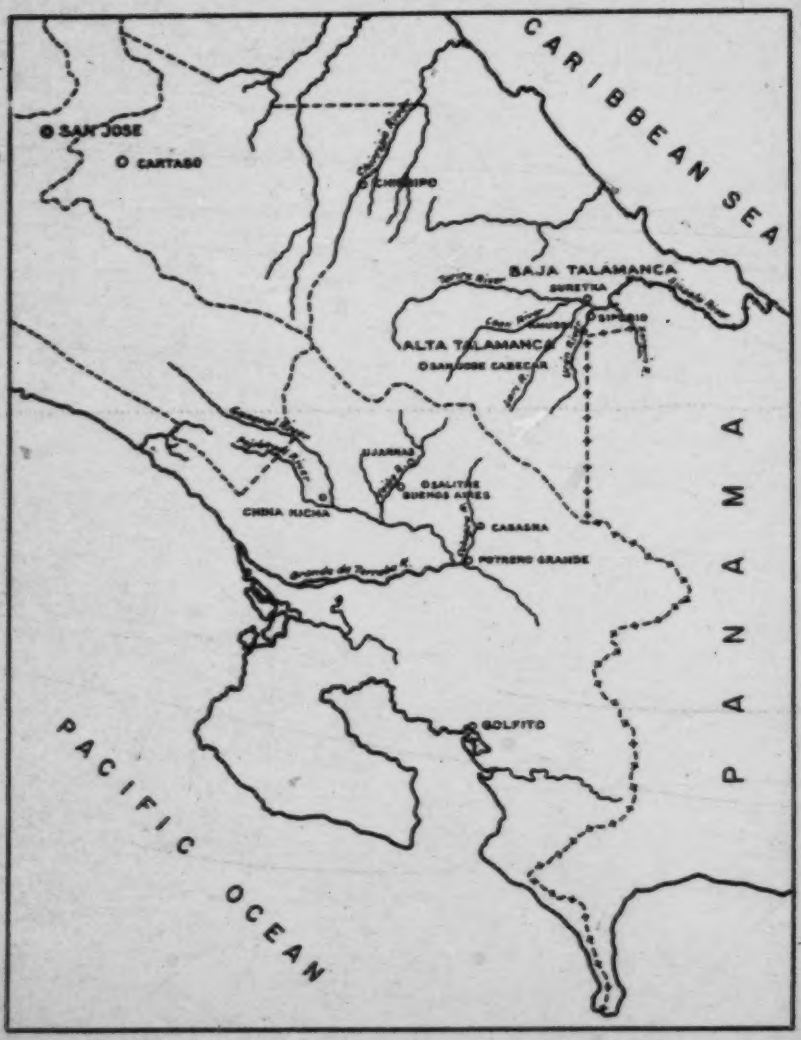

FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribri and Cabécar Indians.

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: ". . . they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614]
[114]

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

● 131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, ". . . una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.[15] It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez [176] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. "... en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques es el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9-39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take into consideration the two geographically distinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.
[101]
[177]

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their
131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. Transportation is restricted to foot with the
489 exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent
491 and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since con-
177 quest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the
648 republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.10(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the
[166] valley for banana planting. With the advent of the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for distinctions in beliefs and living habits between
101 one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce T [132] [137] a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. T [191] The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. T 609 648 At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had
[346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
[245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming. The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manza-na* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] = A *vara* equals 33 inches.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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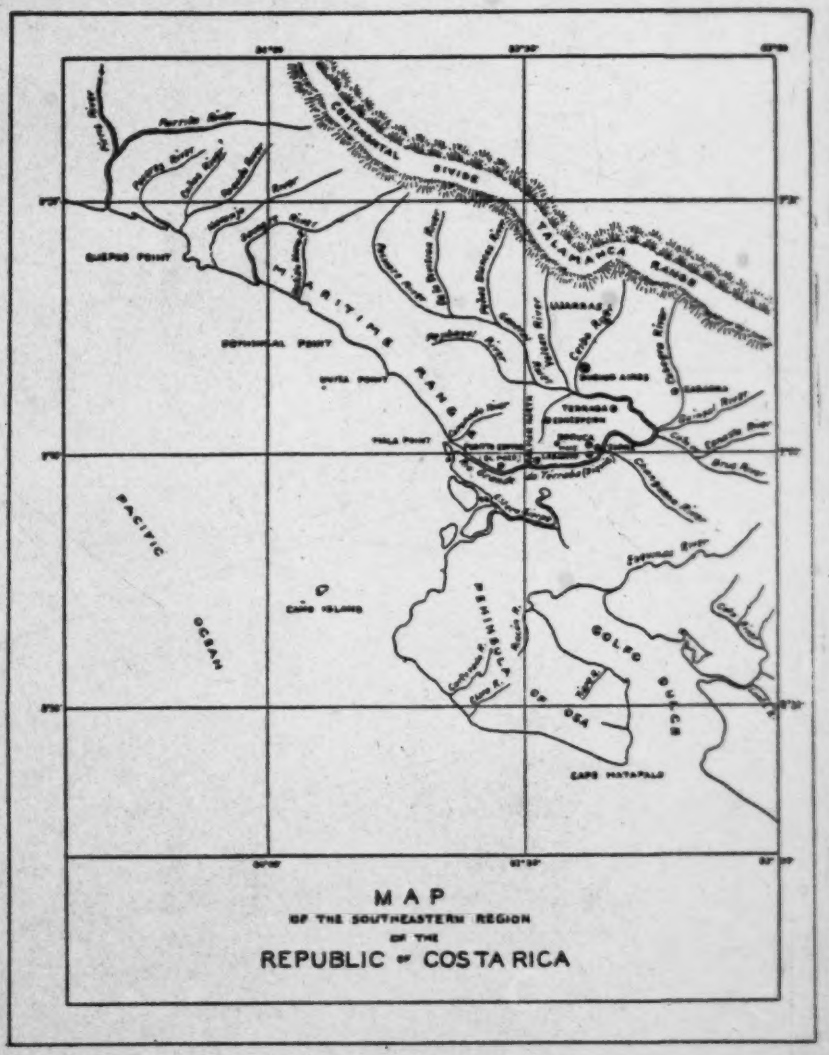

FIG. 1. Map of the southeastern region of the Republic of Costa Rica.

[p. ii]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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a, b, Distant views of Boruca village. c, Rice-cutter (actual size). d, Extraction of sugar cane juice.

[p.53]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

have no chocolate." "Do not lie so openly! I have seen thy cacao fruits hanging from the tree, as I was coming." "It is good," answered Jáburu, and, turning to his wives, he said to them: "Go and gather cacao, and bring also a calabash," and then Jáburu spoke again to his wives: "Let Surá's first crop be roasted for us to drink!" They then roasted and prepared the cacao, and scooped out the calabash to drink the chocolate from. Then Sibú, the almighty God, willed — and whatever he wills has to be: "May the first cup come to me!" and as it so came to pass, he said: "My uncle, I present this cup to thee, so that thou drinkest!" Jáburu swallowed the chocolate at once, with such delight that his throat resounded, *tshaaa!* And he said, "My uncle! I have drunk Surá's first fruit!" But just at this moment he began to swell, and he swelled and swelled until he blew up. Then Sibú, the almighty God, picked up again the seed of our kin, which was in Jáburu's body, and willed, "Let Surá wake up again!" And as it so happened, he gave him back the basket with the seed of our kin to keep. 539

II. HOW THE FIRST BRIBRI INDIANS WERE BORN.

In those far-away times, Sibú once thought what he could do to break up the seed of our kin, which he kept hidden without avail in a certain place. Then he made a bet with Jáburu, and they agreed that they would throw two cacao pods at each other, and that he should lose in whose hands the pod of cacao would break. And as Sibú did not want to lose again the seed of our kin, and let Jáburu have it, — for that was the stake they were going to play for, — he willed that he would choose for himself the green cacao, and give the ripe one to Jáburu. They were to throw four times.

Jáburu placed himself beyond the Aßiri,[1] at the mouth of Djiri, while Sibú remained on the opposite side at Torok-hu. And Jáburu threw his pod twice, and the next time it broke in his hands, so that he lost the wager. This happened at dawn, and the angry Iáburu then proceeded to warm his chocolate, and to have the monkey, his *bibú-ku* or servant, serve it hot to him. But he, in trying to be quick, kicked the pot, and upset the hot chocolate. And this is how the warm spring near Torok-hu was formed. And there, where the hot water now remains, Surá-Djébi (= Jáburu) had his large pot, and since dawn came upon him, he had to abandon it. Just at this time our kin were born in human form. And as our forefathers were lying down on the stone banks which are still found there, they saw the peccaries going by. They went after them, and thus it was that

[1] The Asari or Lari is one of the largest rivers of Talamanca, the Djiri is one of its tributaries, and Torok-hu (or the house of the "Alligator") is a place opposite its mouth, where the cliffs are naturally shaped in form of benches or stalls.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

539 they discovered the way over the cordillera. They got to the other side, and there they found out that the hogs had turned into men like themselves. And these are the *Brunán*[1] people.

III. THE TALE OF OUR DYING AWAY.

773 Our forefathers told us that in far-away times, when we lived in other countries, the gods allowed us to be eaten by birds and animals.

Once upon a time, when many of our people were playing on a
539 plain, there came flying a mighty eagle, and he caught one of our kin and blood, and threw him into a large basket he was carrying. He carried him away to the top of the Kamuk,[2] where he fell asleep, because he was very tired. At that time the eagle never thought of eating up our kinsman. On the morn, he flew again, carrying off his prey far away to the peak of Nëmósul, where he rested, without thinking yet of eating him. Again he flew away, far away, and got to the ridge of Nëmóie, where he met with powerful jaguars. And he told them how he had brought the man. One of the jaguars then proposed to him that they should eat the man together. The eagle consented, and they ate him. They ate him, and after that, the eagle flew up, high up to the top of Nëmóie. And this is the reason
773 why we see white spots near the top of Nëmóie; they are the bones of our kinsman, and there it was that man was eaten for the first
[823] time by birds and animals, because the jaguar taught the eagle how to eat him. Our forefathers also used to say that on the same ridge of Nëmóie there are stones shaped like jaguars. Whenever any one goes there, those stones become alive and true jaguars, because they are not stones at all, but bad spirits.

Such is the tale of our forefathers, and they also used to say, that once upon a time strange men became a prey to the jaguars, on that same ridge of Nëmóie. And this is why we are not permitted to live in these dangerous places.

IV. HOW SIBÚ KILLED SÓRKURA.

539 Sórkura was in the habit of drinking the water of a spring in which the skunk used to ease his body. Sibú, the almighty God, thought it would be well that Sórkura should kill the skunk. And so it happened: Sórkura went to watch the skunk, killed it, and hung its dead body to dry on the fire, since it was a prophet of ill-

[1] Brunán is the Indian name for Térraba, the Tirub colony in the Diquis Valley.

[133] [2] Kamuk or Pico Blanco is the most conspicuous peak of the Talamanca mountains; it is 2914 m. above sea-level, according to Gabb. Nëmósul and Nëmóie are two secondary summits, the first at the entrance of the Coen Valley, the second on the ridge between the Estrella and Tararia basins.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent. 797 133

The products of these mountains for the use of man are plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] *saginos*,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls. 262 [137] [136]

[1] *Gulielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Ipomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Crax globicera.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus veraguensis.*

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nuclеuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper
487 Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUAIST]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[635] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUAIST]

[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
●133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued

[Text continues to P 0 of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149-50, 213-14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293-317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236-323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

[P.4]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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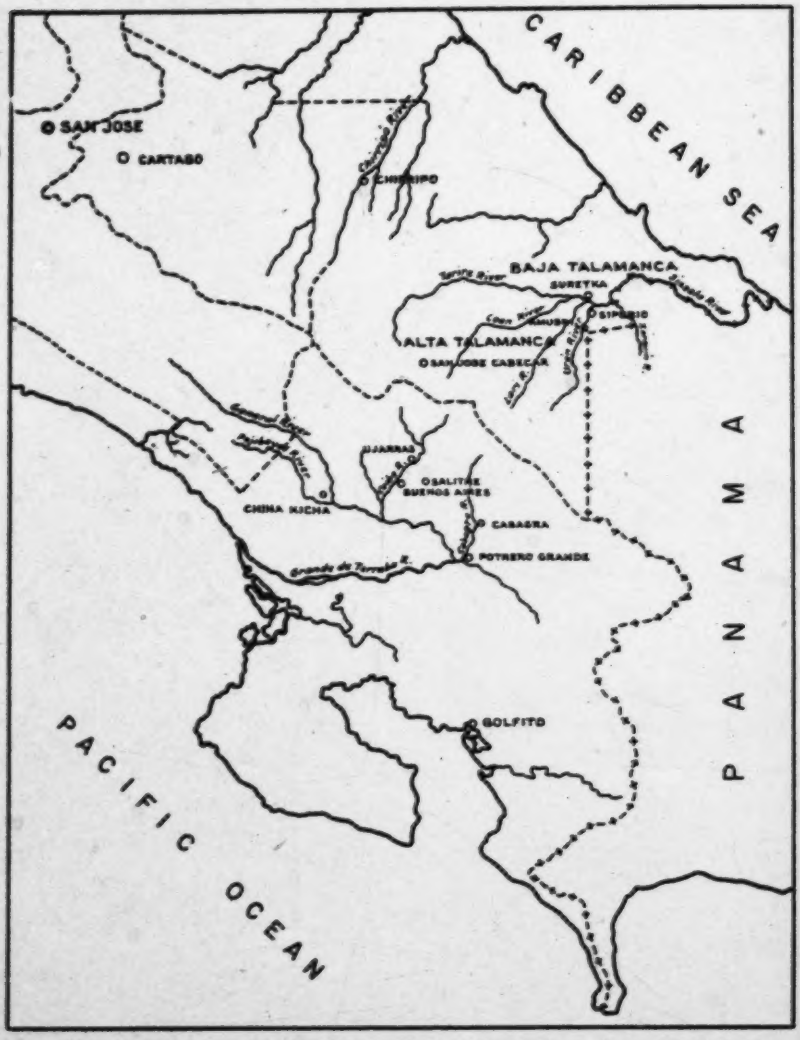

FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribri and Cabécar Indians.

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

[136] [133] [262]

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

[797] 174

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

[101]

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konọ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (FIG. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for [824] cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every [248] household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

6:Stone E-6 (1956-1959)1962
[P62(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar

+539 make him sleep. It is then that the water-
776 jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He
823 searches for cacao, and when he discovers a
761 well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamę́* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamę́*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

+539 (*Cabécar*)
776
761 When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes
[823] up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after
[825] people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas
103 through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires
[133] to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on al-
[487] most all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamę́te*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namę́ tó* (jaguar print).

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large
103 rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
caused by nature which with the help of the
[133] imagination one might call a jaguar's paw.
From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*.
The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both
Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect
for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

*539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *ɨɔwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *ɨɔwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

(14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[778] [193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave.

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *kɨʃuLu namuʃ* (hunt jaguar).

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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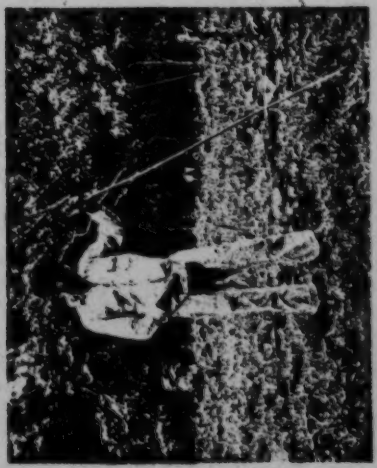

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a–b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. c, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. d, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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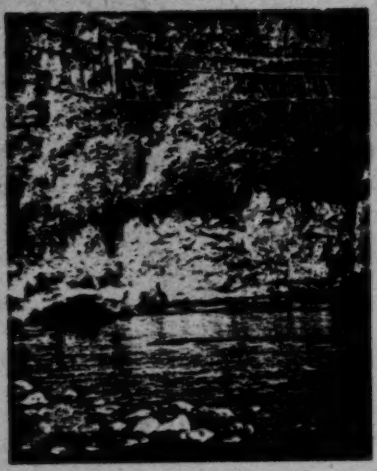

a

b

291
342
756
778

c

d

a, Vine bridge, Alto Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alto Coen. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigona*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Cordage.** The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent. 797 133

The products of these mountains for the use of man are plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] *saginos*,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls. 262 [137] [136]

[1] *Gulielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Tpomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Crax globicera.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus veraguensis.*

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

[136] [133] [262]

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

[797] 174

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

[101]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLə* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakómogLə* or "our place rifle" or

1 [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.66 (B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

* 539
825

The Grandmother of the Toad

(*Bribri*)

buké winchké is the grandmother of the toad. She lives where the sun sets and is a helper of *sibu*. When he gives her his hand, amoebas come. Therefore, it is impossible to cure them. He who is born to die of amoebas, must do so.

[761]

Why the Toads Have Ugly Buttocks

(*Bribri*)

Long ago the toads liked to dance the Monkey Dance (*see* Dances). This disgusted *sibu* so when they sat down, he partially dried their buttocks making them thinner than the rest of their body.

The Alligator[201]

(*Cabécar*)

The alligator lived in a large pool where he had a balsa (raft). He had a beard and a long tongue to catch whatever he wanted. When he saw people, he would stick out his tongue and pull them in.

sibu was annoyed with this and sent a man to pull the tongue out, giving him his staff to help with the task. The man put the staff on the alligator's tongue and pulled it and the beard out, both of which he gave to the sun to make its rays.

The Iguana

(*Cabécar*)

sibu heard a cry from afar. He told the iguana to find out from whence the cry came. The iguana, however, refused to do *sibu's* bidding. As a punishment, *sibu* beat him. Then the iguana cried, "If you put me in the river, I'll die."

He was put in the river, but he was content, because there he found the alligator, the serpent, and the crab. All were his friends and he liked to stay with them.

[136]

[201] There are no alligators in Costa Rica, only crocodiles.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

T [132] [137]

T [191]

T. 609 648

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

137
227

PL. XXIX

FISH-WEIR ON COEN RIVER

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 97]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

●137
481

PL. XXX

BRIBRI METHOD OF CROSSING A STREAM

SKINNER—BRIBRI

facing p. 99

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was 797
undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those 133
mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent.

The products of these mountains for the use of man are 262
plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] [137]
sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] [136]
saginos,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls.

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[1] *Guilielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Ipomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Crax globicera.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus verreauxii.*

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamánca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued
[Text continues to P of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 299, 317.

241 Women formerly felled trees and did as
462 much field labor as the men. Today, however,
[178] women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these
241 peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye,* cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The
[137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).
245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are
262 in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63]
[137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 This basic diet is supplemented with several
241 varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American food-
[177] stuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vege-
[245] tables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
272 raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
434 sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
273 chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
231 (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
[175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[66] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maiz poquísimo. . . ."

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[442] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1]
794 In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
231 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent, the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many non-cultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Reneahmia exaltata* (Anbl.)
●137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

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411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
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[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakimogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

1 [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Havas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
[137] ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
[438] times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into
[462] thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[40] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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137
241
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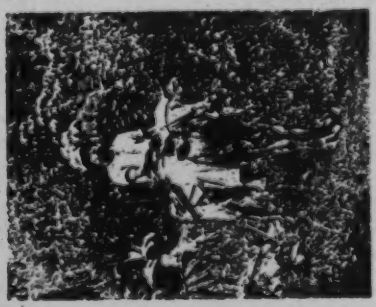
492

b



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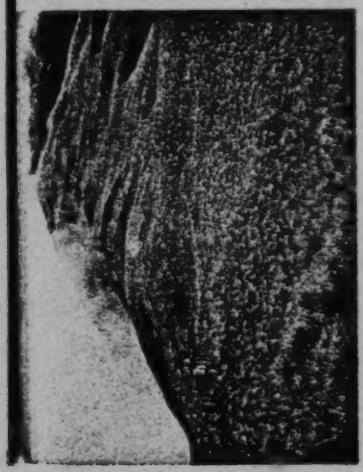

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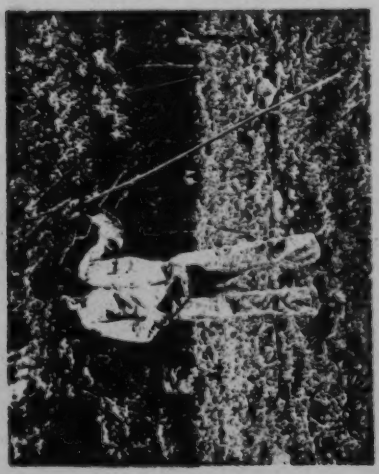

c

a-b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. c, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. d, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribis, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bris. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell. 165 [163] 582

Physically, the people of all the tribes bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are of short stature, broad shouldered, heavily built, full in the chest, with well-formed limbs, and well muscled throughout. Their color is similar to that of the North American Indians, or, if anything different, perhaps a little lighter. There seems to be but little, if any admixture of foreign blood among them. Their history would hardly lead us to expect it. They have lived very exclusively, and it has hardly been half a century since they have ceased to live in a state of open war with all intruders from the coast side. The Spanish occupation closed so disastrously over a century and a half ago, was of too short duration, and and the whites were too few, to make a permanent impression on a then populous country. 142 144

The following measurements taken from my servant, a full grown man, who is not more than an inch, if so much, under the average height, will give a fair idea of their build. He measures in height, 5 ft. 1½ in., circumference of chest, under the arms 35¾ inches; of hips 34 inches, of waist 33½ inches, length from axilla to tips of the fingers, 24½ inches; leg, from the groin to the ground, 29 inches. Both sexes are marked by an almost perfect absence of hair from all parts of the person except the head; where there is a dense growth of coarse, straight black hair. This the women plait with considerable taste. The men wear theirs cut moderately long and of an even length all round; or a few retaining an older fashion, have it a little over a foot long, apparently its entire natural length, and either let it stream loosely over the shoulders, gather it into two plaits, or twist it into a roll, bound with a strip of mastate, and coiled at the back of the head in a round flat mass. 141 142 302

The breasts of the women are not conical, as occurs with many, if not most of the Indian races; but are fully as globular as those of the European or African. Nor are they directed laterally. They are not generally large, though some marked exceptions occur to this rule. But they have one strongly marked peculiarity. The entire areolar area is developed into a globular protuberance, completely enveloping and hiding the nipple. The development of this part begins with, almost 142

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that
827 which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the
843 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods
[343] and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *bu-ku-ru'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *awa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

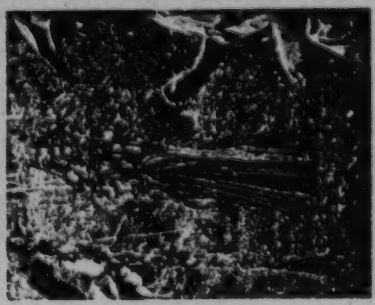
As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 648

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

142
231
226
291
411
417

a



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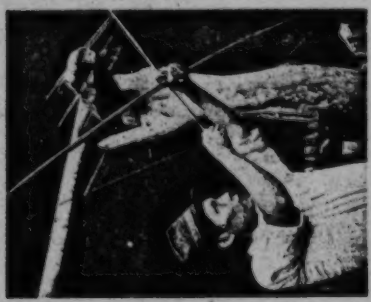


b

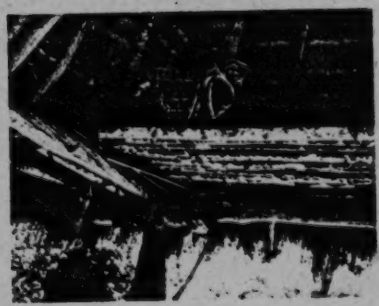
c

a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Shooting fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Shelter for chickens.

[END Plate 2]

353

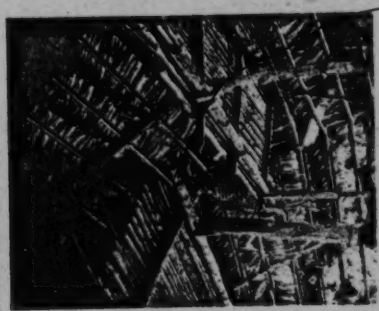
b



d

[142]

a



c

a–c, Details of interior roof walls in a Bribri house, Talamanca. *d*, Detail of wall construction, Cabécar house, Ujarrás.

[END PLATE 7]

142
291
301
302
[531]

a

b

[851]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. c, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. d, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]

142
291
302

a

b

[516
301
854]

c

d

a, Bribri man. b, Bribri woman. c, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. Note Barro masks on women. d, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

[END PLATE 9]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
302
291

a

b

142
302
291
854
231

d

c

a, Bribri boy. b, Bribri girl. c, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. d, Bribri man.

[END PLATE 12]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

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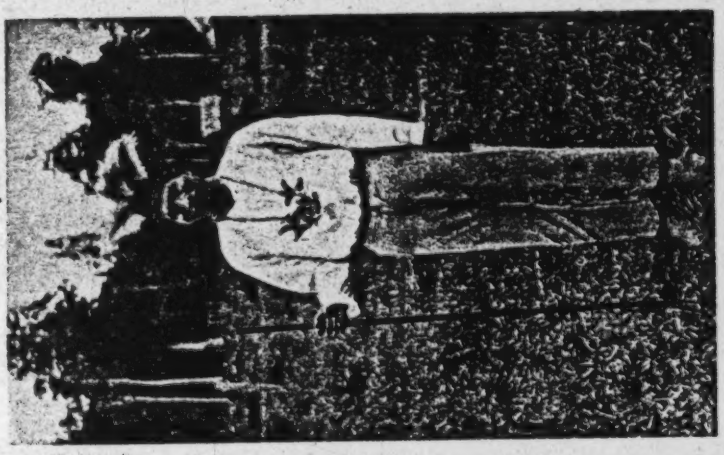
292



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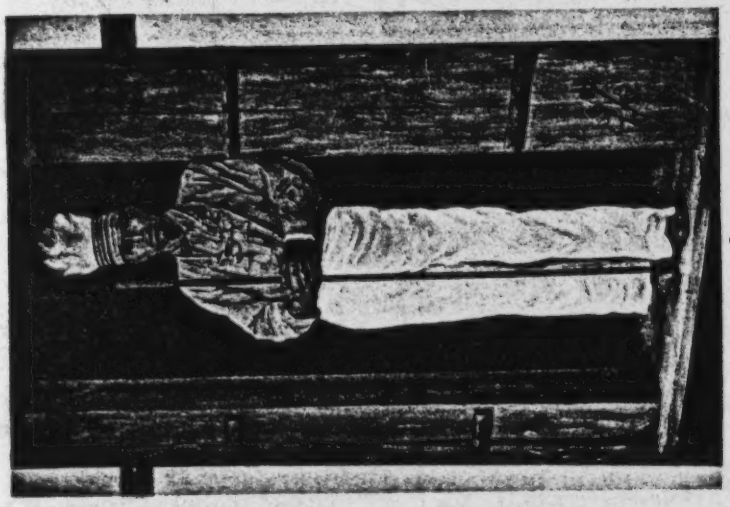

a

a, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
b, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (*from* Fernández Guardia, 1911).

[END PLATE 13]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
291
301
302

a

b

c

d

Bribri children from the Pacific slope at the school in Salitre. (Photographs courtesy of Ing. José Fabio Góngora.)

[END PLATE 14]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribis, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bris. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell. 165 [163] 582

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173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 Other Sites. There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and
101 Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish
[177] men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, fn. 7; 1886, vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when men-
[264] struating can the girl serve men at meals, and during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
192 [100] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[101] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are
[211] accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

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6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 100(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	Use
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLə	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kúLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever—mash stem and boil
[342] tsíchica	*Menispermacen Aesampelin*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] təbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
dúskLə	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	Use
harbə	*Phyllantus* sp. *Pittieri*	fish poison
chatə	*Serjania* sp. *Pothomorphe piperaceae*	fish poison; boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] botuLá	*Euforbia sapium*	glue
chicarté	*Bocconia frutescens*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--analyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.100(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apiskicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

824
[278]
[845]
[272]
[844]

CABÉCAR

	Latin	Use
popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bóLk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacia sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

[278]
[386]
[515]
[278]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

192X needle	kuah di-ka'	Thorn.
negro	t'et-tse'+wak	*Tset-tse*, dark; *wak*, race.
nest	du'+hu	*Du*, bird; *hu*, house.
new	ju'-ni	
night	bé-nye'-wi	
nipple	tsu+wo'+bé-ta	*Tsu-wo*, breast; *bé-ta'*, point.
no	au ke	Negation. Not.
nobody	ke'+ji	*Ke*, not; *ji*, who.
noise	hu-lar'	
noon	di'+bé-ta	See *midday*.
nose	ji'-kut	
not	ke kam	*A* as in father. Used only as follows—"*kam ja bowo' betse'*" (not I fire prepared). "I have not kindled the fire."
nothing	ke'+ku shun'-tai	*Ke*, not; *ku*, more. Nothing whatever. Only used for "absolutely nothing."
now	i'-ya	See *here*, and *to-day*.
[482] 147 nuchal lump	ku-li'+duk-wo	*Ku-li*, see neck. The enlarged nuchal ligament caused by carrying heavy loads suspended from the forehead.
numerals		
192X 1	et	
2	but bul bui bo	Impersonal. Personal. Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
3	m-nyat' m-nyal' m-nyar' m-nyou'	Impersonal. Personal. Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
4	keil keng ka	Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
5	skang skan	Counting days, past.

*539
533

I am going to pick yuca; to pull up *ñames*.
Don't cry little child.

The Dove

(*Bribri*)

When the young pigeon flew in the world
Now he wants to do the same
To fly also as the young pigeon flew
I am
So that you hear that I am on this earth.

Song

(*Bribri*)

Now it is day, I am going to sing
because it is day,
Saying goodbye to my people here,
I sing to my people so that they will
hear me.

(25) The Bird[216]

(*Bribri*)

This is your child who stays,
Go to the mountain as I go.
You, buzzard, on your dry road
And I, buzzard, on my dry road
I try, you try to reach the shores of the sea.
You go with a good wind and I go also in the
dawn.
Sea where you go;
Wind where you go.

(26) On the Back[217]

(*Bribri*)

He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
little monkey,
He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
white-faced monkey and a little periquette,
He who doesn't put on the back an important
person,
They have put him on the back,
Great *sibu* has been put on the back.

[216] *See* Linguistic Texts: *du*.
[217] *See* Linguistic Texts: *iiiągą tsé*.
[218] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dina dinamą*. This has the character of a calling song, or one to boost one's ego.
[219] *See* Linguistic Texts: *bLó* (chicha) *tse* (song).

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[R 72(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

(27) WATER-JAGUAR[218]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
533

The water-jaguars want to eat.
Don't be afraid.
There are many jaguars who want to eat.
Don't be afraid of them.

(28) CHICHA SONG[219]

(*Bribri*)

What's the matter with the way you're thinking!
Is it that you think I cannot grind
either chicha or chilate?
Then take this as if it were like good chicha grinders make,
Not like a poor person holding a gourd,
Not like one who doesn't grind chicha,
And listen to what I have to say.

(29) FIGHTING SONG[220]

(*Bribri*)

The grasshopper and the alligator ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large snakes ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large alligator ate the grasshopper.
The large snake ate the grasshopper.
I am not afraid.

(30) CEMETERY SONG[221]

(*Bribri*)

We'll try to see if we can lift the stones and logs.
We'll put them on our shoulders as men.
We're going to try.
We'll lift the log as a tiger,
We'll lift the log as an alligator,
We'll lift the log as *serike*,
Drinking our chicha to get strength as men,
We'll sing all of us boys.

[154]
[578]

This song is sung when one is angry and out of patience.

[220] *See* Linguistic Texts: *iqjjpak-tsé*. This song is in a sense a challenge to fight.

[221] *See* Linguistic Texts: *apú tsak*.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

dividual affair, and looked on with great disfavor by the tribe. Matters went on very well for a few months under the new regime. But Birche, a man of little capacity, at the same time a coward and a tyrant, could not be content with his position. He began a system of ill treatment against which the people grumbled, but which they feared to resent. At first both Lyon and myself tried to quiet the complaints, believing that punishment had been justly inflicted, and knowing that 622 648

> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With just opinion of the law,
> Or held with judgment orthodox
> His love of justice in the stocks."

But it soon became apparent that his majesty (they are always called king) was abusing his power. The Indians dared not quarrel with Birche, for fear of offending the government, but came to Lyon almost daily with complaints. At last we decided to effect a change. Birche went to Limon to draw his salary, and at the same time to complain of a purely personal quarrel with Willie, in which he had fared worst. I arrived there a few days later, having completed my exploration, and being on my way to the Capital. On being asked for information and advice by the Commandante, I told the story and urged his removal. This could only be done by the minister, but he was suspended until the decision of that officer could be obtained. In a few days I saw Mr. Herrera, and after a conversation he decided to endorse the Commandante's action. Birche was accordingly removed, Willie was given a nominal chieftainship, and Lyon instructed to assume all responsibilities. Thus in less than two years the people have, without knowing how it happened, been deprived of their hereditary chiefs, and a foreigner placed over them. Willie remains with the empty title of chief without even the power to issue an order or punish an offender, except when ordered by Lyon. This gentleman has their entire confidence and respect, and many of the Indians begged to have even the title taken away permanently from the "royal" family. I have been thus prolix on this branch of the subject, because I was an eye witness, a participator, in the latter part of the events I relate. Trivial as they are, they may interest some, throwing light on the manner in which one tribe after another is subdued. [128]

A strange fatality seems to hang over these Isthmian Indians. Even when not brought into contact with the debasing influences of civilization, the tribes are visibly diminishing. Less than two centuries ago, the population of Talamanca, as Costa Rica calls her southeastern province, was counted by thousands, now barely 1200 souls can be found. The Shelabe tribe is extinct; the Changinas are at the point of extermination, the Tiribis number but one hundred and three souls. Lyon tells me that the Cabecars of the Coen have diminished fully one-half within the last seventeen years, while the decrease in the Bri-bris is hardly less rapid. 161

During my travels in Talamanca I collected in each district an accurate 124 161

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

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GEOGRAPHY

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HISTORY

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[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 82, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 428.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 648

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

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GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquís River. *Diquís* is the older
103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Río Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-
[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquís River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east.
162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five
361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory
175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

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4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

THE JOURNAL OF

AMERICAN FOLK-LORE.

VOL. XVI.—JANUARY-MARCH, 1903.—No. LX.

FOLK-LORE OF THE BRIBRI AND BRUNKA INDIANS IN COSTA RICA.

THIS is, I believe, the first attempt to collect the tales and legends still preserved among the Costa Rican Indians. My primary object in compiling them was to obtain original texts for the study of the languages of the tribes mentioned, and a few of these texts, all belonging to the Bribri, have already been published in German, in the "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien."[1]

As far as our very imperfect knowledge of the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of Costa Rica allows us to admit, the bulk of the population consisted at the time of the Spanish conquest of five or six main groups, differentiated essentially by their languages. The *Chorotegas*, in the peninsula of Nicoya, belonged to a northern stock, as did the small *Nahua* colonies scattered among them. The *Votos* or *Corobicies* occupied the low plains along the San Juan River and the northwestern end of the main cordillera; they are still represented to-day, at the headwaters of the Rio Frio Valley, by the ill-fated Guatos, whose complete disappearance is a question of only a few years. The *Huétaru*, *Huétares* or *Guetares* extended all over the central part of the country; they have become extinct, or are mixed up and lost among the present half-bred or Spanish population in the densely inhabited strip between Port Limon and Puntarenas; but far to the east, in the valleys which originate in the highest region of the cordillera, and descend towards the Caribbean Sea (Chirripó, Estrella, Tarire, Coen, Arári, Uren), there still live in an isolated state about 1500 of their descendants, divided into the two chief groups of the *Cabécaras* (including the Chirripóes and other scattered families) and the *Vyceitas*, *Blancos*, or *Bribri*. The *Tirub*, *Térribes*, or *Térrubas* formed another stock, once powerful, but reduced to-day to a miserable handful located near the headwaters

[1] H. Pittier de Fábrega, *Die Sprache der Bribri Indianer in Costa Rica*, etc. 1898, vol. cxxxviii.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

[P.6(A)]

101 **Peoples:** *Names and Location.* Such complicated terminology with respect to geographical extensions leaves little hope for too clear a presentation of the inhabitants of this area. [635] The ancient provinces of Duy and Guaymí included the northwestern section of Panama which was in part the home of the Térraba Indians. These people will be treated only in connection with history and tradition in this study in spite of the fact that in historic times there was a small group on the Zorquín River.[22] In the actual report, we use the term Talamanca as an all-inclusive word for the Bribri and the Cabécares. There are between [162] two and three thousand of these people on the Caribbean side, and approximately 1,595 on the Pacific.

Panamanian Border to the Coen River. Many names are listed in the documents pertaining to the area from the Panamanian border to the Coen River in Costa Rica. Among these, the commonest are: Ara, Ateo, Abicetaba, Blancos, Biceitas or Viceitas, Korrhué, Ucabarúa, and Valientes. To be sure, most of these terms are spelled in various ways according to the period and the author. These peoples were found between the Urén, Lari, and Coen rivers and in the plain of the Tiliri or Sixaola River, at least as far as Punta Cahuita.[23]

This entire group seems to have been closely related although they were not all one original people.[24] Collectively, they were the first to be known as Talamancas in the early 17th century, and today are called by this name or by that of Bribri.[25] It is interesting to examine these ancient designations because certain ones are associated with peoples now extinct, while others have a definite inference in modern terminology.

The groups that have now disappeared are

[103] [22] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 218. This is also a Mosquitia name. The Bribri term is Choli.

[23] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. We do not include here the Sicuas or Zeguas who were also found on the north coast. They were known to be of Mexican extraction. For an account of these people *see* Lothrop, 1944.

[24] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 219–20.

[25] *See*, e.g., the reports of the Franciscan fathers toward the end of the 17th century. The distinction is clearly made between Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas. *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 369–74.

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [48] and Salitre (*ʒerí*) and amount to
approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near
[162] the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bear-
ing its name which is an important tributary
of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from
Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
of Bribri here is not known although it was
[174] probably at the end of the 19th century as
many of the older inhabitants were born on
the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan
regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups
in both places, and that as people, they are the
first to divert from ancient tribal customs. An-
other popular belief is that Berchi, a king of
Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee
because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore:
Recent History). Some inhabitants of Cabagra
moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both
places have grown as a result of the arrival of
other families from the northeast as well as
an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen
is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled
for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca pro-
hibited marriage between brothers [44] and one
couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and
went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-
[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The major-
ity of linguists connect both the Bribri and
the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However,
they are sufficiently removed from one an-
other that they are not mutually interchange-
able. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally
understand and speak Bribri with exception of
[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Qualyst]

[103] [47] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[46] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[46] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribis, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bris. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell.

Physically, the people of all the tribes bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are of short stature, broad shouldered, heavily built, full in the chest, with well-formed limbs, and well muscled throughout. Their color is similar to that of the North American Indians, or, if anything different, perhaps a little lighter. There seems to be but little, if any admixture of foreign blood among them. Their history would hardly lead us to expect it. They have lived very exclusively, and it has hardly been half a century since they have ceased to live in a state of open war with all intruders from the coast side. The Spanish occupation closed so disastrously over a century and a half ago, was of too short duration, and and the whites were too few, to make a permanent impression on a then populous country.

The following measurements taken from my servant, a full grown man, who is not more than an inch, if so much, under the average height, will give a fair idea of their build. He measures in height, 5 ft. 1½ in., circumference of chest, under the arms 35¾ inches; of hips 34 inches, of waist 33½ inches, length from axilla to tips of the fingers, 24½ inches; leg, from the groin to the ground, 29 inches. Both sexes are marked by an almost perfect absence of hair from all parts of the person except the head; where there is a dense growth of coarse, straight black hair. This the women plait with considerable taste. The men wear theirs cut moderately long and of an even length all round; or a few retaining an older fashion, have it a little over a foot long, apparently its entire natural length, and either let it stream loosely over the shoulders, gather it into two plaits, or twist it into a roll, bound with a strip of mastate, and coiled at the back of the head in a round flat mass.

The breasts of the women are not conical, as occurs with many, if not most of the Indian races; but are fully as globular as those of the European or African. Nor are they directed laterally. They are not generally large, though some marked exceptions occur to this rule. But they have one strongly marked peculiarity. The entire areolar area is developed into a globular protuberance, completely enveloping and hiding the nipple. The development of this part begins with, almost

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
[211] to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
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The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
[461] dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
146 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase with-
262 out care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

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Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A framp-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*si*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-was'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may result with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 48
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town; but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence 417
is nearly always made with living posts,

[p. 5-B]

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of
[177] Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
●[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[120] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
756 Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
422 *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[692] usual method is for the family of the culprit
to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[681] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
184 is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
184 the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
422 watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
[643] Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
● [164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was
753 considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition.
[774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *bák-namú* (*see* Myths).

● 164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 A medicine for snake bites is made from
824 *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and
757 is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and
755 magical elements included in curing are songs
533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to
[787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wímbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

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146 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase with-
262 out care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the
165 entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribia, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bris. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell. 165 [163] 582

Physically, the people of all the tribes bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are of short stature, broad shouldered, heavily built, full in the chest, with well-formed limbs, and well muscled throughout. Their color is similar to that of the North American Indians, or, if anything different, perhaps a little lighter. There seems to be but little, if any admixture of foreign blood among them. Their history would hardly lead us to expect it. They have lived very exclusively, and it has hardly been half a century since they have ceased to live in a state of open war with all intruders from the coast side. The Spanish occupation closed so disastrously over a century and a half ago, was of too short duration, and and the whites were too few, to make a permanent impression on a then populous country. 142 144

The following measurements taken from my servant, a full grown man, who is not more than an inch, if so much, under the average height, will give a fair idea of their build. He measures in height, 5 ft. 1½ in., circumference of chest, under the arms 35¾ inches; of hips 34 inches, of waist 33¼ inches, length from axilla to tips of the fingers, 24½ inches; leg, from the groin to the ground, 29 inches. Both sexes are marked by an almost perfect absence of hair from all parts of the person except the head; where there is a dense growth of coarse, straight black hair. This the women plait with considerable taste. The men wear theirs cut moderately long and of an even length all round; or a few retaining an older fashion, have it a little over a foot long, apparently its entire natural length, and either let it stream loosely over the shoulders, gather it into two plaits, or twist it into a roll, bound with a strip of mastate, and coiled at the back of the head in a round flat mass. 141 142 302

The breasts of the women are not conical, as occurs with many, if not most of the Indian races; but are fully as globular as those of the European or African. Nor are they directed laterally. They are not generally large, though some marked exceptions occur to this rule. But they have one strongly marked peculiarity. The entire areolar area is developed into a globular protuberance, completely enveloping and hiding the nipple. The development of this part begins with, almost 142

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 648

[P. 8(A)]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra[43] and Salitre (*ʒerí*) and amount to
approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near
[162] the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival of Bribri here is not known although it was
[174] probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
●166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers[44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Analyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Analyst]

[103] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Fran-
[797] ciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.10(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the
648 valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for
101 distinctions in beliefs and living habits between one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier [115] records the
782 [Text continues top of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)
[177]

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[115] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[116] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
643 to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because of King *Berchí*[158] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[159] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was not baptized, but later he was and received
173 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
797 family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbun-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzún* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[157] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[158] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[159] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

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166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
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[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

is shown in pl. III, from a photograph kindly 482
furnished by Prof. M. H. Saville.

Drying platforms for cacao, and outside 343
granaries, built close to the houses, are
found everywhere.

Gardens.—Many Bribri lodges are sur- 241
rounded by yards enclosed with small bough
fences, within which nothing is grown; but
every home has its small banana or plantain
plantation and its grove of cacao trees, some-
times very large and old, with occasional
lime trees or yampi plants. These trees
usually grow close to the dwelling, and often
surround it. Corn fields are commonly
seen, and calabash trees are always in evi-
dence. Cotton plants, growing either singly
or in small clumps, are sometimes found near
the houses.

Household Utensils.—As above stated, 352
every member of a family is provided with 171
a low stool or seat, hewn from a block of
wood. These seats (fig. 2) are round,
square, or oblong, and the long, round,
tapering legs of some examples suggest the
stone metates found at Las Mercedes.
There can be no doubt that the custom of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

171 352 using stools is an ancient one in Costa Rica, and that these seats seem to be but degenerate survivals of elaborately carved stone stools, such as those taken from the graves at Las Mercedes and Anita Grande. They may bear some relation to the *duhos* of the West Indies.

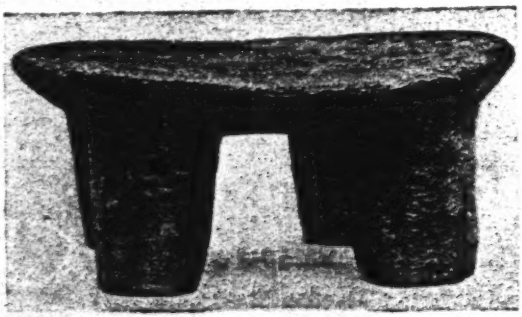

FIG. 2.—Wooden stool (length 13½ in.).

126 352 The writer was fortunate enough to obtain some modern Bribri seats crudely hewn to represent tortoises (pl. IV), while one example had, instead of the usual legs, supports of wood carved in crudely rectangular figures (fig. 3) that recall the fine stone lattice-work found in the graves.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

with the bag. They are by no means so handsome as the bright-colored bags made by the Valiente Indians nearer the coast, and the Bribri complain that their manufacture will soon be a lost art, except among those dwelling in the remote forest fastnesses, whence the greater supply now comes. Nevertheless, at present the bags are plentiful, and abundant specimens of numerous weaves were secured, ranging in size from tiny pockets, intended to contain clay blowgun pellets, to large receptacles for transporting plantains. 286 415

Pl. V represents a large carrying bag, the ground color of which is white, traversed by two transverse horizontal bands in brown. It is of the same technique as the specimen shown in Mason's work,[10] which the author describes as "a coiled carrying bag from Chiriqui, Colombia, and is a type of an enormous amount of ware to be found in Middle America . . . . and is called in this monograph coiled work without foundation . . . . the twine constituting the fabric interlocks with the stitch underneath and makes a complete revolu- 286 [171]

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

opposite sides of the break. Pl. XIV, *b*, shows another utensil, similar to the last, but shallower. These objects are used as sieves for corn flour. 415

Pottery.—Possibly the most interesting of all Bribri household articles are the huge pottery jars (pl. XV, XV, *a*) used in fermenting *chicha*, the native intoxicant. According to information given by the Indians, these vessels are made of selected clay, which is ground on a metate and mixed with crushed, burnt stone, or coarse sand. The clay is then dampened and made into rolls, and the vessels are built up, coil by coil, and the rolls smoothed. On some abandoned camp-sites, large potsherds, broken so that they plainly showed the coils as well as the tempering, were found. After being shaped and smoothed, the vessels are dried slowly in the shade for several days; then one vessel at a time is taken outdoors, wood is heaped over them, and they are fired. 323 415 [273]

In shape these vessels differ entirely from the pottery found in the graves at Las Mercedes, but resemble the pointed-base Algonkian jars of the Atlantic coast of North America 415 171

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

The late Theodoor de Booy once called the writer's attention to the fact that in certain of the West India islands planting dibbles were used as warclubs, and according to Fewkes, while every warclub among the Porto Rico Indians was not a dibble, every dibble was a warclub.[11] Our specimen bears upon its broad end the striation caused by contact with the earth, and on its side hacks and scars of sidewise blows as though it had seen use as a quarter staff. The handle shows a figure which seems to be a property mark.

411
412
[171]
[422]

Gabb[12] says:

"In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting sticks. It is very heavy, and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an 'over-blow,' always holding by both hands . . . . During the wars between the Bri-bris and Tiri-bis at the beginning of this century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir."

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 ● [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

534 ety were seen about the Bribri lodges. Pl. XXVII represents a specimen of this type, kindly presented to the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, by Mrs Minor C. Keith.

Rattles (pl. XXV, *c*) are made of small, egg-shaped calabashes, carefully scraped to make them symmetrical, hollowed out, and canna seeds placed in the cavity. The gourd has several perforations drilled in one end, through which is passed twisted fiber cord by which it is attached to a handle made of a bird-bone. In this respect Bribri rattles differ from North American Indian [171] forms, in which the handle invariably passes through the gourd.

A notched stick was obtained, which seems to be identical with the ordinary Bribri bark-beater, but, according to Ramón it was rasped with a stick as an accompaniment, in addition to other musical instruments. The marimba is not found among the Bribri.

Gabb[15] says:

"To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[457] a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than
283 the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[286] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[139] generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 *The actual weaving is done by the women*
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160-61.

[30] Information given to the writer by Professor
[115] Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-B]

278 842 sembling that of Castoreum remained. This odor is possibly derived from glands of some tropical animal since beavers do not occur there.

The tannins would indicate that some bark or barks were used in the preparation. Microscopical examination of the residue did not give any clues.

[17] A few places where such practices as these are known are Africa, the Fiji Islands, and Ecuador.

278 757 The following is a list of the more generally known cures used by the *Boruca* and usually prescribed by the *curandera*.

Malaria is treated by drinking the liquid left from cooking the bark of a tree called *hombre grande* (*Quassia amara* L.), and sometimes, from boiling the fruits of the *cedrón* (*Simaba Cedron* Planch.)

For stomach-aches, a vine called in Boruca *so-kra'* (*Philodendron* sp.) is boiled with the ever useful *Kuikʃ-as* (*Piper* spp.), and drunk.

Dysentery in adults is treated by boiling the bark of the María tree, the guava tree, the leaves and the yuca-like root of the *contrayerva* (*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.), and the ripe vanilla pod (*Vanilla fragrans* [Salisb] Ames).

Rheumatism is treated by rubbing the afflicted parts with the oil of the copaiba tree.

To stop boils, the leaves of the *kana kra'* (*Conostegia extinctoria* [Bonpl.] D. Don.) are used in combination with a lard made from the marrow of the leg bones of a cow and lemon juice. The lard helps to keep the leaves in place, and is supposed to aid in drawing out the poison.

752 278 For snake bites, some Indians, but not all, as the majority go to a *sukia* for this, use the leaf of the *guaco* (*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.). They mash the leaf, soak it in water, and then put it on the afflicted parts. Another remedy for snake bites is to use the bulb or root of the *Strychnos* or *curarina* vine (*Strychnos toxifera* Schonb. ex Benth.). This is cut into pieces and mixed with the *guaco* leaf and boiled very well. The resulting liquid is drunk. The most effective remedy for snake bites, however, seems to be the resin from the *caraña* tree (*Protium* spp.). This tree grows on the coast, particularly near Dominical. The resin is mixed with honey and is both drunk and applied to the bite.

535 object of the "dance" is that all the participants "fight" the bull, the wearer of the two-faced mask being the real "matador." At the end of the "dance" the "bull" is tied and supposedly strangled. This "fighting" is done to the accompaniment of the *chirimía*, *maraca*, and drum (see p. 29) to say nothing of the shouts of the various dancers. On New Year's Eve, the Indians dress in banana leaves and masks, and go to one another's houses, and, according to some, to a secret place to celebrate. On the eighth of December, the council chooses three or four men who represent the *negritos* or black men. They paint their faces with mud and soot, and adorn themselves with the skin of the jaguar or other animal of the forest. One man dresses as a black horse, using for this a hoop-shaped piece of cane from which hangs black cloth cut to represent a horse. The man steps into the center of the hoop and wears it hanging from his shoulders by fiber ropes. The drum, *chirimía*, and *maraca* accompany these merrymakers who dance around, bow to people, play tricks on people, and beg drinks from anyone they chance to see. In fact, they dance from house to house and at each stop are usually given a drink of chicha. The dance itself dates from Spanish-
171 colonial times, and is performed today during
535 religious feasts in many communities from Mexico through Guatemala southward, in-

[p. 30-A]

535 [171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

The other dances which are performed in public are danced only by the younger generation. The steps are entirely borrowed from [177] the Chiriquíans, who formerly and even still inhabit much of southern Costa Rica. The favorite dances are the *cumbia*, the *punto Chiricano*, and the waltz. All of these, with the single exception of the waltz, are danced individually and not by a couple holding one another close.

525 **Games and Gambling.** The *Boruca* are not a gambling people. They appear to have no interest in any sort of gambling. Dice are almost unheard of, and perhaps one pack of cards can be found in the whole village.

524 The boys have a game called *cuepas*. This 857 is played with round pieces of bee's wax shaped almost like the cap of a pop bottle. One of these are placed face down, and a boy throws a similar piece on top of it. If the result of the impact causes both pieces to be face up, the boy who threw the *cuepa* wins, and takes the other *cuepa* as well as his own. If the result is otherwise, he loses his *cuepa*. Boys carry a ball of wax in their pockets for the express purpose of making *cuepas*.

Tops, made of wood with a nail serving as the pointed end, are also seen. They are not very popular, however.

[p. 30-B]

[pp. 31 and 32 contain no text]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[776] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the* 412 method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, [171] large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1/4] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into [482] rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [171] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets [482] are made from it.

[824] A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

286 *niqua*. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guavamo* fiber. This last is
[194] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[80] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
237 bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havos* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[80] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *biguerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[80] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [80] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[80] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned
a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[770] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
[172] which are obviously ceremonial have been
found in caches associated with the Highland
archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano
(fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American
[171] trait and are still used by medicine men among
the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the
Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and
medicine man staffs were carved as late as
the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish,
the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11,
c) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red
wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood.
There is a mystical connection between the
medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact
benevolent spirits who help him cure. In
Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally
translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to
the songs of the medicine man in the night;
kər = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine
men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used
756 for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves
with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikužeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are
the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
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the ill person whose hand is held by the curer
or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms
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Stones are another very special part of the
756 equipment, the origin of which is also bound
778 up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs).
A medicine man may have any number of
stones but there are two principal ones with
a covering name which is sometimes mistaken
by laymen as a third stone. This collective

It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[146] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

582 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kǫmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171]

[206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

ment is three feet or less in length, and five or six inches in diameter at the head, narrowing toward the base (pl. XXVI), being constricted about six or seven inches from the bottom, then flaring slightly. Drums are hewn from a solid piece of wood, and fitted with a tight head of iguana-skin, which is shrunken over the large end and held in place with fiber cord glued on with dried blood. The drums are also furnished with a fiber rope for suspension. 534

At a *Chichara* festival one Indian was seen standing with a drum under his left arm and its carrying strap over his left shoulder, slapping the head of the drum with the open right palm. Beside him stood another Indian with his right arm about the drummer's shoulders. They danced with a skipping sidewise step, the drummer beating his instrument while the other thumped his chest in unison with the left hand. [482] [535]

This goblet-like form of drum is antique, as there is a specimen made of pottery, from an ancient grave, in the National Museum at San José. Unfinished drums of a shorter, double-headed, barrel-shaped vari- [172]

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hevas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
[137] ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian times when trade was common between the
[438] Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *î'sú* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both
[462] men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[40] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

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778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
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756 term is *sią* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are
called *kúsuwa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
778 *suwa*. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves.
Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to
the medicine man on special occasions, or are
handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan.
When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish
to give his own stones to a young professional,
his brother or clan keeps them until a new
doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without
these two stones although other ones are also
used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild
pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the par-
ticular animal when one hunts and it is for this
reason the Indians say that medicine men never
lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea*
sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing
paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf
is used more as an indication of magic power
than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during
childbirth. Other articles which compose a
medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a
lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the
feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quet-
zals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and
shells of which three are of particular impor-
tance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose
and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

Training and Procedure. Although there is no
756 fixed time required for preparing to become a
medicine man, it usually takes from two to
six years, depending upon the capacity of the
novice's memory. The first six months are
intensive. The apprentice goes for three days
without eating. He makes a lean-to in the
woodland out of all the herbs he can gather,
edible and non-edible, and stays there for two
days so as not to see the sun. At night he can
go outside. During this period, the medicine
man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After
two days and two nights the teacher and his
pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the
hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

Cabécar
Terraba
Changuena

173 Cabécares, and only a very few managed to
726 escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[181] cleaned
[727] them, and used them for cups. They cooked the heads and dried them well and then put them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive
[727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

[172] [181] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[48] [189] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

#539 [535] taught people how to dance and to sing the following song:

sibu came in the form of a buzzard
dressed as a man,
Collar on his neck.
The collar reflected,
He came with the collar
Ejené, ekujé,[199]
Ejené, eanjé,[199]
He came to give us the dance
He came from the air.
Ejené, ekujé,
Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound [825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [199] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.

[533] [199] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jəwá* houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick
237 while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLɨakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 The common dances among the Bribri are 773 those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 Another celebration to do with happiness 342 and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kẓmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 Segarra and Julia[207] describe a hunter's
224
533

[776] [206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form
[172] wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found
[171] in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

[P. 86]

*539

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

19. *dikúswa*[201] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikúswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikúswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikúswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[202] You will never die." (*Z*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikúswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *kásuwa*], dance [of *kásuwa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

---

19. dikúswa

1. ętsá kuLę́,[203] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[204] patkęmj ętsá kuLę́-i-tsúk. buLáme-tą, sibu-tə dikúswa ichake, "šu-ruówami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iątté, "ké bu-ruókua. be-ęə emę. ké be-ruókwą šątę.[205] (*Z*) é-kuęgi sibu-tə dikúswa[206] meąt-sé buąúnmeLe.

20. buLtakuLe[207]

1. kəogęgə[208] kəogeé jaegəange[209] kəanjé jaegəgəg.
kəanjé egəange kəanjé.

2. ta-kueą,[210] kuen-dí,[211] ta-kuen-dí, Lən[212]-dí,
ta-saLəLa səLəri,
ta-dəa-donchi.
ję́[213]-iberke ikətsą, ję́-iberke jęn.

3. kəanjejeé[214] jekəa jóeé.

[755] [552] [778] [197] [172]

[201] This is the medicine man's song against sickness. [202] I.e., that you are sick.
[203] *kuLę́* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kuLę́*.
[204] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cuyeo.
[205] This also means "nothing."
[206] The connotation is that the bird, *dikúswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikúswa*.
[207] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[208] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[209] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[210] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[211] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle. [212] *See* Theological Beliefs.
[213] *ję́* and *jęn* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *kásuwa*.
[214] These sounds signify adornments.

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Cabecar
Bribri

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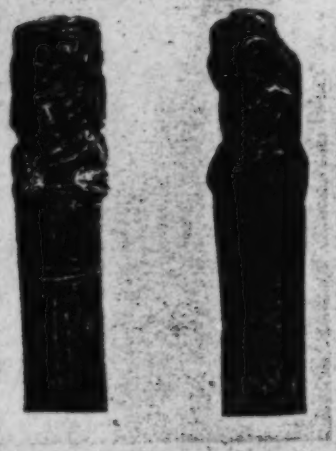
756
778
[172]



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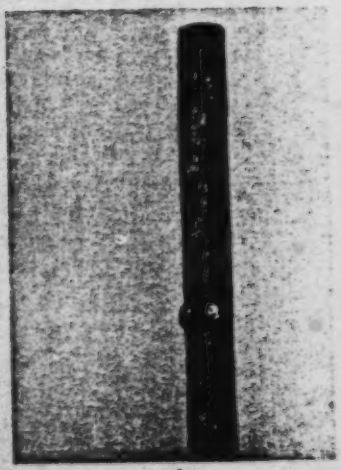

d

a, Commercial staff from cache on slopes of local volcano, Central Plateau. b, Commercial staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Orán Jiménez L.). c, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bone, and beads as wood oil soil (property of Don Julio Calderón T.). d, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beads signs.

[END PLATE 11]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially, 101
politically, and religiously, but differing markedly in language. The 131
Cabecars occupy the country from the frontiers of civilization to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tiliri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bris occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquin and the valley lying around the mouths of these streams. The Tiribris, now reduced to barely a hundred souls, live in two villages on the Tilorio or Changinola River. It is said that on the head waters of the Changina, a large fork of this latter stream, there are yet a few individuals of the Changina tribe, but the other Indians report them as implacably hostile and their very existence is only known by vague reports of their savage neighbors. The Shelaba tribe, formerly living on the lower part of the same river is now entirely extinct. A few half-breeds are all who perpetuate the blood, and their language is utterly lost. Still further down the coast, beyond the Costa Rican boundaries is another allied tribe, partly civilized, in so far as that they trade and work a little and drink a great deal of bad rum, spending most of their earnings on that bane of the race. They are called by foreigners Valientes. Crossing over to the Pacific slope, the Terrabas are tribally identical with the Tiribis. The tradition still exists in a vague form, that they are emigrants from the Atlantic side; but when or why the emigration took place, is [173] forgotten. The home of the tribe is in a very narrow, rough cañon, traversed by a river that might better be called a torrent, a country strongly contrasted with the fertile plains and broad savannas of Terraba, and it is not improbable that under the press of a crowded population several migrations took place. They still tell how, twenty or thirty years ago, a priest came over from Terraba, baptized all who would submit to [797] the rite, and by glowing stories of the abundance of meat and other inducements that he shrewdly imagined would tempt them, carried off over a dozen of their best men, who never returned. A glance at the vocabulary will show how little separated are these two branches of the tribe in language. The Borucas or Bruncas, who occupy a little village, not far from the headquarters of the Terrabas, are apparently the older occupants of the soil; perhaps crowded into a corner by the invaders.

Other tribal names are mentioned by various authors, such as Bicel- 101
tas, &c. The name Biceita is not known in the country, and, although used to the present day outside of the Indian country, is unknown to them, or at best, is supposed to be a Spanish word. The district of that name is probably the western part of Bri-bri, the most eastern point to which the slave-hunting expeditions from San José Cabecar penetrated. The Blancos are properly the Bri-bri tribe, but this word is rather loosely used, and is often applied alike to the Cabecars and Tiribis.

But little can be gathered of the history of these people. What hap- 173
pened in the times of their grandfathers is already ancient history and partly forgotten. All recollection of the first arrival of the Spaniards is now lost. They have no traditions of the use of stone implements before the introduction of metal. When asked what they did for axes before the traders

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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178 came among them, I could get no more satisfactory answer than that they went to Cartago to buy them. I have been told a vague story, however, that long ago there were two bands living in the country now occupied by the Bri-bris. Those living in the valley, around the junction of the branches of the Tiliri were more powerful than the mountaineers, and forced the latter to pay tribute when they descended to hunt, or cut the material for their bark-cloth clothing. But gradually the lowlanders died out; the highlanders, becoming the more powerful, rebelled against these impositions, and eventually emigrated in such numbers to the country of the former, that the distinction became lost by an amalgamation of the two parties. Even now the Bri-bris, who occupy the lowlands
[563] and most of the hill regions of the Sicsola, look down on their neighbors the Cabecars and treat them as inferiors. The Cabecars, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge even a social supremacy, and in a mixed party submit to assume the more menial occupations, like bringing water and wood; and are always obliged to wait until the last when food or drink is being served. Few of the Bri-bris speak the Cabecar language, but there are few of the Cabecars who do not speak Bri-bri, and they usually
[622] use it in the presence of strangers. The Cabecars have no chief of their own, but are entirely under the rule of the Bri-bri chief, and have been, from time immemorial. Their subjugation is, in short, complete. At
[793] the same time they have the honor of religious supremacy, in so far as that the high priest, the "*Usekara*," whose office will be explained further on, belongs to their tribe. The ordinary priests, the "*Tsugurs*," who, like the "*Usekara*," are hereditary, come from a group of families on the Coen River, but belong to the Bri-bri tribe.

About the beginning of this century there was a bitter war between the
179 Bri-bris and the Tiribia. The youngest members of the war parties are now mostly dead, and the few remaining survivors are very old men.
721 The last of the warriors proper, mature men at that time, died about 1800, at an extremely advanced age. I have heard the traditions from both sides the question, and of course each party throws all the blame on the other. The Bri-bri story is that some people, a whole family, living on the extreme eastern portion of the Uren district, were found murdered, and no clue discovered to the perpetrators of the act. Not very long afterwards other murders occurred in an equally mysterious manner, which threw the whole country into a state of excitement. Afterwards a small party was attacked by some unknown Indians, a portion killed and some left to tell the tale. The tracks of the strangers were followed through the woods, always keeping to the east, until they were lost. Following this clue, the chief of the Bri-bris sent out a party of armed scouts, who climbed to the summit of the dividing ridge, overlooking the Tilorio. From here they discovered for the first time that they had neighbors; seeing their houses and cornfields in the distance. A large war party was fitted out; they passed the mountains, and without warning descended on the unsuspecting

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them.

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his.

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. Ono Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moon, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 [252] shaped only by use. Cacao and maize are ground upon the surface of the metate with a muller or mano, which is another, though smaller, natural waterworn bowlder.

On abandoned sites near Teliri river some crude three-legged stone metates were found (figs. 9, *a*, *b*, drawn from fragments), pecked from hard scoria. These are inferior to the beautiful "tiger" metates of Las Mercedes; nevertheless, some of the Bribri [173] believe that these fine metates were used by their ancestors. The Mercedes and Anita Grande sites also yielded some of the plain, three-legged metates, as well as those of the more ornate variety.

411 412 *Digging Stick or Warclub.*—Pl. XVII, *a*, represents a digging stick of narrow, paddle shape, made of "cacique" wood. While the natives said that this specimen was once used as an agricultural implement, some of them also declared that it had been employed as a warclub. They referred to the stick as a "macana," in which is recognized an implement equivalent to the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*, a warclub in which blades or spikes of obsidian were embedded.

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra[43] and Salitre (*žerí*) and amount to
approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near
[162] the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
of Bribri here is not known although it was
[174] probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
● 173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan
regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers[44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-
[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Analyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of
[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Analyst]

[103] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz
[797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these areas is due to the transferral of many Tala-
[669] mancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri
[784]

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

[P. 47 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
siq is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
ksiok (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[843] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[783] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
[752] or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

[825] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
726 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[755] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbuwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

•173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

173 726 [727] Cabécares, and only a very few managed to escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[181] cleaned them, and used them for cups. They cooked the heads and dried them well and then put them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive [727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

[172] [181] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[648] [189] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.48(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar, Changuena
Bribri
Terraba

173 He slept near her and told her that if she saw a large jaguar or a large alligator in a pool, it would be him. Knowing that some *usegLa* had fled in the forest, the uncle further advised her to search for her relatives.

It happened as the uncle said, and the girl told all about it later.

Vengeance for the Cabécares

(*Cabécar*)

During the same war, the Terribís climbed trees to look for the Cabécares and Bribri. They would spot a *palenque* (house) and then sleep near it so as to make a surprise raid and kill everyone in the early morning. One day the Terribís went to the upper Estrella River without seeing a soul as all the people along the way had fled. Twenty-five Terribís paused on a hilltop and spotted a large *palenque*. They surrounded the dwelling and some guarded the roads to see where the people were.

Time passed. They heard the cocks crow but they didn't see a single person. This made them think that all the people were within the house. *Palenques* only have one door, so the whole twenty-five entered along with a large wasp which killed them all.

Thus it happened that when another Terribí, who had stayed behind to gather rope for hanging the heads the band expected to collect, tried to find his companions he failed. The truth was that there had never been a *palenque* at that spot on the upper Estrella, nor were there roads. It was part of a scheme of *sibu* against the Terribís. It was he who had sent the wasp to avenge the Cabécares.

The War of the Changuinas [182] with the Talamancas

(*Cabécar*)

The war between the Changuinas and the Cabécares was fought for such a long time that

[648] Changuina River, a tributary of the Diquís or Río Grande de Térraba. Here they had a tremendous battle with the Borucas and Cabécares of Ujarrás as the graveyards in the vicinity testify. *See* Stone, 1958, p. 45, fig. 1. Today, legend holds that the Changuinas are still at the upper reaches of this tributary, but that they disappear when one arrives.

Changuena
Cabécar
Bribri

173 726 the medicine men of Ujarrás went to Talamanca to look for the best medicine man there.[153] He was known by the name of "He who taught medicine men." The medicine man converted himself into a combination of a jaguar-rat. The warriors, who accompanied him, brought arrows and joined those of Ujarrás. The great medicine man who appeared as a rat had his companions from Talamanca carry him in a cage over the cordillera. The people from Ujarrás met him and all went well armed, including females.

They met the Changuinas who had joined with the inhabitants of Cabagra (Bribri) on the other side of Buenos Aires[154] and had a terrific battle. The medicine man from Cabécar was more powerful than the one from Changuina, however, and the Cabécares kept winning.

[712] The wounded Changuinas and Cabagras (Bribri) went into a large underground house made of cut stone which served as a fort. The enemy followed them and made them march ahead while another encounter with the Changuinas and Cabagras was prepared.

The medicine man from Talamanca went ahead of everyone and his enemies allowed him to sit down. He sat on a wooden bench which immediately broke, so he sat on a stone one which did the same. The medicine man of the Changuinas seeing this grew afraid. He withdrew into the underground fortress. There was a saw which the Changuinas and Cabagras used to cut off heads of the people from Talamanca and Ujarrás. Then they gathered the blood and drank it calling it cacao. The medicine man of the Changuinas wanted to cut off his Talamancan colleague's head but he was not powerful enough.

It was then that the warriors from Talamanca and Ujarrás moved in. Seeing their medicine man seated on sticks and stones instead of a gold seat, such as the Changuinas had, they proceeded with such fury that the enemy became frightened. The Changuina's medicine man grabbed a gold seat in the shape of a horse and through magical means made it fly with him through a door which was in the center of the large building.

[153] Cabécar, in Talamanca, is still the "seat of learning" for medicine men. (*See* Medicine Man.)

[154] I.e., south of Buenos Aires, above where the

[P. 49(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar
Bribri
Changuena

173 726 The Talamancan medicine man also used his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[155] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured. [103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 776 [103] [614] *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried 173 776 [103] *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[155] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

[P. 50(A)]

Cabecar
Bribri

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

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The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

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[714]

The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*broshi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

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Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
643 to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because of King *Berchí*[158] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[159] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was not baptized, but later he was and received
173 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
797 family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzán* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[157] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[158] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[159] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764 with death and burial but they are seldom seen
184 today outside of upper Talamanca.

Pittier[308] mentions a bone dance performed
[765 at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533 Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756 A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727 of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178 once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198 sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197 characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195 sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773 western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
173 is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[308] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[309] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

(*are* understood). Why do you not make some? *i kuenks be ke mokkur* 193
we juwo? why thou not gun round (things) make? There is no clay (or material); *mokkur wochika ke ku*, gun round (things) material no more. Is your gun a good one? *be mokkur boi?* thou (thy) gun good? Does it shoot well? *itu boi?* shoot well (or good)? Good morning; *be shke'na?* thou art awake, or arisen (literally, straightened up). Reply; *je* (I) *shke'na. Be ratski;* thou hast arrived (salutation on a person entering a house). *Je ratski*, I have arrived. How are you? *is be 'iso?* how thou (*si-so'-si*) art? I am well; *je 'iso boi.* Where did you come from? *wesŭ be bete'?* where thou start? Who went with—? *ji re —ta?* who went— with? I did not see; *ke je wai suna*, not I (*wai* idiom) saw. I do not know; *ke je wai uphchen.* This *wai* occurs nowhere except in these two instances. What did you go for? *iub be re?* why thou went? I went to call my people; *je re je wakipa ikiu*, I went I (my) people to call. Are they coming? *yepa ratski?* they come (or arrive? No; I think they have gone away; *au; je kĕnbeku ye micho*, No; I think they have gone. Let us go too; *mishka hekepi*, let us go alike. Where is —? *wesŭ—?* He has gone ahead; *ye 't-katke*, he has walked ahead (see note on *i-shku*, in conjugation). Put on your clothes; *be sa-wi' i-u*, thou clothing (cotton) put into.

SECTION II.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Although the tradition exists that the people of Terraba are a com- 197
paratively late emigration from the region of the Tiribis, and although the tradition is sustained by the general resemblances of language, and [174]
by the fact that the Brunkas (or Borucas), evidently older occupants of the soil, are crowded into a corner like the Celtic tribes of Europe; yet there are marked differences between the idioms spoken in Tiribi and in Terraba. The Dialects of Southern Costa Rica can be divided into three groups: First, the Bri-bri and the Cabecar; second, the Tiribi and Terraba; and lastly, the Brunka. The three divisions possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. The first group is strongly marked by the short i before nearly all verbs and by a generally more musical sound; while the second is harsh, in consequence of the frequent repetition of sound of *z*. The Cabecar i before the verb is not so persistent as in Bri-bri, but is more strongly pronounced, approaching more nearly the ordinary Latin or Spanish *i*. The terminations *ung* and *ong* are as marked as the sign of the verb, in the second group, as i is in the first. The *z* which almost invariably accompanies this termination, is rarely a part of the last syllable, but is usually sounded at the end of the penultimate, unless when abbreviated into *zu* or *zo*.

A gradual process of change is clearly discernible in these languages. As yet the Bri-bri and Tiribi have been but little affected. But the Cabecar of Coen is absorbing many Bri-bri words because the people of the Coen, although they use their local dialect among themselves, all speak Bri-

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* [136] (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which [133] has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever [262] they have a chance.

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan [797] fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial 174 documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.

[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.

[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.

[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.

[101] [37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.

[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.

[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.

[40] Stone, 1949.

[41] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

[P. 8(A)]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*Seri*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival of Bribri here is not known although it was
• [174] probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Qualyst]

[43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue.
[103] The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Fran-
[797] ciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

T [132] [137]

T [191]

T 609 648

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. *Diquis* is the older
103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Rio Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-
[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east.
162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five
361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory
175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 82, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 428.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca*.[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[12] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

[p. 4-A]

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the
Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the
Quepos Indians were brought into the area
and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to
some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca*
today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*,
Quepos, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call
themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of
two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or
k-a, meaning "within." Their town, however,
they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent
in the older documents of the Conquest and
colonization, apparently coming into use
around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have
remained, isolated from their original terri-
tory, each group distrustful of the other. The
Boruca distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the
Boruca community this isolation is evident.
The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do,
they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping
and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
624 select the first and second mayordomos of the church, and the two women who are to cook for the church. These personages function during *fiestas* or the visits of the priest, and are appointed yearly. If there is a change in the personnel, the former mayordomo has to hand over all the religious symbols and whatever money there may be to the new one.

437 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.**
426 The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of
175 trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Texabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things.*

[continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

* See Informe, 1697.

Pittier[38] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*. 438 175

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b–2, 4, 7*). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral. 438 648 [317 263]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of 796

[38] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

[p. 24-B]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they 304
get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which 554
they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear.

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is 142
that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is [438] there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the re- 166
peated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mos-* 648
quitos in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * *

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among 161
those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy.

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is 175 ●
to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are 648
embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

175 648 level lands of the great river *Estrella*,[14] where it joins the river *Coén*,[15] which comes down from *Cabécara*, and the *Arori*, which comes down from *Viceita*.

175 648 797 Its destruction, according to the copy referred to, was in the month of August of the tenth year of the last century, and at the end of it. In the year 1680, the conquest and subjection of the heathen Indians of that province was undertaken by the venerable servant of God, the Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, founder of this College, who had good results in his apostolic work, for in a few years he succeeded in teaching and baptizing so great a number of Indians that they already made up sixteen settlements. But at the end of 1709, those barbarous tribes rebelled, together with those who were taught, baptized and settled, and they killed two out of the three friars who were there. There were Fray Pablo de Rebullida and Fray Antonio de Zamora, and nine or ten of the soldiers who were in the garrison, together with a woman and a boy, burning the churches and profaning the sacred vessels and the furniture thereof. Yet by the orders and the measures taken by the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia or Captaincy-General of this Kingdom, assisted by the good conduct of the Governor of the Province of *Costa Rica*, who at that time was Don Lorenzo de la Granda Balbín, and the military officers who accompanied him, and the Rev. Padre Fray Antonio de Andrade, a disciple of this College, who was saved out of that insurrection, they were successful in penetrating into the mountains and cap-

[114] [14] Among the papers relating to the foundation of the city of *Santiago de Talamanca* it appears that it was founded upon the banks of the *Tarire*, eight leagues from its mouth. Fray Manuel Urcullu is not mistaken as regards the site, but he falls into the same error already noted in the other reports of the missionaries, of calling the *Tarire*, *Tiliri* or *Siraola*, the *Estrella* river. The latter is the one now designated the *Chánguene* on some maps, *Changuinola* upon others and, finally, the *Tilorio* river. The latter is the real *Estrella* river, discovered and made known in 1564, by Juan Vázquez de Coronado. Its course, instead of running towards the coast of the Sea of the Antilles, as it does today, turned at nine and a half degrees of North latitude and continued towards the East in a line almost parallel to the said coast, until it emptied into the Bay of *Almirante*. The ancient channel of the river is well known by explorers, and in particular by Don José María Figueroa, who traced it upon the map of Costa Rica. Note by M. M. de Peralta.

[15] The river *Coén* is a tributary of the river *Tarire*.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

turing fifteen hundred Indians who had risen, with their *cacique*, and justice was done to the latter as well as to the others, and the holy vessels and the furnishings were recovered. As the rebels continued more insolent and were bound together in their disobedience and apostasy, the zeal of the said Reverend Padre Andrade and of the other friars who were under him could not re-establish this conquest and subjection; but now, extricated from the difficult and even impossible situation in which the enterprise then was, it should be restored to this College.

175
648
797

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail
487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUALPST]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[635] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUALPST]

[115] [2] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[3] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

● 175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued

[Text continues top of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[4] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[6] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 5(B)]

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.[15] It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez [175] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques es el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9–39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

[136] [133] [262]

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

[797] 174

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

[101]

262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is [245] [272] [434] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] [273] [231] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de [175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

[P. 16 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16 (B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16 (B)--QUALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [184] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause [484] fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same
342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un-
[361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages
[192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them. 173 721 [622] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his. 619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moon, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe. [411] 622 648 [177] [624]

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

291 mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men [177] have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly the hair 302 was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright-colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat.

291 The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of mastate. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo-blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe and wound round the waist by the midrib. With nothing above nor below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partially conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty dress, I must do these 291 people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both 834 men and women. In a year and a half of life in their country, traveling constantly with a body of them, bathing, fording rivers, living in their houses, and seeing more than strangers generally do of the intimate domestic life of the people they are among, I can only recall a single instance of carelessness, and not one of a wanton exposure of those parts of the person, that their ideas of modesty required to be kept covered.

291 The dress just described is that of the Bri-bris and Cabecars. The Tiribi men, where they do not wear pantaloons, always use the native cotton breech-cloth, never the mastate. The women wear a long strip of cotton cloth, made with a hole in the middle, like a poncho, and reaching before and behind, nearly to the ground. It is gathered up at the waist by a belt, and the edges are caused to overlap at the same time, so that the whole person is securely covered. I was also told that under this they wear a species of breech-cloth or drawers. They are much more retiring in their manner than their Bri-bri sisters; never speak

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

177
291

Clothing.—Many of the Bribri state that formerly their garments were made of beaten bark cloth, resembling the blankets which they still use for bedding, but thinner, and decorated with painted designs. These have now passed out of use, and except for blanket skirts (pl. XVIII, *b*) woven of cotton, with plain band designs in native blue dye, the Indians have adopted the cloth of civilization, roughly made into garments approximating those of their white neighbors. Regarding their dress, Gabb[13] says:

291

"Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization approaches. Formerly, the dress of the men consisted only of a breech cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with a roughened stick [pl. XIX, *c*] over a log. This loosens the fiber, and renders it soft and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is washed out. After drying it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then falls over in front for about a foot long, like

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

121 THE following paper on the present-day *Boruca* Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not a complete ethnological study. In fact, it might well be termed an "introductory paper" on these people. It is the result of four short visits into Boruca territory. The first trip was made with the idea of becoming acquainted with these people, and the remaining three visits were made to study the conditions under which the greater portion of autochthonous Costa Ricans exist today. The purpose in mind was to understand the new problems created by the first steps in constructing the Pan-American Highway. The
●177 line of the proposed highway goes between
648 *Térraba* and *Cabécar* Indian country, and indirectly affects the *Bribri* and the *Boruca*. With its start, came the flood of opportunists to claim lands that are actually occupied by
[191] indigenous groups, many of whom do not even speak the national tongue, Spanish.

[p. v-a]

3:Stone E-6 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

648 As a result of these field trips, the Costa Rican Government set up, on December 6, 1945, a *Junta* or Committee to form a long-term educational program and to demarcate various aboriginal zones to be used as reservations.

177 114 Little or nothing has been written about the *Boruca*, who are by far the most Europeanized of the southern Costa Rican tribes, and who, because of this, are fast losing their aboriginal characteristics. The report which follows is 121 a series of facts concerning the life of the actual *Boruca* Indians; facts which, in a few years, may be obsolete or unknown. For this reason, they are offered here as part of the record of our knowledge of man's cultural changes, and, as stated before, do not pretend to represent a thorough ethnological study.

DORIS STONE

San José, Costa Rica, 1946

[p. v-b]
[p. vi is blank]

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca*.[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[18] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

●177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature [132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no [363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap- [346 177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture. [351 417] Although most of the houses have no fences, a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* [245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or 312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] * A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most [372]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE *ACTIVITIES*

square *varas*.[18] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence is nearly always made with living posts, 417

[p. 5-B]

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving the village early each morning and returning
[512] about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-ko*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

[p. 6-B]

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 Fishing. The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanagira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[21] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture [534] (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[21] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

323 [177] reverting to make their clay cooking pots as before. There are several common pottery shapes. One kind is a large vessel with a pointed base which is slightly rounded, and a projection near the base, the neck indented, and a projecting rim. This type is called *kwure'* in Boruca, and resembles the Spanish *tinaja*. Other forms consist of smaller vessels with rounded base and a flat protruding rim, at times with a projecting nubbin, as if an attempt to portray a head, tail, and wings, such as is encountered on the pots found in ancient graves; and sometimes the *comal* or indented clay dish which is used for frying. Plain rounded vessels, often with a thumb-nail design on the border or rim, are common for cooking.

[462] Women are the potters. The usual way of making a vessel is to mash the clay, if soft, with the hands, and if hard, with a stick, until it is fine. Then a coil is made of this clay, and the coil doubled over to give more strength to the whole. The base is started with these coils in the manner of a large tortilla, or corn cake. A rounded wooden mold is used only for the base. The clay tortilla is put in the mold and shaped to the sides. Then coils of clay are added, and the vessel grows above the mold. Smoothing and evening are done with the hands. Once completed, the pot is left from fifteen days to one month within the house to dry. The excess clay is then removed with a knife, and the vessel is polished by rubbing it all over with a seed which comes from a vine called in Spanish *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna urens* [L.] DC.). A bed of firewood is made outside the house, and the vessel is placed in the center. Firewood is stacked around the pot until it is covered. Fire is set, and the wood burns away leaving the vessel intact. When a particularly strong pot is desired, a *masa* is added. This *masa* is ground corn mixed with water to form a paste. It is put both inside and outside of the vessel at the moment it is removed from the fire, and while it is still red from the heat. After the pot is cold, the *masa* is removed.

383 314 Rubber. The use of rubber does not seem to be very ancient with the *Boruca*. The gum from the wild rubber tree which abounds in the vicinity (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) is

[p. 19-B]

occasionally used on the dug-out canoes.

2:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[294] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied
[412] to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[75] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS
OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[77] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tɔʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavagra*, who
[184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
849] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

842 One of the most important functions of the witch doctor appears to be the control of birth. The *Boruca* have long been famous for having children only when they feel like it, not using an abortive, but a preventive or a provocative, as the case might be. They are very reticent [648] to admit even the existence of such a practice, however, through fear of the priest and of the Costa Rican Government, which in the past has persecuted the Talamancan peoples for this, as we shall see further on.

Both processes are brought about by taking certain liquid preparations given by the witch doctor. The sterilization process is called a *curada*, and when a woman has one or two children, the Indians say quite frankly that she is *curada*. It appears possible to be *curada* and then go to the *curandera* and become pregnant when one wants. Both remedies are drinks made from certain leaves, fungi, roots, and ferns. The sterilizing brew must be taken for fifteen days, stopped for fifteen days, and taken again for fifteen days. If badly prepared or taken too consistently without the interval in between, the drink is said to kill by causing hemorrhages. The neighbors of the *Boruca* all have, at least, the remedy to stop conception. The *Térraba*[99] do not practise it so often [177] today, as the Roman Catholic Church has apparently had more influence on them. The *Térraba* claim that their population has decreased violently since the past century because their women made themselves too sterile, and both sexes began to live together in any manner. They add that because of this, a curse has been put on them and they are dying out. It is a pity there is no census record to serve as comparative material. All of the remaining Talamanca peoples, such as the *Bribri*, the *Chirripó*, and the *Cabécares*, seem also to know this custom. In an unpublished report of Fathers Vincente Krautwog and Augustín Blessing of several trips made by them to the missions of Talamanca in the years 1894 to 1902, the originals of which are in the parochial archives in Limón, Costa Rica, the following statements are significant:

The women of the Estrella (valley) have very few children, because of certain remedies which they take

[p. 26-8]

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers 539
killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale.

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* 534
is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations.

The music on these occasions is almost en- 533
tirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn [177]
have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard.

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have 535
secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) [532]
mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The

535 [171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

The other dances which are performed in public are danced only by the younger generation. The steps are entirely borrowed from [177] the Chiriquíans, who formerly and even still inhabit much of southern Costa Rica. The favorite dances are the *cumbia*, the *punto Chiricano*, and the waltz. All of these, with the single exception of the waltz, are danced individually and not by a couple holding one another close.

525 **Games and Gambling.** The *Boruca* are not a gambling people. They appear to have no interest in any sort of gambling. Dice are almost unheard of, and perhaps one pack of cards can be found in the whole village.

524 The boys have a game called *cuepas*. This 857 is played with round pieces of bee's wax shaped almost like the cap of a pop bottle. One of these are placed face down, and a boy throws a similar piece on top of it. If the result of the impact causes both pieces to be face up, the boy who threw the *cuepa* wins, and takes the other *cuepa* as well as his own. If the result is otherwise, he loses his *cuepa*. Boys carry a ball of wax in their pockets for the express purpose of making *cuepas*.

Tops, made of wood with a nail serving as the pointed end, are also seen. They are not very popular, however.

[p. 30-B]

[pp. 31 and 32 contain no text]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

FOREWORD

121 101 THESE pages present the life of two indigenous groups, the Cabécares and the Bribri, who number among the first-known inhabitants of Costa Rican soil. They are people in varied stages of acculturation, but many are now taking part in the national environment and life of the republic. [177]

115 There are numerous informants who helped with the gathering of details which have contributed to the making of this book. Among these were two young teachers, Teofilo Mayorga, a Cabécar from Ujarrás, and Gabriel Figueroa, a Bribri from Salitre. Both took down the linguistic texts in phonetics and aided in the literal translations. Saturnino Ortiz and Marcos Ortiz, also from Salitre, and Herman Villanueva of China Kichá supplied much important data.

There were two medicine men whose aid was invaluable, Telesforo Figueroa, Bribri, and Victor Challe, Cabécar, and the late Bribri Burier, Jaime Ortiz.

To these, to Roger Thayer Stone, and to the countless others who cooperated in the preparation of this text, among whom figure Agnes Gamboa, Francisco Amighetti, and Naomi Stratton, the author renders profound gratitude.

Doris Stone

San José, Costa Rica, 1960

[P. V]

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 T. lamanca SA19

[P. 10 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically dis- [177] tinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. 489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In 491 most of the region, bridges are non-existent and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and 177 upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- quest times and little attention was paid to the 648 Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1928.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.10(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for distinctions in beliefs and living habits between
101 one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

[P. 11(A)] Bribri
Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ké* (*ké* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [121] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *buǯiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *ǯiga* (many), and town by *ka* meaning 621 361 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11(B)--QUALYST]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 11(B)--QUALYST]

241 Women formerly felled trees and did as
462 much field labor as the men. Today, however,
[178] women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these
241 peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The
[137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).
245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are
262 in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63]
[137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 This basic diet is supplemented with several
241 varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American food-
[177] stuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ½ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

½ [See category 116, End Plate 2 - Analyst.]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, [171] large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--Analist]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--Analist]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).
[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *bugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of
[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of
[824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *bugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubted-
[177] ly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinearly to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *cəurkə* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by men and women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Tala- [192] manca there is no word to designate these shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [1] It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fish-
[291] ing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[415] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* reme-
dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a pro-truding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLɔ* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas*, and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[752] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.

[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--QUALYS]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-QUALYS]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons,
[301] cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[479] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. [177] It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, 824 containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when [252] planting; and as sieves, in particular for making *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made. [531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only 824 people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.25(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

802 **Numerical System.** Both the Cabécares and the Bribri use the decimal system but have a complicated method of counting, depending upon the subject and, in part, the shape under consideration. The Cabécares, furthermore, have ordinal numbers. Gabb, Theil, Pittier, and Pozas[94] have already presented in detail the principles concerned with the numeration of these Talamancan peoples. In the present account, we reiterate the major points of these authors' observations and add some minor details of our own. Gabb and Pittier devote most of their attention to the Bribri, while Pozas has concentrated on the Cabécar.

The Bribri have six ways of counting. The numeral changes slightly if the subject is a person, an animal, a house, a round object, a large object, a plant or tree. The subject always precedes the number which differs slightly depending on this. There are, however, certain subjects which are followed not only by the number but also by a suffix or a word. In Bribri, for instance, a given tree, such as the *pejibaye*, is followed by the number and by the generic name "tree." The Cabécares have the same system with slight variations. In Cabécar, in the case of a given tree, the generic term is not necessary although it sometimes occurs. The common form is a word without meaning but which appears to be euphonic and obligatory, *káte*, which precedes the numeral.

804 **Measures.** There is no given method of measure. *Havas* and baskets serve on both sides of the range. The Pacific people and those in the Talamanca Plain are also accustomed to use the Spanish measures such as *quintal*, *cajuela*, etc., as well as their indigenous method (*see* Trade).

[177]

805 **Measurements of Time.** The year is known in both languages by the term for summer or dry season, *duwas* or *duas*. The wet season is called *kaLikeska*, rain (*kaLi*) time (*keska*). The yearly divisions are indicated by these two terms plus those for the changes of the moon:[95]

[94] Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1894; Pittier, 1904; Pozas, N.D.
[95] The terms given are Bribri. The same divisions are found in Cabécar, however, even though the words

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will
[264] die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaolí* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pinier, 1938, p. 23.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
[856] Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
863 crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in con-
nection with excretion are taught practically
from birth. The child is taken out of the house
and held up while he does his needs. He is not
allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling
itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
a father lie in a hammock with his small chil-
dren beside him. Parents pay attention to per-
sonal details, such as wiping a child's nose or
264 washing its face. There are not, however,
regular meal hours. One eats when there is
food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat
three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes
are taught to swim and help to make fires,
using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when
sitting on the low benches or on the ground
before the hearth. At the age of seven, they
begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and
cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt,
using small arrows for training. When the
adults are out in the fields or hunting, children
up to ten years old stay at home to tend the
fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for
example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water
when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no
school and all lore is learned by word of mouth
on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine
men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must
undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
lengthy manner to those who want to have
[767] some connection with the handling of the dead
(*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line.
Often they play with mud daubers' nests or
similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then, [583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

589 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple 591 live from eight days to one year in trial marriage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives [595] a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against trial marriages is at times evidenced by the [184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their [177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair 591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase 761 of the life cycle as far as ceremony and prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many 764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and [765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis 764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri- 614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pu* (*see* Funeral and Bone 764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pu* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper [775] articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches from rapine birds and beasts. After a year, 765 when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has undertaken an educational program to in- [177] corporate the Talamancans into the Costa [871] Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur*
clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the
elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that
they belonged to the *síbawak*, *korrehué*, or
siṇábwak groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next
to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests
heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by
the lower Coen and had a number of assistants
the highest of whom were called *ko*, and
apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that
elaborate preparation was necessary before the
title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in
keeping with the idea that their position was
hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the fol-
lowing clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbawak*, *bLeriwak*,
and *sənítswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths:
Protectors of Clans). Their name in this lan-
guage is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri,
calls attention to the fact that the songs of
stsukur were in a language which neither he
nor the uninitiated could understand. As
Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri
Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110]
according to his spelling and that of Pittier,
the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is
the pronunciation given by the Bribri today.
There is, nevertheless, another angle to this
problem, particularly if one accepts the state-
ment that the Bribri Singers could come from
one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples
when singing and the adoption of foreign
songs even by the laymen. These aspects will
be discussed later under Curing and Songs,
respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéšuwak*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a profes- [767] sional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
[184] ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are the only persons to touch the body, however. The preparations, including a funeral feast and the blocking of cross roads on the main trail, are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves or a cloth were the usual procedures on the Pacific side before placing the dead in the grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for the first time. The school gave the planks and nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture. A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed mattress, a sack which was over the bed and upon which she lay, were removed by the Burier. On this occasion there were three Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped body and the planks for the cover were nailed on.

During this whole procedure, the family disappeared and none of the stand-bys would look at what was happening. When the coffin was ready, a girl took branches which had been cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretching from both doors of the house to the main trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery, blocking any opening in the path with branches. When a river had to be crossed, branches were placed on the rocks and at the shallow edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house from the grave. The Buriers followed with the coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] These persons were considered unclean and [756] had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [177] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hiwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* [825] (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
324 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the
[177] Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in regard to marriage is illustrated by the forma-
614 tion of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

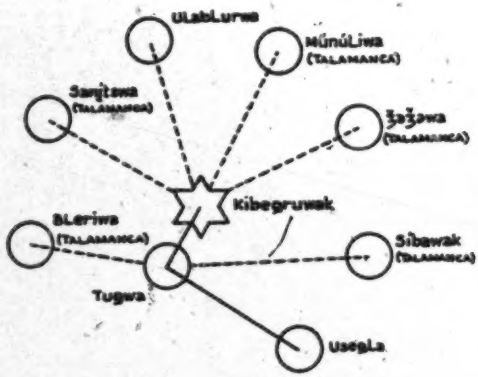
614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[184] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
[423] or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P 36(A)] Bribri Cabecar

614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128] *Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica*

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--(Analysis)]

614 177 manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614 463 [565] Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari 262 614 region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

[643] [117] The *saLwak* and *tsirruriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *bruparwak*.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[Text continues top of P. 41(B)--Analyst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[Text continues bottom of P. 41(B)--Analyst]

[435] [141] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[140] Usually 100 pounds.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
● 177 in Salitre where some make their home. The Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from
484 the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[143] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

*539 614 [824] [825] *gruwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítswa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítswa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 67 (B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

The Spider

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
825
[177]

Most spiders in Talamanca have white eggs. These symbolize the stones which *sibu* left. *sibu* blew and the spider eggs became round and white. The medicine man's best stones are round and white. The Catholic priest also must have stones as *sibu* left them for both the medicine men and the priests. Without these stones there could be no mass. The Indian's stones are more valuable because *sibu* left them first. The stones found in graves are of no use now because the people then had other medicine men.

The Whale

(*Bribri*)

The whale lived in the sky with *sibu* but he liked to go to earth to eat people. *sibu* became worried that he would do away with man so he expelled him from the sky to the sea.

The Congo Monkey and Lightning

(*Bribri*)

Lightning in the form of man went hunting and met the Congo monkey. When he went to shoot, the monkey said, "Wait while I cover myself with my hands."

Then Lightning shot and all of the monkey was blackened by this except where he had his hands which was his lower portion between his legs. This is why the Congo monkey is black all over with the exception of this white part.

Later the Congo met the jaguar. The jaguar said, "Look, you have a loud voice but not so loud."

"Say," answered the Congo monkey, "my voice is louder than yours. I am going to be in the trees and my voice has to be heard from there, so yours can't be more powerful than mine."

The jaguar replied, "No, you're wrong." And he produced a cow's horn to help his voice along.

The monkey grabbed it and carried the horn to the tree top. The jaguar remained sad.

"Now we'll see who has the loudest voice,"

[P. 89]

*539

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

24. Good Child, a Lullaby (*Bribri*)

1. Quietly child, don't cry,
Little ugly child, sleep quietly.
What do you say now little baby?
Baby sleep, sleep quietly.

2. Sleep, you will sleep now.
What do you say oh baby, little ugly baby?
What do you say? What do you say?
Little ugly baby, what do you say today?
Oh little ugly baby, oh little baby.

3. Oh little baby, oh little ugly baby,
Sleep quietly.
Your mother went to bring flowers.
Oh little ugly baby, be quiet.
Sleep.

25. The Bird (*Bribri*)

1. Oh hawk, hawk, you hawk leave.
You go high;
There I go.
You buzzard, you dry the road.
I dry the road of the buzzard.

---

24. áLaLa buą́

1. bęnét áLaLa, ké bé iąk,
aLá səLóLa, bé kəpowó bęnét.
inęLa ichebə bębęLą?[247]
bębę kəpotkewəLə, kəpowó bęnét.

2. bé kəpotkeLə, bé kəpowąidir inęLa.
ichebə abębę, bębę suLóLa?
iLą ichebə? iLą ichebə?
bębę suLóLą, inęLa ichebə?
abębę suLą́, abębęLą.

3. abębęLą, abębę suLóLa,
bé kəpowó.
bé mamaLą[248] miąLa mamawə e-tsúk.
abębę suLą́, bęnétLą́.
kəpotkeLəwawé.

25. dú

1. airəLą, irəLą, bé irəLą je ətę.
bé-mirə kabəta;
ea ßé mirə.
bé oLó, ną́La tsią.
ßé oLó ną́La tsią.

[177]

[247] This is adopted from the Spanish.
[248] This is adopted from Spanish.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. [643] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

[177] It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

721 628 At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

643 There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the 643 648 National Congress passed a law signed by the President of the Republic making the Talamancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148–49.

844 tier,[36] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-krá*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
● [178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuikſ·as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

831 **Puberty.** There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikſ·as* to drink so that they will not grow per long.

[36] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kɥikʃ·as* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

585 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

* Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

[p. 21-B]

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony.. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavagra*, who
[184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
849] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

241 462 [178] Women formerly felled trees and did as much field labor as the men. Today, however, women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 241 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The [137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).

245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 262 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63] [137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 241 This basic diet is supplemented with several varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [177] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[2] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwəkri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names, see Plant List in Appendix.

[2] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).
[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *bugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of
[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of
[824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *bugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubted-
[177] ly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[477] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[231] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however, that certain vestiges of traditional customs
[178] persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.** There is an elaborate group of officials con-
764 nected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jaxá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ǯarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókum* in Bribri and *keri* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[184] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seem around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendiencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[240]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[240] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1
[P. 59(A)] Sa[illegible]nca SA19
[illegible]car

(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 821 823 [825] *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio politico*, and had another son called *cubura*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *hák namá*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[178] [180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sojerso* (people) *juar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skfLi*		5 days after today *skfiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 26(B)-Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then, [583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

583 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple live from eight days to one year in trial mar-
591 riage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives [595] a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against trial marriages is at times evidenced by the [184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their [177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair
591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

●182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase of the life cycle as far as ceremony and
761 prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many
764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

000 614 582 [591] people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənítswa, ʒəʒəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənítswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [121] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogereek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[122] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavagra*, who
● [184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
849] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

[p. 22-A]

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

184 197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which 104 are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mạ iłə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, ị, ǫ, ụ, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically dis- [177] tinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

● 184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. 489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent 491 and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- 177 quest times and little attention was paid to the 648 Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

MANNER OF LIVING

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
● 184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for distinctions in beliefs and living habits between
101 one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[48] Thiel, 1927.
[49] Polakowsky, 1883.

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
[243] shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
●[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16(B)--ANALYST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16(B)--ANALYST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this ● [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [484] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same 342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un- [361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages [192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).
[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *bugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of
[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of
[824] *hira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *bugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate
[177] of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubtedly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.

[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--QUELLOS]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-QUELLOS]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
low stool is always present but a chair and a
[352] table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españolea."

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[Text continues top of P. 20(B)--analyst]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[Text continues bottom of P. 20(B)--analyst]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[477] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

492 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently
184 on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar
[133] territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish
[192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *kono* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers)
is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women
[854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for
[824] cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every
248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being
[796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that
[777] they consider as very essential to prevent bad luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing
[294] clothes, some women also make cotton thread on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skfLi*		5 days after today *skfiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require [756] the aid of the medicine man. Even on the Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although [609] they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okum* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

872 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then, [583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

583 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple live from eight days to one year in trial mar-
591 riage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives [595] a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against trial marriages is at times evidenced by the [184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their [177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair
591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase of the life cycle as far as ceremony and
761 prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many
764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
[614] journey to the other world through song. The Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbawak*, *korrehué*, or *sinąbwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbawak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənitswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéšuwək* in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
●184 man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burío*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the [775] ceremonial one which had the food for the dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the [825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as [775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the [775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[777] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are
[184] the only persons to touch the body, however.
The preparations, including a funeral feast and
the blocking of cross roads on the main trail,
are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar
with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in
Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves
or a cloth were the usual procedures on the
Pacific side before placing the dead in the
grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for
the first time. The school gave the planks and
nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture.
A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick
was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed
mattress, a sack which was over the bed and
upon which she lay, were removed by the
Burier. On this occasion there were three
Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and
mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the
sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the
Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of
the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with
yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped
body and the planks for the cover were nailed
on.

During this whole procedure, the family
disappeared and none of the stand-bys would
look at what was happening. When the coffin
was ready, a girl took branches which had been
cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretch-
ing from both doors of the house to the main
trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a
litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the
girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery,
blocking any opening in the path with branch-
es. When a river had to be crossed, branches
were placed on the rocks and at the shallow
edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house
from the grave. The Buriers followed with the
coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted
wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and
an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[184] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xamboxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[692] usual method is for the family of the culprit
[681] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[184] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[423] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
[565] classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little [888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from 484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, [576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [Text continues top of P.69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsi* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of chiefs. These were played with a bone or a
[184] stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[Text continues middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

[P.69(B)] Bribri Cabecar

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their
labor free until the project is completed. These
affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the
over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep
guarded by his female companions or vice-
versa, and the joint work of the men begins
as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 Dances. There are many different dances,
both in connection with ceremonies and for
sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have
the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas*
usually held to build a house, fell a clearing,
or some such joint labor where friends come
in to help. Many of the songs that accompany
the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There
are two traditional dance methods: in a line
or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[illegible] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

*539 *gruwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítswa*.
614 The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítswa*, where
[824] they lived, one of the first women in the world
[825] belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm
778 at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from
● 186 *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the
535 form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.
[779] [197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an
[177] interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce T [132] [137] a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. T [191] The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. T 609 648 At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

121 THE following paper on the present-day *Boruca* Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not a complete ethnological study. In fact, it might well be termed an "introductory paper" on these people. It is the result of four short visits into Boruca territory. The first trip was made with the idea of becoming acquainted with these people, and the remaining three visits were made to study the conditions under which the greater portion of autochthonous Costa Ricans exist today. The purpose in mind was to understand the new problems created by the first steps in constructing the Pan-American Highway. The 177 line of the proposed highway goes between 648 *Térraba* and *Cabécar* Indian country, and indirectly affects the *Bribri* and the *Boruca*. With its start, came the flood of opportunists to claim lands that are actually occupied by [191] indigenous groups, many of whom do not even speak the national tongue, Spanish.

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra[43] and Salitre (*ʒerí*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers[44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualys]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
• [191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Qualys]

[43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue.
[103] The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Fran-
[797] ciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

1: Gabb SA19 Talamanca SA19

192

[For a vocabulary of the Talamanca language see category 116, pp. 540-602.]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Chapter II.

THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN COSTA RICA.

Section I.—The Bri-bri language.

In the following notes, I have endeavored to embody such ideas and conclusions as I have arrived at while studying the language and compiling the vocabulary. From the difficulty of obtaining information from ignorant people, and from my own, by no means perfect knowledge of the language, possibly errors may have crept in, but while I do not think any important ones will be found, I do not venture to claim infallible accuracy. For a year I labored to find some rule for conjugation, and was obliged, as it were, to educate my informers up to the point of being able to give me information about a subject they had never thought of, and could see no use for. Not content to accept their statements categorically, I watched carefully the use of the verbs in their inflexions, and by dint of cross-questioning a number of people, and rejecting everything that was contradictory, I think the few verbs I have selected are correctly given. I have had the advantage not only of a year and a half in the country, in daily contact with a fellow-countryman who spoke the language fluently, enabling me thereby to learn it; but for two months, in the meantime, while absent, I had several intelligent Indians with me who understood Spanish, and finally, after returning to civilization, I had with me for eight months a native, with whom I talked habitually in his own language, and from whom I obtained many corrections of the errors that a stranger must necessarily make. This boy became an apt teacher and voluntarily set me right whenever he heard me use an incorrect expression. 124

Counting the few abstract words which have doubtless escaped me, and all the specific names of animals and plants, and many of the latter are made up of an adjective, or the name of some plant, combined with *sak* (tribe), I do not think the language can contain two thousand words, and perhaps not fifteen hundred. In preparing the vocabulary I have rejected most of these specific names, because there is no corresponding English word, and a complete natural history collection, carefully studied by competent students, would be required, so as to obtain an equivalent. Even then it would have been useless, because the names vary locally as much as similar words do in English. 192 128

In compound words, I have in most cases pointed out the roots, and separated the component parts by a |- sign. Although so much detail may have been unnecessary, the study was interesting to myself, and some of the curious results may also interest others.

There can be no doubt but that this and its allied dialects, like all unwritten languages, are undergoing great changes. The language spoken in Terraba was formerly, and probably not long ago, the same as that of Tribi. There are marked differences between the Cabecar of Coen and that of the Estrella or North River, and even local differences in the use of *r*, *l*, and *d*, can be observed between the half of the Bri-bri 197

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There are several words which change their form, or which are even substituted by others, according to the sense or connection; thus *u'-te-kin*, sometimes pronounced *hu'-te-kin*, means out or outside of the house or of anything else in all ordinary cases; but for a person to go out of the house is not *mia u'-te-kin* or *mia hu'-te-kin*, but *miâ hu pa'-gl*. This *pa'-gl* is used in no other connection; and the sound occurs nowhere else in the language except as *pagl-chi-ka* (sugar) and *pagl*, the numeral eight, with either of which, it is obviously not related. But the numerals illustrate this most markedly. For instance three is *m-nyat*, and as such it is used in counting all *things*; three houses, *hu m-nyat*; but three men are *pe m-nyal* and three days are *kosh m-nyar*. *Bil*, how many, becomes *bil*, how many persons, &c. Old, fat, to grow, pregnant, &c., change in a similar manner when applied to animate and inanimate, or to human and lower objects. 196 193

It is remarkable that in a language otherwise so poor, at times it should go to the other extreme. In civilized languages, notably in Spanish, there is a great variety of words to express the shades of colors of animals, particularly the horse. These words, originally adjectives, are often used as nouns. But in Bri-bri we have eight nouns to distinguish pigs, six of which are for color; viz.: 192

white,	*mu-lush'*.
black,	*do-losh'*.
gray,	*bish'*.
red,	*mash* (*a* as in far).
half-white, half-black.	*bi-tsus'*.
black, with white face,	*kŭ-jos'*.
with throat appendages,	*bu-lish'*.
short-legged,	*na'-na* (Spanish *enana*, a dwarf).

These words are in every sense nouns only, and are just as correctly the names of the respective animals as the generic term "*coche*." Chickens and dogs have similar distinguishing names, but I have never been able to learn that horned cattle (*saca*, whether bull or cow,) are so honored. Horses are comparatively unknown. The only representative of the race in the country being Mr. Lyon's old yellow mare, there has never arisen the necessity for the additional tax on their inventive powers. Words expressing physical qualities of matter are as abundant as in more civilized languages, and their use is as strictly limited. Hard, strong, or stiff, is *dĕ-re'-re*. Soft, like a cushion or fresh bread, is *b-jo'-b-jo*, while soft like cloth it is *a-ni'-a-ni* or *a-ni'-ni-ĕ*. Weak or fragile, like a string, or a vessel, powerless like a weak person, or tender like meat, are *to'-to* or *to-toi'*. Elastic, like caoutchouc, is *ki-tsung'-ki-tsung*; when like a switch, it is *kras'-kras*. Plastic, like mud or putty, is *i-no'-i-no*. Pasty, like dough, is *i-tu-ro'*. When more fluid, like very wet mud, it is *a-bas'-a-bas*. Viscid, like syrup or honey, is *kŭ-nyo'-kŭ-nyo*; while very fluid, watery, is *di-se-ri-ri*.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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192 Plantains, bananas, maize, and beans must have been in use by the Indians before the arrival of Europeans, since they have specific names for all of them, but all domestic animals have only the names that came with them.

I have found very few words that I can trace clearly to foreign sources. The names of introduced animals, mentioned above, articles of clothing, and foreign utensils make up almost the entire list. We have *ar'-roz*, Spanish arroz'; *sombre'no*, Sp. sombrero; *zapato*, pure Spanish; *pana*, English pan, all hollow vessels of thin metal, of whatever form; *cuchara*, Spanish; *bi-we*, English bead, *we* native word for anything round; *tigera*, Spanish; *pussy*, English; *chi-chi*, Aztec *techichi*, the edible dog of Mexico (*fide* Belt), a word used all over Spanish America, and adopted by the Bri-bri and adjoining tribes in the Spanish form; *cachimba*, vulgar Spanish; *da-wa'*, probably corrupted from tabaco; *ko-no'*, corrupted from canoe; *vaca*, *caballo*, and *coche*, Spanish. *Alma*, a corpse, bears a suspicious resemblance to the Spanish *alma*, the soul. *Do-ko-ro'*, a chicken, seems to be derived from the crow of the cock; *i-s'-na*, is probably not the Spanish *llena*, with which it corresponds in meaning, but is derived from *e'-na*, finished. *Ese*, that, and *es-es* (= Spanish *eso es*) are probably derived from the Spanish.

802 The enumeration is decimal, and is simple in structure. Few pretend to count beyond ten, and in counting loose objects if the number is considerable, they are set apart in groups of ten; thus forty-six would be four tens and six. In speaking of numbers the fingers come into play. It is as common to see three, four, or more fingers held up, with the remark "so many" as to hear the numeral mentioned. Beyond ten, the toes are called into service, and the surplus over the ten toes is counted on the fingers, held downwards in this case. The word for five, *skang*, is clearly (*u-ra*) *ska*, the fingers. Beyond ten we have "ten more one," &c., but from twenty upwards I found so much confusion of ideas and contradiction that I strongly suspected my informers of politely trying to invent compounds to please me. By careful questioning, and still better, by watching conversations, I found that twenty is "ten two times," &c., after which the form of the "teens" is repeated; so that twenty-one is "ten two times more one," *d'bob but juk ki et*. There is no word for one hundred unless we use *d'bob d'bob juk*, which would be legitimate and intelligible, although I confess I never heard it used.

Wa, *ka*, *ke*, and *ta* added as suffixes are equivalent to the English *ed*.
193 Thus *i-da-wo'*, to die; *i-da-wong'-wa*, dead; *lin'-a*, crazy; *ya lin'-a-ka*, he is crazed; *pat'ye*, to paint; *pat-yet'-ke*, painted; *su-tat'*, flat; *sut-tat'-ke*, flattened; *boi*, good; *boir'-ke*, healed; *bö-ta'*, a point; *bö-ta'-ta*, pointed, &c.

Kli used as suffix is equivalent to our *ish*; thus *boi*, good; *boi-kli*, goodish (*i. e.* pretty good or well); *tyng*, large; *tyng'-kli*, largish; *mat'-ke*, red; *mat'-kli*, reddish. *Ung* and *ong*, which in Terraba and Tiribi are almost the universal signs of the active verbs, are represented by the termination

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

127 192 THE following is a comparative vocabulary of the Boruca language of words used in this paper. The earliest vocabulary is that of Valentini, dating from 1862. This has been taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–48. In the chart, it is listed as Valentini, 1920. The next oldest are those of Gabb and Monseñor Thiel, and are placed according to their publication dates, the first being Gabb, 1881, and the second Thiel, 1882. The second Thiel vocabulary is taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–56, and was collected in the year 1892. It is listed as Thiel, 1920, in the chart. The following three lists are from Pittier dating from the years 1891, 1892–96, and published by the National Museum of Costa Rica in 1941. Because of this, it is listed as 1941. The last Pittier vocabulary appeared in 1908. The final column was gathered by
192 the writer in 1945, and contains the Boruca
104 name for the principal items mentioned in this paper. The orthography used in the 1945 column is based on the international phonetic alphabet of G. H. Camerlynck. This alphabet was accepted at the International Congress of Phonetics in 1926. The key to this spelling is given below. (Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining special phonetic characters and setting these in the typeface as used herein, certain substitutes in the phonetic alphabet have been made. It has been necessary to make

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APPENDIX C:
COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

two alterations from the original — the *a*'s are different from those in the Camerlynck alphabet; *ŋ* represents an alternative form of the character used by Camerlynck.) 192 104

It should be noticed that apart from the differences caused by lack of standard phonetic alphabet, the language has been slowly changing during the period of years represented by these lists, and that certain indigenous words are being replaced by hispanic forms.

KEY TO PHONETIC SPELLING

æ: Like *cat*, *hat*
a: *ah*, like *a* in Latin.
e: like *May*
ɛ: like *wet*, but with long vocalic sound
ə: like mute *e* in English
i: like *ee* in English: *sleep*
o: like *ob* in English
ɔ, *œ*: like *cut* in English
ø: like *custom*, or better, like *eu* in French, or *ö*(*oe*) in German: *Goethe*
b, *d*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, *z*, like in English
ŋ: almost like *ng* in English, or like *gn* in French
ʃ: like *sh* in English
ǯ: like *Genevieve*
ʍ: like *what*, but without expiration
j: like *yet*
y: like *ü* in German: *Glück*
ɥ: like *ü* in German: *Glück*

[p. 42-B]

APPENDIX C. COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1862) 1920	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1941
				A				
alligator pear				*bu-cra*		*bub'-kra*		*ba'kra*
anda-riel (rail vine) or *bejuco de hombre* (man vine)								*dra'*
armadillo				*tsóna*		*tsón, tzu*		*tsun*
Arundinella (see savannah grass —for rattles)								
				B				
bags (string)								*bro-ji*
banana		*bridwa*		*bri-duib*		*brid-ui*		*brid'wa*
banana (guineo)					[1]	[2]		*bu-dua'*
bark cloth				*cawac*	*cawác*			*kawak'*
basket				*coob-cráng*	*ko-kra*	*kokrán*		*ko*
basket (large)								*ka'wa*
bean				*suíp, sierbp*		*soeip, suoip*		*swep*
bee				*bus*				*bus-wawa*
bejuco de fierro (iron vine) or *bejuco negro* (black vine)								*krit*
bejuco de fuego (fire vine)								*brusj-a'*
bejuco de hombre (see *anda-riel*								
belt, woven (for men)		*suampka*	*sovénuca*	[3]		*suam-ki*		*suam-k-a'*
				cacnub-tsit				
				[4]		*krán-kub'*		*suo-kra*
bijagua								*buo-k-a'*
bijagua (black)								*dq*
birds	*du-tsit*	*du-tsit*		*du*		*du, du tsit, pui*		*sug'-dekan*
bushmaster						*sig-dikan*		
				C				
cabuya				*chijs-ca*				*jjs-ka*
cane (wild)		[5]		*bajira*		*baq-kri*		*bak-kra'*
		ba[illegible]		*swoit*				

[1] Pittier, 1891, p. 103, uses *bri duib* fo[illegible] *guineo* and not for "banana."

[2] Pittier, 1941, p. 16, uses *bu-dua* for *plátano guineo*, and not for "banana."

[3] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 332, does not give the Spanish word *faja* but gives *chinurda* for the Boruca word cited above.

[4] Gabb, 1881, p. 465, does not list *caña blanca*, or "white cane." He lists *caña silvestre*, or "wild cane."

[P. 43]

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[p. 44]

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1862) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
capulin (white)						*sïbé-kra*		*sebe'kra*; *sï'kwa*; *kro'kr-a*
caraña							*dibis-kré*	*dibis-kr-a'*; *rejve'*
carbonero								*grijin-kra'*
cassava (see yuca)								
cat						*bis*		*bis*
chicha (from corn alone)		*yi-wé*; *djiwó* (in Pittier, 1941, p. 55)		*cuc-cha*		*djï-bul*; *kup-tsa-bul*		*dji-bul'*
chicha (mixed with flampl)								*duqkatja'*
chicha (mixed with pejibaye)				*suba-ché*				*suba-tja'*
chicha (mixed with ripe or green plantain)						*mua djï-bul*		*mwadgibul'*
chicha (mixed with yuca)				*ung-ca-ché*				*ung-ka-tja'*
chicha *punsetti*								*tuistja'*
chicken				*coró*		*krob'*		*kro*
chocolate		*kaó*		*cáu-cá*		*kaó*; *kaú*		*kao*
chonta (large roots)								*kanagira*
chonta (small roots)								*mana-kra'*
clam								*krä*
clam (large)								*suru'*
clay vessel (large)				*cuureh*				*kuure'*
clay vessel (*comal*)								*guam*
cocoa-butter						*sik*		*jik*
coffee								*krangua*
Conostegia						*		*kana kra'*
copal								*qis-kra*
cordoncillo							*kul-kré*	*kqikl-as*
corn	*ko-op*	*kup*		*cup*	*cuúp*	*kup*	*ru-kré*	*kup*
corn (black)					*cuúp turinat*	*kup-turinat*		*kup-turjnat*; *kup-brjnat*
corn-patch			*crib*	*cri*; *cup-cac*		*ri*		*gri*

* *kré*, of course, means "plant" or "tree."

APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
corn (sprouted)								*kus-po*
corozo palm				*tso-agui*		*tso-kro*		*tso-kro'*
cotton				*cbebó*	*tsbebó*	*tsëbu-kró*		*tsjebs'*
cotton, colored					*tori tsbebó*	*terik tsëbó*		*trikju*; *trikjubuk*
coyol palm						*guo-kró*; *uo-kró*; *u-kró*		*kuuo-kro*
crab (river)				*croc*		*korák*; *gusi*		*k:rok'*
crayfish				*suób*		*sirud*; *seua*		*su-o'*
crayfish (small)								*ju*
croaker	Apparently, only the Spanish name "roncador" is in use						*tsö-kró*	*tsju-kro'*
Cupbea				*dibi-ruu-at*		*kuúng*; *kug*		*kung'*
curassow				D				
deer	*suturik*			*suturic*		*su-turik*		*suturik*
disciplinus palm								*jju*
dog	*kuj*	*auib*		*aiif*		*aúq*, *aúx*[a]		*arf*
drum				*quebó*		*kibó*		*kebe'*
dug-out canoe for river						*ru-tsit*		*rü*
dug-out canoe for sea (*bongo*)								*rü*
				E				
egg (crocodile)						[b]		*kukup*
egg (hen)		[c]		[c]		*krob'-kup*		*krokup*
Elaeis								*tsukro'*
espeset								*jcukro'*
				F				
fire stones						*dji-bro-kung-i*		*djibrokung-i*
fire vine (see *bejuco de fuego*)								
fish	*un*	*ung*		*ung*		*ung*		*ug*

[a] Pittier, 1941, p. 67, calls attention that the word for "dog" is *onomatopoeic*.

[b] Although "crocodile egg" is not given in any vocabulary except that of the writer, Pittier, 1941, p. 61, lists *kub* as a crocodile; while Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 353, gives *cub*; *or cu*.

[c] Gabb, 1881, p. 472, gives *kup* for "egg." Neither Gabb nor Thiel make a distinction between the "egg" and a "hen's egg," as does Pittier and the writer.

[d] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 353, gives *i-cdp* for "egg."

[p. 45]

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THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
				G				
gourd (oblong)								*sam*
gourd tree (oblong)						*sam-krá*		*sam-kra*
gourd (round)								*kruə'*
gourd tree (round)		*yém-kra*		*téng-crab*		*kuá-krá*		*kruə-kra*
grinding stone (for grain)		"		*cang*		*dji-ab-rá*		*kaŋ-kra'*
grinding stone (from graves)								*kaŋ; kruə*
gruel								*ok-ʃja*
guácimo				*diém-crób*		*diam-krá*		*diam-kra*
guan, crested				*diblb*		*dibi*		*dibj*
guanacaste						*kruá-krá*		*kru'-kra*
guatuza		*cherbt; tzezt* (in Pittier, 1941, p. 59)		*chéb*		*tzeb'*		*tsɛʃɛ'*
guava			*shuib-uib* [11]	"		*suib-krá*		*zuj-kra*
				H				
hammock		*kung*		*cung*		*kun*		*kuŋ*
hearth stone (see stone)								
huiscoyol palm						*tzu-krá*		*tzu-kra*
				I				
indigo							*sibi-bib*	*sibi-kra*
Inga				*gurócha*		*guarok-krá*		*guarɔk-kra*
				J				
jaboncillo								*ʃjiz*
jar (for chicha)								*dʒə-bua'-grij'*
				L				
little stick grass								*su*
loom					*cuib ibing*			*tramobo* (hispanic root?)

[p. 46]

[11] Gabb, 1881, p. 479, does not list "grinding stone," but lists the word for "stone" as *kang*.

[11] Thiel, 1881, p. 93, gives the tree as *shuib-uib*, and the fruit as *uib*.

[11] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 353, lists the fruit as *shuib-uib*, but does not list the plant.

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APPENDIX C. COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1882) 1920	GABB 1882	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1892	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
				M				
macaw			*shdeb*			*mb'*		*fo*
mejagua				*seng-cre*		*kro-bud*	*krdh-ua*	*kro-bud'*
mango	There appears to be no indigenous name							
maraca								*ts hup*
Maria tree						*ddd-krd*	*dds-kri-kra*	*du'ti-kra'*
marute (red)								*drok-hauah-kra'*
marute (white)							*hauih-kra*	*hauah-'kra'*
May tree (pink)						*ke-kra; hi-kra*	*ke-kra, hi-kra*	*ke-kra*
May tree (white)								*fuhekra'*
mellank (small)						*surdm-ts*		*surumk'*
monkey (red)		*uing*		*nong*		*nde*		*nzg*
monkey (white-faced)		*ok*		*oc*		*ok*		*ok*
mullet (fresh water)	Apparently there is no name in the Boruca tongue							
mushroom								*sabua*
				N				
nance				*shigu-cre*		*si-kra*		*jl-kra*
nene (male) *nenz* (female)								*nahak; kru-r-o-mua*
				R				
ñampi						*		*dq*
				O				
ojoche (fruit)								*kabo-ua*
ojoche (tree)						*kabo-krd*		*kabo-krd*
ojo de buey							*hodh-ua-hip*	*jlt-hup*
orange			*drej* *shlua*			*drab'-zat-ua*		*drd'-cfin*
				P				
pacaya palm				*oab*		*ku-krd*		*kq-krd'*
palmiera						*gzu-krd*		*gnf-kra*
papaya				*oab*		*hab'; u-krd*		*kq*

* Pittier, 1941, p. 65, into this as dawa.

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THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
parrot			*curij*			*kurij*		*jrig*
pejibaye			*rubi-ere*	*rubio-ere*		*rubo-brd*		*rubo-brd'*
pejibaye (without thorns)								*q-brd*
pejibaye (without seeds)								*ubp*
pejibaye (with seeds)								*qk*
perch						*sodi*		*sorr*
pestle or *mano*		*yu-ri*		*cang-e-qui-thurib*		*kang-i-sub'*		*kag-i-su'*
Philodendron								*su-brd'*
pig						*euchi*		*kuji*
pig (peccary)		*sini*		"				*sini'*
pig (wild boar?)		*bra-ani-zhuk*				*brano-suk; brano-i-suk*		*brano-juk*
pigeon (large)	*oog*			*doc*		*dok; dhok*		*wk*
pigeon (white-wing)						*kibi-ne*		*kibi-ne*
pineapple		*bonet*		*bont*		*bonit*		*bonet*
pita				*ba*				*ba*
plantain		*meme*	*ma (?)*"			*mai*		*mame*
poró				"			*bru-brd*	*bru-brd'*
poro-poro						*min-bro*		*min-brd'*
pouite (pemican?)								*kubr?*
				R				
rattle (*maraca*)								*ra*
rice						*ru-rrui*		*mrrii*
royal palm							*o-brd*	*o-brd'*
rubber (wild)							*gli-brd*	*gri-brd'*
				S				
salt				*quib*		*ki*		*kj*
salt (rock)								*kj'-oj-ku*
salt (soft)								*kj'-kog*
sandbox tree						*tru-brd*		*tru-brd'*

" Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 351, gives *sini* for *cerdamco*, which is a species of wild pig.

" It appears from the Bishop's vocabulary that *ma* may be considered as the word he uses for plantain; see Thiel, 1882, p. 103.

" Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 355, gives *ming-crab*. This is, however, the *poro-poro*, and not the *poró*. See p. 6.

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APPENDIX C. COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
sangrilla tree								*rus brd'*
savanna grass								*bjak*
savanna grass (for new-born child)								*trik-brd'*
								suge-r-a'
savanna grass (for rattles)								*i-abru'*
seeds (black used in rattles)							*sem*	*sem-brd'*
sese palm								*abiu*
Serjania								*bruk-bri*
shaman								*ji-bro-ua*
sieve								*kaj*
skirt (*numa*)		*cuuab-á*		*cduabi*	*cuuibi*	*kuuz-á*		*siok*
smoek						*siógk*		
sonsesbalto							*kuéb-brd*	*kucs-brd'*
							cuch-crd' (in Pittier, 1888, p. 93 see References)	
Spanish plum	There appears to be no name in Boruca							*sun*
spindle								*sun-kup*
spindle whorl								*jdq*
squash								*numa-brd'*
stilt palm (black, small roots)								*kunajiva*
stilt palm (black, large roots)				*chi-crdb*		*djii-sun*		*dji-sun*
stone; hearth stone								*tobesengwa'*
Strychnos				*budi*		*baq-djii-ra*	*bas dibrdb*	*bak-dji'-ra*
sugar cane		*bab-ya-rá*						
				T				*sfari-ka*
tamale of dried green plantains					*pabá-dji*			*pfu-dji*
temple				*diji*		*bigt*		*bikt*
tepezuinale								*jupjur*
termite grass				*ong-cará*		*ond-krob;*		
tinamou (chestnut-headed)						*ung-kuk*		*ond-kro*
				sun		*sin*	*sun*	*sun*
tiquisque		*dous*	*du-á*	*duab*		*dóuab'; duab'*	*dí-uá*	*dwa*
tobacco								

[p.49]

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1920	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1920	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	1945
tortilla (of sprouted corn)								*s-ʃi'*
tortilla (of old corn)						*o-bó-ri; ó-zso-ri*		*obʒ -ri*
toucan				*sorit*		*srit; szi-rit-srit*		*sirjt*
traps for birds								*surzka*
				V				
vessel (earthen)		*kuu-li*		*furi*		*surab' kruslb'*		*sid'grib*
vessel (iron)						*drib kruslib'*		*drib-tsin*
				W				
wasp (wild)		*srung-ud*		*surung-os*		*srun-ud*		*srun-uu*
water left from cocoa-butter								*kso*
wax		*but*		*but*		*but*		*bur*
weave used in straw *muraca*								*ra-t-a'*
weaving instruments								*ra-kra*
witchery								*mamram*
				Y				
yeast; also chicha with yeast								*monsera; moboso* (hispanic roots?)
yuca				*ting-cab*		*		*uŋ'-ka*
yucca	*Itavo* is the only name used. It is probably not Boruca							
yuquilla								*sʃama* (probably Spanish)

* Pittier, 1941, p. 45, lists the sweet variety (*Esculenta* Crantz) as *ukab'*. The writer could not find this variety amongst the *Borucas*. Pittier does not list the non-sweet type.

[p. 50]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.5(A)]

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614] [114]

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

[192]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[p. 9(B)]

194 ǯ, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*. It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of ǯ, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

L is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico [197] have a like consonant.

j is palatal and fricative.

r, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta*.

ts is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch*.

ʃ is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh*.

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch [192] produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example:

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dɔwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jɔwú* (medicine man)
low pitch: *du* (bird); *dɔwe* (sickness); *jɔwa* (otter)

(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 187 indicates), 1896.

[22] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.

[23] Pozas, N.D.

[P. 11(A)] Bribri Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ką́* (*ką́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *buǯiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *ǯiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[2] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[2] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morki*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakómogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).* The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *shamokoL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

* [See category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.16(B)]
Bribri
Cabecar

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [484] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same 342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un- [361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages [192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1], made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [is a carrying baskets– ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fish-
ing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[29] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves;
bright feathers from birds, in particular the
oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers;
[237] sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal
skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers
for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers
for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the
Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs
of all houses and are for sleeping as well as
resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves
are placed on the ground by the fire and are
used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs
and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on
the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are
common. These may be long, rectangular, or
circular and are often decorated with a pro-
[531] truding head and tail. The women sit on them
while cooking, or people while talking, in
order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the
men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in
Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden
mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas*, and
basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold
chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to
protect them from animals. Large earthen
chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all
the big circular houses of the Bribri and in
some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a
Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true
even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils
are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of
their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
[192] for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.

[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konp* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

283 [824] **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every 248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [790] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Havas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is
[137] among the densest in the world. Trails, however, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
[438] times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into
[462] thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[90] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

NUMBERS AND MEASURES

805 192

New moon	*si* (moon)	*pęLɨ* (new)
Growing moon	*si* (moon)	*tso* (half) *kɨ́k* (sky)
Full moon	*si* (moon)	*tuLá* (full)
Waning moon	*si* (moon)	*tuɨ́* (less)

The day is designated by the movement of the sun in the following fashion among the Bribri:

dawn	*buLám* [95]	
early morning	*diwɔ* [96] (sun)	*kina* (came out)
from about 8 A.M. to midday	*diwɔ* (sun)	*camba* (half)
midday	*diwɔ* (sun)	*okaę* (up)
afternoon	*diwɔ* (sun)	*butána* (lowers) or
	diwɔ (sun)	*askewian* (spends itself or lowers)
evening	*diwɔt* (sun)	*kam* (gone) or
	diwɔt (sun)	*mlam* (goes in)

A slightly simpler division is used by the Cabécar:

dawn	*kągir* (place)	*Kánirrawɨ́* (dawning)
early morning	*sǫira* (early)	
midday	*kęwó* (sun)	*mogi* (half)
afternoon	*komiskLá* (late)	

There are only two expressions for night:

Bribri:		
night	*kę* (place or time)	*tuina* (dark) *or*
midnight	*kę* (place or time)	*cambus* (half)
Cabécar:		
night	*tawina* (dark) [97]	
midnight	*ká* (place)	*łaką́* (half)

The counting of past and future time is also of interest. Both tribes have the same system. The list given here is in Bribri and is used up to 6.

Past	*Present*	*Future*
yesterday *chiki*	today *łɨ́*	tomorrow *buLé*
2 days past *báKLi*		2 days after today *baiki*
3 days past *mapaLi*		3 days after today *mepek*
4 days past *tkáLi*		4 days after today *tkík*

are different.

[96] Sun can be called *diwɔ* or *diwɔts*.

[97] Note that this is the same word used by the Bribri.

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 ●192 5 days past *skíLi*		5 days after today *skíiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okụm* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [761] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P 26(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 **Birth.** Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For *the first four days, an old woman brings the* mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pinier, 1938, p. 23.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid.
756 The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aik*
846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe
[824] who is also washed with leaves which sup-
[751] posedly have protective powers. These leaves include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D:Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day,
[783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé-
756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the
[783] purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 *Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a* secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps
[756] the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[101] This is called the *papakuak* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "taba" or "thing that is not touched." It

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[924] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is common and they are weaned anywhere from
[862] one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
● 192 [188] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[189] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar
[P.36(B)]
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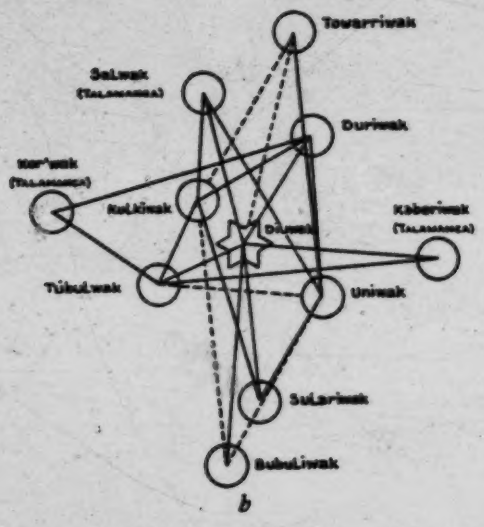

b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séką́* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ką́* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *ditsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *suwaet* meaning "other group." [118]

[582]
[614]
101

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

[118] In the Cabécar, *dəsuwak* means "same group." *sébewetər* is "other group."

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diurwak (sun people)
kuLkiwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak	mediwak
mogriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest
611 in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves members of their *father's* clan in spite of the
[851] fact that the father has married outside of his people

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *nibor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

Both Lines

601 *Reference Terms*

aLabusi[183]	Da or girl
nauʒum	Si So Si Da Br So Br Da
kabo	Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate.
●[192] akeʒeke	The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things.
aLa[185]	sibling (child) So
[582] sʒámi	Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. *sʒ* (our).
ʒeaké	Si referring to Br (female ego).
ʒeeL	Reciprocal between sisters. Reciprocal between brothers. Reciprocal between brothers and sisters.
ʒekuti	Br referring to Si (male ego).
tuʒe	Br referring to Si (very affectionate term).
	Cousins
kutuʒeke	Male referring to distant female cousins.
kutaie	Male referring to distant female cousins.

Direct Address

eL[184]	Br Si Mo Si So Mo Br So

Terms Denoting Sex

192

aLakerpa	woman (any age)
aLawebLa	man
aLaduLakan	boy
duLaduLa	youth; young (only applicable to males)

Non-Blood Relatives

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

nofki	Da Hu	Wi Fa
ʒfk	So Wi	Wi Mo

[183] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.

[185] My child is *ʒeLa*.

[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is

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Cabecar

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ʒís kibí	Elder Br
ʒís bacha	Youngest Br
ʒís kuta nuLɛj	Eldest Si
ʒís kuta tsisekek	Youngest Si
ʒís kuta bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Si youngest Da
ʒís eL bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Br youngest Da
sibaiba	Mo Mo So Mo Mo Da
ʒiba	Da So child
ʒibabusí[189]	Da young girl

Reference Terms

ʒiba jiʒiʒi	So Hu of Da
dabai	Stepson; Br of the uncle Stepdaughter; Si of the aunt
dəbɔ	Si Da Hu Br Da Hu
dəboguɔt	Br Wi, Hu Si } Reference and direct
dwa	Si Hu, Hu Br } Direct. Reciprocal between men.
mą	Br Wi, Hu Si } Direct. Reciprocal between women.
nuąki	Hu Fa Wi Fa
ʒak	Hu Mo Wi Mo
klawa	Cousins (female)

Direct Terms

ʒís kaga	Fa
ʒís kaga eL	Fa Br
ʒís kaga tsisekek	Fa youngest Br
nuí	Mo Br Fa Br
kaʒigue	Fa Si (also reference) Mo Si
ʒís tsisekek	Youngest Br

Both Lines

Direct and Reference Terms

eLwa	Fa Br sibling Mo Br sibling Fa Si sibling Mo Si sibling
tschi	Mo Fa (reciprcoal) Fa Fa

[192] [189] *busi* means "young" and is used only for the feminine sex.

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wimbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wimbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

There are also spirit lords of places and fish. 776 None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLáǯibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLáǯibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [1] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ki* in Bribri and *namá* in Cabécar.
[2] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

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Bribri

*539 trees and invited him to drink cacao out of new gourds. The chief replied that he would like to very much, but these little trees never produced. *sibu* answered, "Look! They do have fruit."

The other turned and seeing that the little trees had borne fruit said, "Good. Let's prepare the drink."

sibu made a mixture and together they started to drink but he only pretended. The worm chief set to and when he was full, vomited the *jabu* he had previously swallowed with everything in it.

Then *sibu* collected his seeds, saying that they were his. He dried them in the sun and from these we came.

The Populating of the Pacific Side of the Cordillera of Talamanca

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

At the beginning when *sibu* made the world, it was dark. Three men left Cabécar, in Talamanca, and cut a trail across the range. They were, *səLəǯəbí*, who led the group, *kuasran*,[176] who became the first member of the Borucas, and his brother-in-law, *ləwik*.

In those days, the savannas on the other side (Pacific) were inhabited by the *sórbru*, the owners of the *wakas*.[177] These were bad people who lived by killing others and did not want the people of Talamanca to dwell amongst them. When the three men reached Ujarrás, there was still no sun, but on arriving at Térraba, day began to break. It was then that a jaguar upon which one of the men was riding, [778] put his paw on a soft rock and the print stayed there.[178]

The owners of the *wakas* disturbed the men so that they sent for an *usegLa*. He came from Talamanca in the form of a jaguar and killed all the *sórbru*. Then other people began to come from Talamanca to populate this side of the range.

[103] [176] Today this name is applied to the ridge that runs from China Kichá, in General Valley, to Boruca. According to the Borucas, *kuasran* fled there during the Spanish conquest and lives in a cave. He is the oldest of the Borucas and knows all about their beginnings, but no one has seen him. They do not say that he came from Talamanca.

[192] [177] This is a phonetic (Cabécar) interpretation of

(6) The Myth of the Eagle [179]

(*Cabécar, but taken over by the Bribri*)

* 539 The *túgwa* say that in the beginning of the world there was a large eagle who carried off all men and animals to his nest for food for his young ones. This eagle lived on a high peak in a place known as *suLáʒibí* which lies at the headwaters of the Tiliri River in Talamanca.

People did not know what to do because everyone was carried off. Finally, one man offered to kill the eagle. He made a cage of black palm (*Iriartea* sp.) and a knife of the same material. Then the man entered the cage.

The eagle carried him in this to the peak thinking he would have good food for his young ones and left him there believing his prey was safe. Returning to earth, he seized another man and fed him to his offspring.

When the eagle and his companion were asleep, the man in the cage crept out with his knife to kill the eagle. The eagle's companion turned to stone and the eagle himself fell head-first into a lagoon which lay below his nest. When he touched the water, flames came forth; he was furious because he was the owner of the lagoon. The man became frightened at this and re-entered the cage. Then he threw a rope over the cliff and lowered himself to the ground.

He told what happened to another person and because he did so, he disappeared.

The Stone in the Talire River

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[778] In the upper Talire, there is a large boulder. This was the big eagle *p'u*. There were originally four: the mother, the father, and two children. They fell in flames into the lagoon and are now the boulder in the river. (*See p'u* in Linguistic Texts.)

[192] the Spanish word, *buaca*, which literally means "a buried treasure." It is the term used in Costa Rica to signify Indian burials and the objects obtained from the graves.

[778] [178] This rock is situated in the savanna known as Mano del Tigre on the trail leading from Buenos Aires to Boruca.

[179] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ʒis, mę iiu Lɔgɔ p'u.*

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analysis]

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

[p. 99(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated foods and Domesticated ANIMALS

BRIBRI

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rice	*arros* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*)
beans	*ituwo* or *itu* (this covers all varieties)
Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.)	*ikí itu*
black beans	*itu doLoLó*
red bean	*itu mátkLe*
butter bean	*wówo*
pole bean	*itu kLíie*
yuca	*aLí*
black maize	*ikuú doLoLó*
yellow maize	*ikuú tsikríri*
white maize	*ikuú suruú*
bananas	*kLóm*
red banana	*kLóm mat*

[Text continues TOP of P. 99(C)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

yuca	*ikɔ*
pole bean	*kɔni kaLiá*
black bean	*kɔni doLoná*
red bean	*kɔni matká*
vegetable pear	*jarwɔ*
tiquínque	*buɔ*
pejibaye	*diká*
seedless pejibaye	*diká jɔʒerrirbɔ*
rice	*arroz* (Spanish)
banana	*chomp*
plantain	*kalbí*
pig banana	*kɔchi chomp*
maize	*kuá*
black maize	*kuá doLana*
Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob)	*sejé kaikuá*
pumpkin	*pis*
coffee[1]	*café* (corruption of the Spanish *café*)

[Text continues bottom of P. 99(C)--analyst]

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

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[P. 99 (C)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I : Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

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BRIBRI

guineos	*chimú*
plantains	*tsaLá; mué*
sugar cane	*pákəL*
United Fruit Company bananas	*siwəwə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
pumpkin	*apí*
swine	*kíchi*
chicken	*tkró*
cow	*baca*
horse	*no word*
duck	*no word*
cat	*michi*
dog	*chíchi*
pejibaye	*dikó*
alligator pear	*ámók*

CABÉCAR

mango	*mango* (Spanish)
orange	*china*
chile	*lá*
Inga	*waLoa*
chocolate	*tsirú*
alligator pear	*jomó*
yam	*tsəLirba*
sour sap	*tsá*
papaya	*kichə*
sugar cane	*paltə*
cow	*vaca* (Spanish)
pig	*kəchi*
chicken	*jóskivo*
dog	*chíchi*
cat	*michi*
turkey	*chó*
duck	*pato* (Spanish)
horse	*caballo* (Spanish)

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There are several words which change their form, or which are even substituted by others, according to the sense or connection; thus *u'-te-kin*, sometimes pronounced *hu'-te-kin*, means out or outside of the house or of anything else in all ordinary cases; but for a person to go out of the house is not *mia u'-te-kin* or *mia hu'-te-kin*, but *miâ hu pa'-gi*. This *pa'-gi* is used in no other connection; and the sound occurs nowhere else in the language except as *pagi-chi-ka* (sugar) and *pagi*, the numeral eight, with either of which, it is obviously not related. But the numerals illustrate this most markedly. For instance three is *m-nyat*, and as such it is used in counting all *things*; three houses, *hu m-nyat*; but three men are *pe m-nyai* and three days are *kosg m-nyar*. *Bit*, how many, becomes *bil*, how many persons, &c. Old, fat, to grow, pregnant, &c., change in a similar manner when applied to animate and inanimate, or to human and lower objects. 196 193

It is remarkable that in a language otherwise so poor, at times it should go to the other extreme. In civilized languages, notably in Spanish, there is a great variety of words to express the shades of colors of animals, particularly the horse. These words, originally adjectives, are often used as nouns. But in Bri-bri we have eight nouns to distinguish pigs, six of which are for color; viz.: 192

white,	*mu-lush'*.
black,	*do-losh'*.
gray,	*bish'*.
red,	*mash* (*a* as in far).
half-white, half-black.	*bi-tsus'*.
black, with white face,	*kŭ-jos'*.
with throat appendages,	*bu-lish'*.
short-legged,	*na'-na* (Spanish *enana*, a dwarf).

These words are in every sense nouns only, and are just as correctly the names of the respective animals as the generic term "*coche*." Chickens and dogs have similar distinguishing names, but I have never been able to learn that horned cattle (*waca*, whether bull or cow,) are so honored. Horses are comparatively unknown. The only representative of the race in the country being Mr. Lyon's old yellow mare, there has never arisen the necessity for the additional tax on their inventive powers. Words expressing physical qualities of matter are as abundant as in more civilized languages, and their use is as strictly limited. Hard, strong, or stiff, is *dŏ-re'-re*. Soft, like a cushion or fresh bread, is *b-jo'-b-jo*, while soft like cloth it is *a-ni'-a-ni* or *a-ni'-ni-ĕ*. Weak or fragile, like a string, or a vessel, powerless like a weak person, or tender like meat, are *to'-to* or *to-toi'*. Elastic, like caoutchouc, is *ki-tsung'-ki-tsung*; when like a switch, it is *kras'-kras*. Plastic, like mud or putty, is *i-no'-i-no*. Pasty, like dough, is *i-tu-wo'*. When more fluid, like very wet mud, it is *a-bas'-a-bas*. Viscid, like syrup or honey, is *kŭ-nyo'-kŭ-nyo*; while very fluid, watery, is *di-se-ri-ri*.

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192 Plantains, bananas, maize, and beans must have been in use by the Indians before the arrival of Europeans, since they have specific names for all of them, but all domestic animals have only the names that came with them.

I have found very few words that I can trace clearly to foreign sources. The names of introduced animals, mentioned above, articles of clothing, and foreign utensils make up almost the entire list. We have *ar'-ros*, Spanish arros'; *sombre'ne*, Sp. sombrero; *zapato*, pure Spanish; *pana*, English pan, all hollow vessels of thin metal, of whatever form; *cuchara*, Spanish; *bi-wo*, English bead, *wo* native word for anything round; *tigera*, Spanish; *pussy*, English; *chi-chi*, Aztec *tochichi*, the edible dog of Mexico (*fide* Belt), a word used all over Spanish America, and adopted by the Bri-bri and adjoining tribes in the Spanish form; *cachimba*, vulgar Spanish; *da-wa'*, probably corrupted from tabaco; *ko-no'*, corrupted from canoe; *vaca*, *caballo*, and *coche*, Spanish. *Alma*, a corpse, bears a suspicious resemblance to the Spanish *alma*, the soul. *Do-ko-ro'*, a chicken, seems to be derived from the crow of the cock; *i-e'-na*, is probably not the Spanish *llena*, with which it corresponds in meaning, but is derived from *e'-na*, finished. *Ese*, that, and *es-es* (= Spanish *eso es*) are probably derived from the Spanish.

802 The enumeration is decimal, and is simple in structure. Few pretend to count beyond ten, and in counting loose objects if the number is considerable, they are set apart in groups of ten; thus forty-six would be four tens and six. In speaking of numbers the fingers come into play. It is as common to see three, four, or more fingers held up, with the remark "so many" as to hear the numeral mentioned. Beyond ten, the toes are called into service, and the surplus over the ten toes is counted on the fingers, held downwards in this case. The word for five, *skang*, is clearly (*u-ra*) *ska*, the fingers. Beyond ten we have "ten more one," &c., but from twenty upwards I found so much confusion of ideas and contradiction that I strongly suspected my informers of politely trying to invent compounds to please me. By careful questioning, and still better, by watching conversations, I found that twenty is "ten two times," &c., after which the form of the "teens" is repeated; so that twenty-one is "ten two times more one," *d'bob but juk ki et*. There is no word for one hundred unless we use *d'bob d'bob juk*, which would be legitimate and intelligible, although I confess I never heard it used.

193 *Wa*, *ka*, *ke*, and *ta* added as suffixes are equivalent to the English *ed*. Thus *i-du-wo'*, to die; *i-du-wo'ñ'-wa*, dead; *lin'-a*, crazy; *yu lin'-a-ka*, he is crazed; *pat'ye*, to paint; *pat-yet'-ke*, painted; *su-tat'*, flat; *sut-tat'-ke*, flattened; *boi*, good; *boir'-ka*, healed; *bŏ-ta'*, a point; *bŏ-ta'-ta*, pointed, &c.

Kli used as suffix is equivalent to our *ish*; thus *boi*, good; *boi-kli*, goodish (*i. e.* pretty good or well); *tyng*, large; *tyng'-kli*, largish; *mat'-ka*, red; *mat'-kli*, reddish. *Ung* and *ong*, which in Terraba and Tiribi are almost the universal signs of the active verbs, are represented by the termination

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wag in nearly a dozen Bri-bri verbs, where it has about the same value as English affix *ate*.

Articles and conjunctions do not exist in the language, the other parts of speech being however present.

Nouns have no inflections for gender, number, person, or case. If it is desired to express sex, the word male or female is used; thus my daughter is called *je la e-ra'-kur*, my woman child; a bull is *waca we'-nyi* or male cow. The only exceptions to this rule are the few words referring to the human race, like man, woman, and some of the family relationships. Beyond this no distinctions of gender occur.

Number is always indicated by a numeral or by such words as much, many, &c. Two or three words occur that may be considered as apparent exceptions. *Di-cha'* means a bone; *di-cha'* is bones. *Di-ka'* is thorn and *di-ka'* is thorns, not two or three, but all the thorns on a tree, in a collective sense. *U-ra'-ska* (*u-ra* arm) is a finger, while *u-ra-ishkwa'* (? fingers) is the hand. The coincidence in the termination of these isolated plurals, if they can be so called, is worthy of note.

Person is only indicated by the addition of a personal pronoun. The only semblance of inflection for case, is the addition of *cha*, the sign of possession, alike to nouns and pronouns; or of the prepositions, *wa*, *ta* (with), &c., as suffixes, making an ablative.

The personal pronouns are all monosyllables except *ye-pa* (they), a compound of *ye* (third per., sing.) and *pa* people. Although normally of one syllable, they are often used with the termination *re* (except *ye-pa*) for either emphasis or euphony; thus it is equally correct to say *je* or *je'-re*. *Me* (yourself) is used only in connection with a verb, like *me-sku*, move yourself; *me ta ia*, lie (yourself) down. The sign of possession, as stated above, is added alike to the pronoun, or to the name or title of a person; *je-cha*, mine. *Ese* (that) is probably derived from the Spanish, and with *i* (literally *what*) does duty for the neuter. Where the nouns in a language are so simple, it is hardly to be expected that the adjectives and adverbs should suffer many changes. *Boi*, good or well, used either as an adjective or adverb, becomes *boi-na*, better, and a sort of superlative is formed by adding very; *boi chukli*. *Tyng*, large, is in an increased degree either *tyng chukli*, very large, or *tyng bru*; *bru* meaning also large but adding emphasis when the two words are combined. To *boi* and *tyng*, *kli* is added as a suffix to qualify the sense, like *ish* in English; *boi-kli*, goodish, pretty good, and *tyng-kli*, larglish, or somewhat large.

The short *i* which begins most of the Bri-bri verbs, is not specially the sign of the infinitive, but is almost universally used where the verb is not preceded by another word, and is sometimes used even then for euphony.

There are four well-defined moods: the infinitive, the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. The subjunctive is as simple as in English, being formed from the indicative by *mi-ka-re'* (if) placed at the beginning of the sentence.

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193 Humboldt,* in speaking of the language of Venezuela, says: "The Chayma and Tamanoc verbs have an enormous complication of tenses," and adds that "this multiplicity characterizes the rudest American languages." It certainly does not apply to the Costa Rican family, which is equally remarkable for the simplicity of its inflections. The present tense does duty for the present participle, and the perfect for the perfect participle; besides which we have the past and but a single future. There is no variation for number or person.

The auxiliaries used are not constant. For the imperative, *ju* is sometimes prefixed, and *mia* is often the sign of the future. It is generally a prefix, but in *i-hawe-na*, to fall, it is added to the end of the word. *Etso* (from *etso-si*, to be,) is the sign of the present tense in *pat-yu*, to paint.

The following examples will give a better idea of the conjugations than a lengthy explanation. They were selected from a large number, and have been verified with as much care as the difficulties of the case would admit. I believe they may be safely trusted, inasmuch as they are words that I have heard in constant use for over two years, and not trusting to categorical information, have watched their habitual use in conversation. The first example, *i-mi'-a*, is the most variable verb in the language. The forms given in each tense are usable interchangeably. It is equally correct to say, "*je mit-ka*," or, "*je mi-at'-ka*," I go. The past *re*, and *ra'-re*, are used everywhere except by a few people on the Coen River, where the more regular form, *mi-a'-na*, is used.

CONJUGATIONS.

To go.

Inf. I-mi'-a.

Ind. Pres., { mi-at'-ka, mit'-ka, } used interchangeably.

Past, { re, ra're, mi-a'-na; } from the verb, *ra'-taki;* the forms ordinarily used. used only on the Coen River.

Perf., mi-cho'.

Fut., { mi'-a, affirmative. (ke) mi'-na, negative (*ke*, not.)

Imperative, ju. When in combination with an object expressed; *be* JU *i-tu*, "thou go shoot." This is the almost universal auxiliary sign of the imperative mood.

ju-shka, *ju*, as above; *shka* (*shku*), to walk.

mi'-shka, confined to the first person plural. It means, "let us go," or, "come," and can be used as an auxiliary to almost all the other verbs; *mi-shka du tu*, "let us go birds shoot."

* Trav., vol. i., p. 357, Eng. Ed.

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To burn.

Inf. I-nyor'-ka.
Ind. Pres., I-nyor-ket'-ke.
Past, I-nyor-no'-ka.
Perf., I-nyor-no'-wa.
Fut., I-nyor-wa'-ne-ka.

To cook.

Inf. I-lu'.
Ind. Pres., I-luk'.
Past, I-li'-na.
Perf., I-let'-ke.
Fut., I-lu'.
Imper. I-luk'.

To speak.

Inf. I-ähtu'.
Ind. Pres., I-ähtuk'.
Past, I-ähte'.
Perf., I-ähtet'-ke.
Fut., I-ähte'.
Imper. I-ähtuk'.

To walk.

Inf. I-shku'.
Ind. Pres., I-shkuk'.
Past, I-shke'.
Perf., I-shket'-ke.
Fut., I-shku'.
Imper. shku'-ta, walk to (come).
ju'-shka, walk from (go).

To this verb we must add the following irregular forms: *shkat'-ke*, to walk ahead; its derivative, *it-kat'-ke*, has gone ahead, and *mi'-shka*, for which see the note to the first verb, *i-mia*.

To shoot, to chop.

Inf. I-tu'.
Ind. Pres., I-tuk'.
Past, I-te'-na.
Perf., I-tet'-ke.
Fut., (mia) I-tu'.
Imper. (ju) I-tu'.

To paint.

Inf. pat'-yu.
Ind. Pres., (etso) pat-yuk'; (*etso*, to be).
Past, pat-ye'.
Perf., pat-yet'-ke.
Fut., pat-ye'-ke.
Imper. pat-yuk'.

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To eat.

Inf.		I-kŭ-tu′.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-kŭ-tet′-ke.
	Past,	I-kŭ-te′.
	Perf.	I-kŭ-te′-wa.
	Fut.,	I-kŭ-te′.
Imper.		I-kŭ-tuk′.

To start.

Inf.		I-bĕ-te′
Ind.	Pres.,	I-bĕ-te′.
	Past,	I-bĕ-te′.
	Perf.,	I-bĕ-tet′-ke.
	Fut.,	I-bĕ-te′.
Imper.		I-bĕ-ti′-nuk. Only used in a negative sense, "*ke bĕ-ti′-nuk*," do not start (or move); *i. e.*, "keep perfectly quiet."

To roast.

Inf.		I-ku-ke′.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-ku-kuk′.
	Past,	I-ku-tu′-na.
	Perf.,	I-ku-ket′-ke.
	Fut.,	I-ku-ke′.
Imper.		I-ku-kuk′.

To exchange.

Inf.		I-mne′-we.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-mne-wet′-ke.
	Past,	I-mne′-nŭg.
	Fut.,	(mi′-a) mne′-we.
Imper.		I-mne′-nŭg.

To sleep.

Inf.		kI-puk.
Ind.	Pres.,	kI-pa-wet′-ke.
	Past,	kI-pe′.
	Perf.,	kI-pug′-wo. kI-pet′-ke; third person plural only.
	Fut.,	kI-put′-ke.
Imper.		(ju) kI-put′-ke.

To lose (inanimate objects).

Inf.		I-cho′-wa.

There are no changes in this verb, except that *mie* is added to the Ind., Fut. There is no Imperative.

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To lose (animate objects).

Inf.		I-cho-rai'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-cho-rai'.
	Past,	I-cho-rai'.
	Perf.,	I-cho-rat'-ke.
	Fut.,	I-cho-ret'-ke.

To listen.

Inf.		I-ëhtsu'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-ëhtsuk'.
	Past,	I-ëhtse'.
	Perf.,	I-ëhtset'-ke.
	Fut.,	I-ëhtse'.
Imper.		I-ëhtsuk'.

To count.

Inf.		I-shtaung'.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-shtaunk'.
	Past,	I-shta'-we.
	Perf.,	I-shtaung'.
	Fut.,	(mia) shta'-we.
Imper.		I-shtaunk.

To fall.

Inf.		I-haw'-na.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-haw'-nuk.
	Past,	I-haw'-ne.
	Perf.,	I-haw-net'-ke.
	Fut.,	I-haw'-na (mi), (*mia*).

To push.

Inf.		pat'-ku.
Ind.	Pres.,	pat'-kuk.
	Past,	pat'ke.
	Perf.,	pat-ket'-ke.
	Fut.,	pat'-ke.
Imper.		pat'-kuk.

To feed.

jö-ku' has the same terminations as pat'-ku.

To want.

Inf.		I-ki-a'-na.
Ind.	Pres.,	I-ki-a'-na. / I-ki-et'-ke, third person only; when "he *wants* you."
	Past,	I-ki-e'.
	Fut.,	I-ki-e'.

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193 194 The place of the accent is strictly determined by the structure and etymology of compound words. In words composed of a noun and an adjective, the accent is placed on the adjective; thus *di + ki-bi'*, large water, *i. e.*, river; *ché-ba + tyag'*, large substance, *i. e.*, stout; *sa-wi' + juk*, cotton substance or raw cotton. This applies equally to the emphasis in a similar phrase like *pĕ how'-ri*, other, or different people. When the word is composed of an adjective or adverb, with a verb, the accent goes with the verb; thus, I-*ewuŋ + pu'*, to spread; I-*se + tu'*, to shut. When composed of a noun and a verb, it follows the same rule; thus, *bĕ-ta + ow'-ta*, the remainder (*i. e.*, the end stays or remains). When composed of two nouns, one in an adjective sense, the accent is on the qualifying noun, like *ma' + se*, navel; *du' + ku*, nest or bird-house; *tsu' + di-e*, milk or teat-juice; *tsu' + se*, a woman's breast; *tsu-se' + bĕ-ta*, nipple. This rule is almost universal in Bri-bri, and obtains generally in the other languages; the greatest number of exceptions being in Terraba.

195 In the simplest sentence, the nominative begins, followed by the object, and the verb comes last. When a noun is qualified by an adjective, the adjective follows the noun. In the same way the adverb follows the verb; and the verb closes the sentence, unless it is accompanied by an adverb, or adverbial phrase. In case there are, in addition to the nominative, object, and verb, another noun, governed by a preposition, these latter close the sentence. I strike you; *ja be pu, I thou strike.* I strike you hard; *ja be pu dĕrere.* The strong man chops the wood well; *wawi dĕrere kar ta bei.* Will you go with me?; *be mia je-ta*, thou go I with. *Ta*, *se*, and *weŋ* (see notes on the nouns) are always added as suffixes to the nouns or pronouns which they qualify, and form a sort of ablative case. But where *weŋ* is used in the sense of "where is," it begins the sentence. Whose hat (is this)? *ji sombrero?* Mine; *je'-cha.* How many people are there in your house? *pe bĕl tsoi be ku-weŋ?* people how many are thy house-where? Where is he? *weŋ pe 'tse?* where he is? He remained in the middle of the road; *pe onte ngero shong*, he remained road middle. Give me a chair (or bench), *krŭ-sa' ma'-nya;* chair give me. Give him, *ma'-pe.* Reach me my hat; *je sombrero be wra reska*, my hat thou hand reach. Heat the water; *di ba-wag*, water make hot. The water is hot; *di be ba-sa*, water warm heated (is). Put out the fire; *bowe se-tu'*, fire extinguish (or close). The fire went out; *bowe i-ta'-sa.* Shut the door; *ku ĭkku se-tu'*, house door shut. Unfasten the door; *ku ĭkku se-jat'-sa.* Open the door; *ku ĭkku se-ku'-sa.* Where is my knife? *weŋ je tabe?* where my knife (*et se*, to be, understood)? Your knife is there; *be tabe tsoi diya*, thy knife is there. Give me my knife; *je tabe manya*, my knife give. My knife is very sharp; *je tabe akata bei*, my knife toothed good. Go shoot a bird, or go shoot birds; *be ju du ta*, thou go bird shoot. What with? *i-sea?* With a gun; *mokkur sa*, gun with. What kind of a gun? *mokkur is?* gun what kind? Our country gun (blow-gun); *sa kanka mokkur*, own country gun. There are no balls (the clay balls or pellets); *mokkur se ka ka*, gun round (things) no more

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(*are* understood). Why do you not make some? *i kuenks be ke mokkur* 193
we juwo? why thou not gun round (things) make? There is no clay (or material); *mokkur wochika ke ku*, gun round (things) material no more. Is your gun a good one? *be mokkur boi?* thou (thy) gun good? Does it shoot well? *itu boi?* shoot well (or good)? Good morning; *be shko'na?* thou art awake, or arisen (literally, straightened up). Reply; *je* (I) *shko'na*. *Be ratski;* thou hast arrived (salutation on a person entering a house). *Je ratski*, I have arrived. How are you? *is be 'iso?* how thou (*ei-so'-si*) art? I am well; *je 'iso boi*. Where did you come from? *wesŋ be bete'?* where thou start? Who went with—? *ji re —ta?* who went— with? I did not see; *ke je wai suna*, not I (*wai* idiom) saw. I do not know; *ke je wai upkchen*. This *wai* occurs nowhere except in these two instances. What did you go for? *iub be re?* why thou went? I went to call my people; *je re je wakipa ikiu*, I went I (my) people to call. Are they coming? *yepa ratski?* they come (or arrive? No; I think they have gone away; *au; je kĕnbeku ye mieho*, No; I think they have gone. Let us go too; *mishka hekepi*, let us go alike. Where is —? *wesŋ—?* He has gone ahead; *ye 't-katke*, he has walked ahead (see note on *i-shku*, in conjugation). Put on your clothes; *be sa-wi' i-u*, thou clothing (cotton) put into.

SECTION II.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Although the tradition exists that the people of Terraba are a com- 197
paratively late emigration from the region of the Tiribia, and although the tradition is sustained by the general resemblances of language, and [174]
by the fact that the Brunkas (or Borucas), evidently older occupants of the soil, are crowded into a corner like the Celtic tribes of Europe; yet there are marked differences between the idioms spoken in Tiribi and in Terraba. The Dialects of Southern Costa Rica can be divided into three groups: First, the Bri-bri and the Cabecar; second, the Tiribi and Terraba; and lastly, the Brunka. The three divisions possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. The first group is strongly marked by the short i before nearly all verbs and by a generally more musical sound; while the second is harsh, in consequence of the frequent repetition of sound of *z*. The Cabecar i before the verb is not so persistent as in Bri-bri, but is more strongly pronounced, approaching more nearly the ordinary Latin or Spanish *i*. The terminations *ung* and *ong* are as marked as the sign of the verb, in the second group, as i is in the first. The *s* which almost invariably accompanies this termination, is rarely a part of the last syllable, but is usually sounded at the end of the penultimate, unless when abbreviated into *su* or *so*.

A gradual process of change is clearly discernible in these languages. As yet the Bri-bri and Tiribi have been but little affected. But the Cabecar of Coen is absorbing many Bri-bri words because the people of the Coen, although they use their local dialect among themselves, all speak Bri-

Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 74]

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

114 Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have
194 been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, á, é, ę, ę́, ə, i, í, o, u, ú, ụ, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a
● 193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, ka, ká, ki, kj, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, ta, sa, se, si, su, uk, ụk, šę.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ŋə-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use
194 of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and
114 Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[234]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental pho-
193 nemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

194 The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except j, ę, ǫ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ją, ąi, ʌi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, ụą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the
195 medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also
583 generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred
*539 or curing chants of the *jamá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba
[198] (Tribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[234] Jones, 1959.

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194 etymology of compound words. In words composed of a noun and an adjective, the accent is placed on the adjective; thus *dí+ki-bí'*, large water, *i. e.*, river; *chí-ke+tyng'*, large substance, *i. e.*, stout; *sa-wí'+juk*, cotton substance or raw cotton. This applies equally to the emphasis in a similar phrase like *pĭ how'-ri*, other, or different people. When the word is composed of an adjective or adverb, with a verb, the accent goes with the verb; thus, *I-shuñ+pu'*, to spread; *I-wo+tu'*, to shut. When composed of a noun and a verb, it follows the same rule; thus, *bĕ-ta+on'-ta*, the remainder (*i. e.*, the end stays or remains). When composed of two nouns, one in an adjective sense, the accent is on the qualifying noun, like *mo'+wo*, navel; *du'+ku*, nest or bird-house; *tsu'+di-o*, milk or teat-juice; *tsu'+wo*, a woman's breast; *tsu-wo'+bŏ-ta*, nipple. This rule is almost universal in Bri-bri, and obtains generally in the other languages; the greatest number of exceptions being in Terraba.

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Tiribi *zhgu-ring'* and the Terraba *zhu-ring'*, seem to be specific; but the Cabecar, *kong-wo-hor'-kn* is "the atmosphere burns," while the Brunka *jü'-krs* is simply "fire." 197

Like the two or three cases of imperfect plural in Bri-bri, already mentioned, the Terraba has a single plural word; or rather only an approach, a sort of transitional form. *Zhgring* is a rib, and *zhgring'-ro*, the ribs in their collective sense, rather as the bony case of the thorax, than as the several bones

As stated above, the compound words in the vocabulary of Bri-bri are divided by a + sign between the component parts. In the other languages, there are doubtless many that have not been properly separated, because I have not ventured to make theoretical divisions, and have only separated those that were obviously compound. My less perfect acquaintance with them has not warranted me in this step, nor in the probably unnecessary detail of analysis to which I have subjected the language of Bri-bri.

In Terraba the 3d person, singular, pronoun *kwe*, while not varying for gender or number, has three forms which always appear according to a peculiar condition, thus:

he, she, (sitting or lying down)	so'-kwe.
" " (standing)	shou'-kwe.
" " (going)	her-shou-kwe'.

In Brunka, I, thou, he, (or she) and we, (*a-dö-bi'*, &c.,) are used with the termination *dö-bi'* whenever they occur alone. When combined with other words in a sentence, the first syllable only (*a*, *ha*, *i*, and *ja*) is used. The termination is almost an integral part of the word and must be used when alone. This is the reverse of the termination *re* in Bri-bri, which is rarely used except in a sentence, and then only for euphony or emphasis, and at the option of the speaker.

Chapter III.

VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRI-BRI INDIANS.

[Note.—In this, and in the accompanying vocabularies, the vowels have the same sounds as in Spanish, unless marked with a special sign; 104
ä is pronounced as in English *met*; *i* as in *pin*; *ü* as in *mum*. *J* has the 128
sound as in *John*; *ng* as in *thing*; *ñ* like the French nasal *n*; *kh* like *ch* 194
in the German *ich*; *h* is aspirated as in English. A few words having unusual vowel sounds are noted separately, not to add unnecessary complication of conventional signs; like *si-ni'*, blue and *ku-ka'*, ear.

Compound words are written with a + sign between the component parts. Accent is of great importance, the change in position of the ac-

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192

cent sometimes changing the sense of the word entirely like *i-juk'* to drink, *i'-juk* earth, soil.]

to ache	i-dō-ll'-na	See *pain*.
to adhere	i-lu'-tau-wa	See *against*.
afraid	aň-wa'-na	
afterwards	e'-wa	Not *i'-wa*, interrogative, "what with."
again	i-aň-ka'	See *also*.
against	i-bō-tau'-wa	See *to adhere*.
ago	er'-a-ja	Immediately past time.
	on-i-al',	Hours ago; this morning.
	nyo-nyo'-ni	Very long ago; days, months, years.
to agree	i-shun'-lu	See *to arrange*.
	nyi'+wo-yu	*Nyi*, together.
to aim	i-shun'-an-u	
air	koňg'+shu-wang	*Koňg*, see country; *shu-wang*, from *si-wang'*, wind.
alike	nyi+ko'	*Nyi*, together.
	nyi+ishtsei'	Exactly alike; *tsei*, much, applied to words or two people speaking alike.
alive	tse'-ka	See *awake*.
all	song	
	o-ri-to-ne'	
alligator	to-rok'	
alone	o'-kur	*H* (*ei*) one.
	e'mi	Used in the sense of *only*.
alongside	i-yaw'-mik	
already	ju-bak'	
also	i-aň-ka'	See *again*.
always	shu-ar'-i-a	
angle	bō-ta'	A point; the angle of a surface or the corner angle of a solid.
	si-chi'-a	The angle of a prism; see *square*.
angry	o-ru'-na	
ankle	o-ru-bo'	
ant,	tau'+wak	*Wak*, people, tribe. *Myrmecophaga jubata*.
ant-eater	u-ri'	*Tamandua 4 dactyla*; *ie*, a forest clearing; from its being often found in such places.
	ie'+u-ri	

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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184 197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true ~~with respect~~ to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which 104 are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą ilə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, i, ǫ, ų, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

• 194 ǯ, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*.[87] It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of ǯ, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

L is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico have a like consonant.

[197]

j is palatal and fricative.

r, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta*.

ts is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch*.

ʃ is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh*.

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example:

[192]

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dɔwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jawá* (medicine man)

low pitch: *du* (bird); *dɔwe* (sickness); *jawa* (otter)

(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 187 indicates), 1896.

[87] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.

[88] Pozas, N.D.

Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 74]

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193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, kɵ, kó, ki, kj, kú, Li, ɳę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, tɵ, sa, se, si, su, uk, ɳk, ʒe.

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194 > The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except j, ę, ǫ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ją, ąj, ʌi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, ąą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the
195 medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also
533 generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred
*539 or curing chants of the *janá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba (Tiribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[198]

[224] Jones, 1959.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[52] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rɔr*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bɔmitsɨn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *sɔkɔnɨ́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipɔ* (coyeo).

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 74]

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

114 Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have
194 been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, é, ę, ę́, ə, i, í, o, u, ú, ɥ, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a
193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, ka, ká, ki, kj, kú, Li, ɲę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, ta, sa, se, si, su, uk, ɥk, ʒe.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ɲa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use
194 of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and
114 Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[224]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental pho-
193 nemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

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[198]

[224] Jones, 1959.

Cabecar
Bribri

[p.77]

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

3. The Sun (*Bribri*)

*539 1. The sun is like us. He is a man. The sun is a very brilliant man. *sibu* left this very bright. He left a place to give birth[240] to the stones.

2. Then *sibu* left a very dark place for the last. [If] *sibu* would not have left us who live, then we would not be.

3. The moon is a woman. Because of this *sibu* left night. [If] he had not [left the moon] to brighten this, it would have stayed horrible, meaning for us in these hours. (*?*) We see in this dawn that there is a moon, that there is a sun, because of this we live.

4. The Rainbow (*Cabécar*)

1. *bukubLute* is smoking his pipe. This smoke is the wind. He lights the tobacco with the rainbow. This is the spark for the tobacco.

5. We are born (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* kept us in a basket. There the large worm swallowed us with the basket. Then there were gourds. There was cacao [which does] not flower.

---

3. díwə

1. díwə erər sé. erər wébLa. tąj dəLáLəé díwə wébLa. tąj dəLáLəé é meąt sibu-tə[241] sią ką-ṇiąkəL é-kemú.[242]

2. sibu-tə ema[243] ką tsétsée eątą[243] i-meąt e-batáie. sə-tso'sen é-kemú-paąt sibu-tə, ema ké sokú.

3. síwə erər aLákəL. é-batáie meąt sibu-tə ką tsétsée. é šṇṇąkəL, é-kemú-paąt suLóe iąte, itə sią ichəktə i-jkętą. (*?*) kąṇna ékj sə-isuę kąṇna síwə tso'sen,[244] díwə tso'sen, é-bata sə-tso'sen buą.

4. Ikba

1. bukubLute kachjmo[245] suagę. jeĩkLej jene-rə́ siwą-rə́ Ikba jenę-wa idua wóigawagęterə́. jé-rə́ idua wəkata.

5. sejé tsikineL

1. sibote sa bLá kokobLənąą. jéská sitLá kégLəte sə mąLąkpająmj kokobLə́-ra. jera jéska ka mé ta. tsirú tsə́ ká worta. (*?*) sibote ĩšá tsitLá kégLəna,

[240] Literally, "*sią kąṇiąkəL*" signifies "dawn for everybody."
[241] *-tə* signifies that *sibu* made or did something.
[242] *kəmá* or *kəcę* is a form of "no" which is only used in myths by medicine men.
[243] As in Cabécar, there are various forms for "then." The reason is for the sound.
[244] *tso'sen* means "there is" or "there are." With *sə* it stands for "we are."
[245] "Cachimba" is an Americanism used in Spanish for pipe. It is an indigenous word.

[195]

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539 2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

Sacred Songs

18. The Staff of the Thinkers[201] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsɸ́* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsɸ́*.

---

2. "anaú," isuebə̃́kaLa,[202] "mu-suə̃ə." duá-bité, duá-uąLowa[203] iriria.[204]

17. ĩipo

1. ę́ tsá kuLę́isúk,[205] etą sibu kirínawą. étą sibutə ĩipo kié ébuaúk[206] meLę. étą sibutə ĩipo patkemj. ę́ tsá kuLę́itsúk.

2. ĩipo mią i-tsá kuLę́isúk. étą i-mią tsak.[207] emę kéwą iujchenę, tə[208] i-ruówami. buLame-tą sibutə ichakə i-ąto, "ə̃ə-ruówąmi?"

3. ĩipo iúté, "tó bu-ruówąmi." ę́ kuęgj sibutə ĩipo jkó tuwą i-wəbLar kąchək.

18. biə̃əbLə-kər-keLi[209]

1. ęmatą́ səmj́ uiuchó.
səmj́ itsó tsúk wę sərá ibLə́kwą,
ę itsuk męLę.

2. dé-męLę wę́ikə,[210] étą səmíketkę́ tsak itsó wós.

[195] [756]

[201] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."
[202] Medicine man's term.
[203] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.
[204] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *ibak* means "land" or "earth."
[205] This word is a combination of *kuLí* (to cure) and *ishík* or *itsík* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.
[206] This only means to cure.
[207] The lay word "to sing" is *tsík* or *tsak*.
[208] *ə* here in front of *i* signifies "if."
[209] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."
[210] *u* is "house." This word means "within the house."

[195] [755] [533]

[756]

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197 tribe living on the Uren, and the others scattered over the rest of the country. In different districts "a little," *wi-ri-wi'-ri* is also pronounced *bi-ri-bi'-ri* and *wi-di-wi'-di*, and many other words especially those with *r* or *d* before a vowel, vary fully as much. As has been justly observed by Max Müller, laziness often helps this. The present name for rain *kon'-ni* for instance, is clearly derived from *koñ'-li*. In fact the proof exists in the form of the word for dust *koñ'-mo-li*. But *kon'-ni* is easier to pronounce than *koñ'-li*, and has taken its place.

196 It would be an interesting study to trace out the ideas which have influenced the formation of compound words. In Bri-bri, a hill is *koñ'-bē-ta*, the point of the country; in Cabecar it is *koñ-tsu'*, the breast of the country, from *tsu*, a woman's breast. Again in Bri-bri a sharp knife is said to be *a-ka'-ta*, toothed (that it may bite, or cut), the beak of a bird is called its tooth; and the same root (*kwo*) is used for a finger-nail, a fish-scale, a bird's feathers, the bark of a tree, or the rind of a fruit.

Some few words are used in such varied connections that they warrant special notice. Among these are *wo*, *koñ*, *ĭ-tu*, *kin*, &c. *Koñ* is a part of nearly all words relating to the earth, the sky, the atmosphere, in short the general surroundings. It means the country, the day, the weather. In composition it forms part of the word for a hill, valley, &c. *Wo* means originally round, either circular or globular. It is also applied to almost all masses or lumps; it further forms a component of words having a reference to entirety or completeness; thus alone, it means the human face, in compounds it forms a part of the names of the sun and moon, of many parts of the human body, of a drop of water, of a knot, of fruits, seeds, &c; and of verbs, such as to make, to close, to open, to extinguish, to tie, &c.; *ĭ-tu'* means originally to chop, but is applied to shooting, striking with intention of wounding (in contradistinction to *i-pu'* to whip). It also forms part of the verbs to shut, to extinguish, to lie (or throw one's self) down, and, in the latter sense is also used for to pour (to *throw* out of a vessel). *Kin* means a region, or district, and is always used in connection with some qualifying word; thus *Lari-kin*, the country or region of Lari; *dē-je'-kin* the salt region or sea; *tsong'-kin* the sand region, or beach; but *nyo-ro'-kin* means in or on the road, and *bē-ta'-kin* on top (of a hill or mountain). *Ki-cha'* means originally a string; derivatively a vine to tie with is *tsa' ki-cha*, or a string vine. Veins and tendons are called by the same word on account of their resemblance to strings, while the joints of the limbs are called *ki-cha'-wo* or the lump of strings. *Pa* and *pe*, mean people; the former combined with the 3d person, singular, personal pronoun *ye*, makes *ye-pa*, the 3d person, plural. It is also used combined with *wak*, tribe; thus, *Lari-wak*, means the people of Lari; *sa wak-i-pa*, our people; in this case used probably as much for clearness as anything else, since *tsa-wak*, ("*vine-tribe*") means ants! *Ha-wak-i-pa*, your people. *Pe*, used alone means somebody; whose is it? "*pe cha*;" "somebody's," *cha* being the sign of possession.

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There are several words which change their form, or which are even substituted by others, according to the sense or connection; thus *u'-te-kin*, sometimes pronounced *ku'-te-kin*, means out or outside of the house or of anything else in all ordinary cases; but for a person to go out of the house is not *mia u'-te-kin* or *mia ku'-te-kin*, but *miâ ku pa'-gl*. This *pa'-gl* is used in no other connection; and the sound occurs nowhere else in the language except as *pagl-chi-ka* (sugar) and *pagl*, the numeral eight, with either of which, it is obviously not related. But the numerals illustrate this most markedly. For instance three is *m-nyat*, and as such it is used in counting all *things*; three houses, *ku m-nyat*; but three men are *pe m-nyal* and three days are *kouŋ m-nyar*. *Bit*, how many, becomes *bil*, how many persons, &c. Old, fat, to grow, pregnant, &c., change in a similar manner when applied to animate and inanimate, or to human and lower objects. 196 193

It is remarkable that in a language otherwise so poor, at times it should go to the other extreme. In civilized languages, notably in Spanish, there is a great variety of words to express the shades of colors of animals, particularly the horse. These words, originally adjectives, are often used as nouns. But in Bri-bri we have eight nouns to distinguish pigs, six of which are for color; viz.: 192

white,	*mu-lush'*.
black,	*do-losh'*.
gray,	*bish'*.
red,	*mash* (*a* as in far).
half-white, half-black.	*bĭ-tsus'*.
black, with white face,	*kŭ-jos'*.
with throat appendages,	*bu-lish'*.
short-legged,	*na'-na* (Spanish *enana*, a dwarf).

These words are in every sense nouns only, and are just as correctly the names of the respective animals as the generic term "*coche*." Chickens and dogs have similar distinguishing names, but I have never been able to learn that horned cattle (*saca*, whether bull or cow,) are so honored. Horses are comparatively unknown. The only representative of the race in the country being Mr. Lyon's old yellow mare, there has never arisen the necessity for the additional tax on their inventive powers. Words expressing physical qualities of matter are as abundant as in more civilized languages, and their use is as strictly limited. Hard, strong, or stiff, is *dĭ-re'-re*. Soft, like a cushion or fresh bread, is *b-jo'-b-jo*, while soft like cloth it is *a-ni'-a-ni* or *a-ni'-ni-ĭ*. Weak or fragile, like a string, or a vessel, powerless like a weak person, or tender like meat, are *to'-to* or *to-toi'*. Elastic, like caoutchouc, is *ki-tsung'-ki-tsung*; when like a switch, it is *kras'-kras*. Plastic, like mud or putty, is *i-no'-i-no*. Pasty, like dough, is *i-tu-ses'*. When more fluid, like very wet mud, it is *a-bas'-a-bas*. Viscid, like syrup or honey, is *kŭ-nyo'-kŭ-nyo*; while very fluid, watery, is *di-se-ri-ri*.

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CHAPTER II.

THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN COSTA RICA.

SECTION I.—THE BRI-BRI LANGUAGE.

In the following notes, I have endeavored to embody such ideas and conclusions as I have arrived at while studying the language and compiling the vocabulary. From the difficulty of obtaining information from ignorant people, and from my own, by no means perfect knowledge of the language, possibly errors may have crept in, but while I do not think any important ones will be found, I do not venture to claim infallible accuracy. For a year I labored to find some rule for conjugation, and was obliged, as it were, to educate my informers up to the point of being able to give me information about a subject they had never thought of, and could see no use for. Not content to accept their statements categorically, I watched carefully the use of the verbs in their inflexions, and by dint of cross-questioning a number of people, and rejecting everything that was contradictory, I think the few verbs I have selected are correctly given. I have had the advantage not only of a year and a half in the country, in daily contact with a fellow-countryman who spoke the language fluently, enabling me thereby to learn it; but for two months, in the meantime, while absent, I had several intelligent Indians with me who understood Spanish, and finally, after returning to civilization, I had with me for eight months a native, with whom I talked habitually in his own language, and from whom I obtained many corrections of the errors that a stranger must necessarily make. This boy became an apt teacher and voluntarily set me right whenever he heard me use an incorrect expression. 124

Counting the few abstract words which have doubtless escaped me, and all the specific names of animals and plants, and many of the latter are made up of an adjective, or the name of some plant, combined with *suk* (tribe), I do not think the language can contain two thousand words, and perhaps not fifteen hundred. In preparing the vocabulary I have rejected most of those specific names, because there is no corresponding English word, and a complete natural history collection, carefully studied by competent students, would be required, so as to obtain an equivalent. Even then it would have been useless, because the names vary locally as much as similar words do in English. 192 128

In compound words, I have in most cases pointed out the roots, and separated the component parts by a | sign. Although so much detail may have been unnecessary, the study was interesting to myself, and some of the curious results may also interest others.

There can be no doubt but that this and its allied dialects, like all unwritten languages, are undergoing great changes. The language spoken in Terraba was formerly, and probably not long ago, the same as that of Tribi. There are marked differences between the Cabecar of Coen and that of the Estrella or North River, and even local differences in the use of *r*, *l*, and *d*, can be observed between the half of the Bri-bri 197

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(*are* understood). Why do you not make some? *i kusuke be ke mokkur* 193
we fuwo? why thou not gun round (things) make? There is no clay (or material); *mokkur wechika ke ku*, gun round (things) material no more. Is your gun a good one? *be mokkur boi?* thou (thy) gun good? Does it shoot well? *ilu boi?* shoot well (or good)? Good morning; *be shke'na?* thou art awake, or arisen (literally, straightened up). Reply; *je* (I) *shke'na*. *Be ratski;* thou hast arrived (salutation on a person entering a house). *Je ratski*, I have arrived. How are you? *ie be 'tso?* how thou (*ot-so'-si*) art? I am well; *je 'tso boi*. Where did you come from? *wesij be bete'?* where thou start? Who went with——? *ji re——ta?* who went—— with? I did not see; *ke je wai suna*, not I (*wai* idiom) saw. I do not know; *ke je wai uphehen*. This *wai* occurs nowhere except in these two instances. What did you go for? *iub be re?* why thou went? I went to call my people; *je re je wakipa ikiu*, I went I (my) people to call. Are they coming? *yepa ratski?* they come (or arrive? No; I think they have gone away; *au; je kinbeku ye micho*, No; I think they have gone. Let us go too; *mishka hekepi*, let us go alike. Where is——? *wesij——?* He has gone ahead; *ye 'i-kutke*, he has walked ahead (see note on *i-shku*, in conjugation). Put on your clothes; *be sa-wi' i-u*, thou clothing (cotton) put into.

SECTION II.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Although the tradition exists that the people of Terraba are a comparatively late emigration from the region of the Tiribis, and although the tradition is sustained by the general resemblances of language, and by the fact that the Brunkas (or Borucas), evidently older occupants of the soil, are crowded into a corner like the Celtic tribes of Europe; yet there are marked differences between the idioms spoken in Tiribi and in Terraba. The Dialects of Southern Costa Rica can be divided into three groups: First, the Bri-bri and the Cabecar; second, the Tiribi and Terraba; and lastly, the Brunka. The three divisions possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. The first group is strongly marked by the short i before nearly all verbs and by a generally more musical sound; while the second is harsh, in consequence of the frequent repetition of sound of *s*. The Cabecar i before the verb is not so persistent as in Bri-bri, but is more strongly pronounced, approaching more nearly the ordinary Latin or Spanish *i*. The terminations *ung* and *ong* are as marked as the sign of the verb, in the second group, as i is in the first. The *s* which almost invariably accompanies this termination, is rarely a part of the last syllable, but is usually sounded at the end of the penultimate, unless when abbreviated into *su* or *so*. 197 [174]

A gradual process of change is clearly discernible in these languages. As yet the Bri-bri and Tiribi have been but little affected. But the Cabecar of Coen is absorbing many Bri-bri words because the people of the Coen, although they use their local dialect among themselves, all speak Bri-

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197 bri also, while the latter, as the conquerors, despise the Cabecars and never attempt to learn their language. The Cabecars of Estrella rarely speak Bri-bri, but nearly all understand it, as well as Spanish and some speak English, and words of both these latter languages are gradually being adopted. The Tiribis are too isolated to acquire many foreign words; but their near relatives the half-civilized people of Terraba as well as the neighbors of these latter, the Borucas, are rapidly acquiring Spanish at the expense of the corresponding words of their own language. In a party of five Borucas, there was not one who could count except in Spanish; and one of my Terraba friends could remember no word for girl, except *muchacha* (Spanish), until I suggested (supported by analogy) the word *wa-re'* (woman), when he remembered that he had heard some of the old people use *wa-wa-re'*! In like manner, he persisted in giving me the Spanish, "*lucero*" for star, besides many other words.

Many roots run through the entire group of languages unchanged, or with changes so trifling that they are not worthy of note. Again sometimes the root varies while the ruling idea is the same. An illustration of this last case is the following: In Bri-bri, to forget is *kān-i-cho*; to remember is *ke kān-i-cho*, from *ke* not, *kān* the liver, and *i-cho* to lose. To think is also *kān be-ku* (probably from *be ket-ke*, ready). Liver in Tiribi is *wi*, in Terraba *wo*, and in Cabecar *her*; while to think is, in Tiribi *wi taitung*, in Terraba *woi-du*, and in Cabecar *her-wik*. The acts of thought, memory, &c., have been attributed to the liver, with about as good reason as we yet place the seat of sentiment in the heart.

In Bri-bri, to lie down is *tu ta*, to throw down; imperative *me* (yourself) *tu ta*. In Terraba *tush ko* (down) is used in the same manner; *fu tush ko*, then sit down, and *fu bu tush-ko*, lie down (*bu*) long.

Changes of roots are illustrated by the following. In Bri-bri, *ki-puk'* is to sleep, and a hammock is *ki-pu'*. In Cabecar a bed is *ki-pu'-gru*, in Tiribi and Terraba it is *bu'-kru*; and in Brunka *kup* is to sleep.

In Brunka a ghost is *i-wik*, and a shadow is *ku-wik'*, and a devil or evil spirit is *kug'-bru*. In Bri-bri, a ghost, or spirit of a dead person is *wig'-bru*. In Cabecar, a shadow is *wig'-ru*, while in Tiribi it is *yu'-gro*, and in Bri-bri, *si-ri-u'-gur*, thus connecting the word in Bri-bri for ghost, or departed spirit, with that for shadow by means of the allied idioms, although without the intermediate changes of the root, it would not have been demonstrable.

It is evident that the Cabecar *meg-i'*, straight, and the Bri-bri *maw'-ki*, true, are identical. Although the Bri-bri word *si'-gua*, foreigner, has been replaced in the other languages, by other words, it remains in the Terraba, as a compound, in the name of the banana, *bin-sigua*, evidently "foreign plaintain," from *bing*, a plaintain; because it may have been introduced at a later date than the larger fruit, and when the word *sigua* was yet in current use.

Again, the idea changes, and with it, words from other roots come in, thus: lightning, in Bri-bri is *aru wo'-ngu*, "the thunder flashes;" the

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Tiribi *shgu-ring'* and the Terraba *shu-ring'*, seem to be specific; but the Cabecar, *kong-so-hor'-ka* is "the atmosphere burns," while the Brunka *jl'-kra* is simply "fire." 197

Like the two or three cases of imperfect plural in Bri-bri, already mentioned, the Terraba has a single plural word; or rather only an approach, a sort of transitional form. *Zhgring* is a rib, and *zhgring'-ro*, the ribs in their collective sense, rather as the bony case of the thorax, than as the several bones

As stated above, the compound words in the vocabulary of Bri-bri are divided by a + sign between the component parts. In the other languages, there are doubtless many that have not been properly separated, because I have not ventured to make theoretical divisions, and have only separated those that were obviously compound. My less perfect acquaintance with them has not warranted me in this step, nor in the probably unnecessary detail of analysis to which I have subjected the language of Bri-bri.

In Terraba the 3d person, singular, pronoun *kwe*, while not varying for gender or number, has three forms which always appear according to a peculiar condition, thus:

he, she, (sitting or lying down)	so'-kwe.
" " (standing)	shon'-kwe.
" " (going)	hor-shon-kwe'.

In Brunka, I, thou, he, (or she) and we, (*a-dö-bi'*, &c.,) are used with the termination *dö-bi'* whenever they occur alone. When combined with other words in a sentence, the first syllable only (*a*, *ba*, *i*, and *ja*) is used. The termination is almost an integral part of the word and must be used when alone. This is the reverse of the termination *re* in Bri-bri, which is rarely used except in a sentence, and then only for euphony or emphasis, and at the option of the speaker.

Chapter III.

VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRI-BRI INDIANS.

[Note.—In this, and in the accompanying vocabularies, the vowels have the same sounds as in Spanish, unless marked with a special sign; 104
ä is pronounced as in English *met*; I as in *pin*; *ü* as in *mum*. *J* has the 128
sound as in *John*; *ng* as in *thing*; *ñ* like the French nasal *n*; *kh* like *ch* 194
in the German *ich*; *h* is aspirated as in English. A few words having unusual vowel sounds are noted separately, not to add unnecessary complication of conventional signs; like *si-ui'*, blue and *ku-ku'*, ear.

Compound words are written with a + sign between the component parts. Accent is of great importance, the change in position of the ac-

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Chapter III.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE CABECAR, TIRIBI, AND TERRABA LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN COSTA RICA.

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.*	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bruu-ka (called by the Spaniards Boruca).
to ache				ban	sa-o-ra
to adhere				to-mok'	
afraid	su-wa'-na	———	ban-kret'	ko-ban-kret'	kong'-li
afterwards				dun'-i-ha	ne-nyi'
again	i-shu'-ne	ska-shu'	roz-o'-bi	o-ro-roi	e'-je
against				krū-boi'	
ahead			zhug'+ung		
to aim				doz'-ung	
air	kong+shan-ka	kong+shung	kok'+zeng	kong-mosh'-ko	
alike				lin-ko-yos'-o-sa	do-she-ri'
alive	ksi	———	si	se	
all	be'-na	———	pir'-kru	tue'	o-ge'
alligator	do-rok'	———	ku	———	ku'-u
alone	e'-kra-bu	e'-kra-i	tok'-sa	———	i-le-shi'
alongside	kot-ke'-mi	———	a-sor-go'		
also				no'-ma	mo-reng'-li
angry				yir'-ke	dre-ha'-lan
ankle	wir-in'-a-kru	———	ton'-kwo	ko-gi-o'	
ant	ksa'+wak	———	sum'-gwo	sou'-gwo	jak
anteater (large)	ur-i'	———	shu-go'	———	

* To avoid unnecessary repetition, where the same word occurs in the two dialects of Cabecar, or is the same in the Tiribi and Terraba, a ——— only is used.

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribbi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
anteater (small)	sa'-ca-ra	———			
axy	i-kus'-sa	———			
to arise				yir'-ke	
arm	u-ra'	———	ork'-wo	or-og'-o-dok	ju-re'
to arrive	ari'-aka	———	o'-tong		
arrow	u-ka'-wū	———	su-re'	———	tun-kas'-a
ashes	mnu'-tu	———	prun'-shuk	prun'-sho	brung
to ask	i-cha-gu'	i-cha-gu'	ksg-ra-koz'+ung		tek-shik'
aunt	wai'-bu	———	me'-d-bog-wo	tia (Spanish)	
awake				pe-zhem'-e	
axe				o	
back	shō-be'	———	kok-so'	———	ching-kwa'
small of back	tsi-wō'	———	si-yek'		a-du-ran'
backwards				i-le'-kung	a-che'
bad	se-ru-l'	———	ol'	so-oi'	sa-i-jen'
bag	ha-mē'-tu	———	hru	———	
banana	chi-mu'	———	kei+bing	biu+si'-gua	bri'-dwa
bare	wu'-ji-ka	———	kwor	———	but-sa-she'
bark (of tree)	kar'+kwo	———	kar'+kwo	kor'+kwo-ta	krang'+kwas
basket	ku	———	h-nu'	———	ko-kra
bat	d-kur'	———	i-gur'-gwo	i-gur'	knih-tsi'
to bathe	bo-ku'	———	we	———	
beach				la-go'	
bead	sa-wa-wu'	sa-wi'-wu	o'-bri	o'-bri-kro	
beak of bird	i-ka du+ka	——— ———	sin'-wa+ko-wo	———	ka-sa

beard	kar'-gu	———	song	———		olh'-tsi
beast	bi	———	no generic word	no generic word		
bed	kä-pu'-gru	kong	bu'-kru	bu-kru' / i-ong'		
bee	bur+wak	———	or	———		
before	mi-ga'-cho	———	bom'-gung	———		a-wah'-i-gi
behind	hö-ta'+ha-mi	———	ir'-ung			ku'-a
belly	nya'+wi	———	ba-wo'	———		
below				tush'-ko		
belt				kro-ten'-na		suamp'-ka
bench	kru'-wa	———	kruk	kru		te'-kra
better	boe'-si	———	kob'+ko	kob'-i		
between	shas'-ka	shua'-ka	jig'-rai	zig'-ro		
bird	du	———	sin'-wa	sen'-o-wa		du-tsut'
to bite	i-gu-tu'	———	tun-ez'+ung	we'-a		tu'-li
bitter	b-chin'-a	———	kak-teng'			
black	do-ro'-na	———	zi	sok'-si-ë		tu-li-nut'
blade				drung'-wa		
blind				bo-kwoi-xhem'		tu-ët'
blood	pi	———		zring		ji-bi'
to blow	wu'-kwa	———	bu-kwaz'+ong	ba-kwoz -ung		i-bu-hu-gran'
blow-gun	mok'-kur	———	mok'-ru			
blue	siu	———	ding-ding'-eh	ding-ding'-ëh		wa-a-gat'
blunt	kai+bu-rin'-a-wa	———	beg-jim'-ë			
body	wa'-ki	wa-go'	i-do'	i-dob'		
bold	i-han'-ë	———				
bone	di-cha'	———	d-bo'-gro	———		det-kra'
both	bor+ki'	———				

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bran-ka.
bow	u-ka′+bŏ-ta	———			
boy	ber+je′	har-a′	'du-met′+wa	kwa-si′	jas-rok
branch (of tree)	kar′+u-ra	———	kor′+ko-wo		
to break	i-pan-o′-wa	———	toz′-ung		
breast	her′+bŏ-ta	———	wor-bu′	———	bi-dran′
breast (of woman)	tau	———	nok′-a	nok′-o	i-ka′
breech-cloth	ki-par′-wo	———	shwong+kin′-go	shwong-king′	
bright	d-ra′-na	kan-yi-na′	kro′-zhing	———	
to bring	tsum′-be-ta	———	tak+suz′+ong		
bread				ba-mi-om′-so	
broom				shto-ko′-kra	
brother	ser′-a	ja-mi′	shi		
brother-in-law	shoo-wa	———	ban′	———	
bug	*nya′-hru	———	*guk′-sha		
bundle				pfon-a′	
to bury	i-tu-bi-u′-wa	———	pnoz′-ong	pfron′-se	
bush	kar+tsi′-lash-tu	———			
bush dog†	rob-gu′	———		o-ru-bu-gu′	
butterfly	kwa	———	kwong′-wo	———	kwash′-ka
to buy				tun-ez′-ung	
cacao	tsi-ru′	———	kau	ko	kao
calabash	d-ka′	———	yi-guk′	———	jun′-kra
cane (sugar)	pash-tu′	———	se-ror′+bo	———	bah+je-ra′

* These words are probably specific. The genius of this group of languages is not to have generic words like bug, beast, palm, &c.; though there are some exceptions, like bird, butterfly, &c.

† For the technical names of these animals, see the Bri-bri vocabulary.

cane (river)	u-ka'-gru	u-kwa'-gru	se-ror'+gro	s-ro'-gro	bah+kra'
cmoutchouc				sū-ru'	
to carry	tsum'-mi	———	hek+sus'+ong		
cataract				her-pig'-te	
catarrh	to	———	tau'		
to catch				shaz'-ung	
to cheat	i-hag'-bra	i-kon'-ju-wa	yab-goz'+ung	———	
cheek	hog-o-tu'	———	kwog'-do	kwog'-ro	pshu-gran'
chicha	bro	———	o	———	jĭ-wo'
chief	bo-ru'	———	pu-ru'	———	
child	jo-ba'	jo-ba-ra'	wa	añg'-wa	
chin	ska'-jua	———	o-ro'	———	ksha'-di
to chop	i-bi-ku'-hū	———		zog'-ung	
clean	ma-nen-ai'-re	man-em-en-e'		krung'-zo	trut'-ka
cloth (cotton)	sa-wa'+ba-gna	sa-wa'	shkwe'+shwong	shkwe'+bor-shwong	
" (bark)	dū-tai'	———	keb'+kwo	———	
cloud	mo	———	pong	———	bok
coal (of fire)	ji-ko'+wa	ji-ko+wo'	yuk+kur'-kwa	kur'-gra	
cold	tse'-na	———	smo	sa-mo'	tas'
color	ia-wa-kir'		kro-zher'-ba		
comb		i-aĭ-wa-gir'		kun'-chi	kash
come	hi'-ga	———	pa-teg'-ūn	———	
to complete				tom-oi'	
coon	si-rak'	———		si-luk	
corn (maize)	i-kwo'	———	ep	———	kup
corpse	i-shen-a'-wa	shin'-a-wa	shin'-mo	———	
cotton	su-wi'+ji-ku	———	shkwi	shwke'-sho	

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brunka.
cough	to	———	tau	———	
to cough	kor'-har	kor'-her	shtenz'+ung		
to count	kansh'-ta-wa	———	kok-shtos'+ung		
country*	kong	———	kok	kosh'-ko	kak
cousin	ta-ra'	———	shtob		
to cover	i-ki'-tu-wa	———	kim-yoz'-ong	kin-yoz'-ung	
crab	ju-wi'	———	ye-beg'-wo	———	
crazy	ri-ua'-ka	———	skwĕ	———	
to cry	mi-o'	———	so-loi'-wi		
to cut	i-tu'	———	zoz'-ung	———	tza-a-ran'
to dance	b-klu+tu'	———	zron	———	kwi-gri'
dark	stu-i'-na	———			
daughter	ba'+bu-si	———	wa'+wa-re	———	
day	kan-yi-na'	kan-yi-na'-wa	d-ba'	da-boi'	kak'+a-ba-ra
to-day	hir	———	er'-i	———	eba
to-morrow	bu-ri'-ri	———	i-bong'	i-bon'-a-ga	sek
day (after to-morrow)	boi-ki'	———	kun-ma'	kur+ma'	bwek
third day future				mi-an+ma'	mang-ek'
fourth day future				kin+ma'	
fifth day future				shkin+ma'	
yesterday	jĕ-ki	———	kub'-kĕ	kub-kesh'-ko	bi-ik'
day (before yesterday)	bo-ri'	bo-kri'	pong-wo'	pong-wosh'-ko	ki-bi+buk'
dead	dŭ-wa'-wa	———	ke-tong'	———	koght'-ka
deep (water)	di-kru+tyng'-ru	di-kru+tyng'-bru	i-rong'		
deer (large)	mno-dŭ-bi'	———	prun'-mi	shu-ring'	su-tu-rik'

* In the same wide sense as in Bri-bri.

deer (small)	do-ē′	———	shu-ring′	shu-ring′+ma	bulh
to depart				to′-to	
devil	bi	———	su	suh	kag-bru′
dew	mo′+ri-u	———	tom-bor′-ia		
to die			ba-ke′-to		
different	hau′-ri	———	o′-bri	ba-bok′-so	bu-i-shi′
to dig	i-biu′-ga	———	kor′+ung		
direction	wo′-mo	———	jou′-re	yow′-re	
dirt	i′-shku	———	wri-wri′-a		
to dive	b-tsat-ku′	———			
doctor	ha-wa′	———	i-bi′	———	
dog				shi′-ti	aulh
to drink	i-ju′	———	i-oz′-ong	———	i-jang′
drop	i-wo′+riu	———	si-ra′		
drum	sū-bak′	———	shung	———	
dry	si′-na	———	i-dog′-i-do	i-dog-roi′	tsen′-ka
dust					ta-brung
eagle	sar′+po	———	do+pung′	———	
ear	sgo-ku′	kwush′-ki	kwong′-wo	kwong′-wa	kwa′-ga
early				ko-o-bi′-ta	
earth (soil)	hi′-zhuk	hi′-zhku	krung	krung′-sho	tap
earthquake	i	———	yo	yo-yan′	
to eat	jē-ka′-gri	jē-ku′	i-e′	———	ja-ā-de′
eddy	di+ha-ra-mi′	di′+men-e	hi-rung′	pō-rung′	
egg	i-si′-a	———	sen′-wa+wa	———	kup
either	mē-ne′	———			
elbow	u-ra+o′-gu-chi	———			chulh-che′-wi

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
empty	wu'ji-ka	———	i-ro-ri'	i-ro-re'	
end	i-bĕ-ta'	———	kok+shur'-bo		
ended				fir'-kru	
enemy	sĕ-na-ma'-ru	bor-gi'	mor-i-mos'-kwo		
enough	wir'-u	er-u'	kwont'-soi	i-oni'-so	
evening	taa'-na	taan'-li	kok+sing'-ĕ	———	
every	ben'-a	se-hen'	pir'-gru		
eye	wo'-bra	———	bok'-wa	———	kai'-ish
face	wo'	———	bok-woi'	bok-wo'	kai'-ish
to fall	i-han'-a	i-han-a-te'	ro-noi'	bo-go-nof'	tru-ŭ-lin'
family	jai'-wa	———	pei'-ga	wai-you'-sa	
far	ka-mi'-mi	———	krong'-e	fo-lai'	ka-wi-gri'
father	i-ji'	ji	kok	———	je-bet
father-in-law	dŭ-bai'	———	ke'-gi	———	
fat (grease)	or'-i	ur	kio'-yo	———	i-bu'
" (animal)				sho-shoi'	
fear				ko-ban-kret'	
feather	i'-ku'	———	kor'-ga	———	ka
to feel	pa-su'	———			
female					i-ra-matk'
fever	kro-na-bi-te'	———	b-gun'	swo-ro'	che
few					ble-a'-dri
to fight	nyak+pu	———	ing'-kwi	i-no-kwe'	
finger	u-ra'+skn	———	sak-wo'	sak'-wo	ku'-akwa
fire	ji-ko'	———	yuk	———	ji'-kra
fire-fly			skon'-kwa	skon-kwa'	ki-na'

first	suk'-u-tu	———	bom'-gung	———	ung
fish	mi-ma'	———	ma'		
fish scale	ni-ma'+kwo	———	ma+sro'-kwa	ma+kwo'-ta	
flat	shpat'-ko	———	beg'-ö	———	
flea	d-ki'	———	kiung	———	chik
floor	har'-ka	hu+ha'	u+pkwe'-ru	u-i'-ro	
flower	kar+wus'-kwa	———	kor+i-a'-gru	kol'-ong	krang+sret
fly	shi'-bu	———	ji-wir'-wa	———	srung
fog	mo	———	pong	———	
to follow			ir'-gu		
food	jö-ku'	———	dli	———	
foot	kru+kwe'	———	shkor'-mo	shkon'-mo	kras'+kwa
forehead					wa-tush'
foreigner	jö-ku'-sü-wa	———	po-las'-o	fo-las'-o	
forest	kar'+ga	———	kor'+go-rui	krosh'-ko	
free			tok'-sai	———	
friend	her'-bui	———	pei	pfei	
frog	bur'-bi	———	ö-rung'.		
tree-frog	d-cha'-bu-kwi	bu-kwi'	knos	kro-wem'	
from			i-res'		
full	tü-ri'	———	tu'-nai	ta-bo-tu'-nai	kut-ka'-li
to gather	nya'-ska	———	sha-ras'-o		
ghost					i-wik'
girl	bu-si'*	a-la-bu-si'	wa+wa-re'	———	i-ra-matk'
	je-ba'*	———			
to give	i-mak'	———	twoz'+ung		
glad			wo-ko'bi		

* Same distinction of age as in Bri-bri

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●

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tirbi.	Turrala.	Bru-ka.
to gnaw			po-we'-a		
to go	shku	———	pan-o'-ma		
God	si-bu'	———	zi-bo'	zū-bo'	si'-būh
good	boe'	boi'	kob'-e	kob'-eol kob'-ē	mo-reng'-ri
grandfather	ta'-chi	———	bog-un'	———	
grandmother	ho-jē-ku'	———	ter	———	
grass	ta'-tsik	———	jit-sho	kro'-sho	
green	spa	spa-na	ke-song'	ke-song'-ē	
to grind			zguiz'+ung	a-we'	
to grow			kun	———	
guatuso				shka-re'	chelht
gun	mok'-kur	———	krik	———	bot
hair	to-kung-gu'	———	kog'-zn	kong'-zn	sīh'-ka
" of body				so	shi
half	mos'-ka	———	wen-zom'	wor-bish'-ko	Sh-ta'
to hallo	m-han-o	———			kung
hammock	ki-pu'	———	po'-gro		ju-re'
hand	u-ra'	———	ork'-wo	———	
back of hand	u-ra'+shi-bi	———	ork-wo+king'		
palm of hand	u-ra+ktu'	———	ork-wo+kwo'-broi		
handle	i'-ka-ta	———	krong	ba-sor'-ko	
to hang	i-kar'-mi	———	priz'-kom-o		
hard	d-re'-re	———	kong'-ko	kang'-kwe	
to have	krir	———			
hawk	pung	———	u-re'+pung	pung	scfg

he	hé	———	we	kwe	i+a-bi'
head	dzĕ-kung	———	kog'-o	———	sa-gra'
head of tree	kar'+a-ra	———	kor'+de-wol-rung		
to hear	his'-ka	———	kur'+ung	ko-kur'-ung	
heart					kwi-sĭh
heat	ba	bar	bol-o'	kli-kli'-a	ji+ong'
to help			kim-tor'+ung		
here	is'-ka	———	husk'-ko	ir-ish'-ko	we-eh'
high	hu-i'-ne	kong+shu'-ki	kok'+shko	kok+shko'-i	ashṭ-kar-e'
hill	kong+tsu'	———	drub	———	kak-tushṭ'
to hold	i-kru'-ku	i-kru'	shar'+ung		
hollow	har	———			
honey	bur	———	or	or'+di-o	but+cha
horn	i-du-ra'	———	su		
house	hu	———	u	———	uh
how	m-ne'-kĕ-pi	———	so'-je-ra	zhi'-ri-a	
husband	(hĕ+)ji'-ji	———	(bor+)do-met'	(bor+)do-bea'	
hunger	bĕ-chi'-na-te	ka'-gre	pli'-do		
I	jis	———	ta	———	a+da-bi'
idle	bi-ki	———	pag-je'-me		
iguana	bo'-a	ba	wong	fwang	ă-lit'
inside	hi'-na	———	ir'-or-e	ir-osh'-ko	
intestine	nya	———	jang'-ko-gru	zhang	su-a'
iron	ta-be'-ri+ji-ka	ta-be'+ji-ka			
jar	hung	ung	zhi	———	
jaw	kab-sha'	———	o-ro'	———	
jigger	d-ki'+tain-la	———	kiung'-wo	———	
juice	i-diu'	———	di-o'	———	cha

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba	Brun-ka.
just			so-kob′-so		
knee	k-chu′-wu	———	ko-kwo′	ku-wă′	
knife	ta-be′-ri+je-ba	———	su-gro′	drung	man-kra′
knot	i-wo′-moa	———	ki-bosh′-kwe	———	
to know	hu-nyer′	che-mi′	mi-dep	mi-der′-a	
language	suk-tu′	———			
large	kŭ-bi+bri-wi′	———	tu-e′	kwon-e′	
very large			kiz-bong′-ĕ		
last	shin′-a-wa	———	jam-o′		ok-sha-re′
late	ka-mas′-kra	tsan′-li	kok+sing′-e	———	
to laugh	m-han-ya′	———	bar		
lazy	bi-ki	———	pag-ji-me	kar-a-gung′-e	king′-shu
leaf (of tree)	kar+gu′	———	kar+kor′-gu	kor-o′-ga	krung′+ka
" (broad)	sik	———		zor′-go	
lean	j-kai′-bŭ				
to leave			ber-i-oz+ung		
left hand	shu-rĕ′	———	mir′-e	———	
leg	kru+kra-be	———		kwos-bo	
lemon	ash′-ua	———	i-gen-moh′		
to lend	pel′-te	———	poz-kwoz′+ung	———	
level	shpat′-ke	———			
to lie	b-kan-ju′-wa	———	nyor′-ke	———	ka-tu-a-ri
to lie down	m-he-bĕ-kru-wa	———	tush′-ko	bu+tush′-ko	ja-ung
lid	i-kush′-tu-gru	———	bong-za′-kru		
to lift	i-bĕ-tsu′-kn	———	po-yo′-zu	po-yong′-zo	
lightning	kong+wo+hor′-kn	———	zhgu-ring′	zhu-ring′	ji′-kra

lips	ko'-kwu	———	kap'-kwo	———	
to listen	i-ken-su'	———	kuz'+ong	ko-kuz'-ung	
little	tai'-nē-kra	———	ti'-ra	so-ti'-ra	i-sta-mu'-ra
liver	her	———	wō	wo	kok
long	kar-kwe'	b-tai'		bu	
to look	sū-wa'	i-sung'	i-zung'		wa-izb'-da
to loose	i-kuk'+tu-wa	———	kōngz'+ung		
to lose	i-kit'-sen-a	———	ben-oi'	———	a-ring'-ra
louse	kung	———	———	———	
lump	wo-wut-ser-e'	———	zo-i-ring'	kwo-i-ring'-soi	
lungs	jo	———			
macaw (green)	kwa+si-an'-e	pa	yē-mos'+kwong	———	
" (red)	kwa+mat'-ka	ku-kwa'	kus'+kwong	kish'-kwong	
maggot	d-chun'-ya		shto'	———	
to make	i-jo-wū'		she-ri-oz'+ung	sho-ri-oz'-ung	
male					kong+ad'ra
man	hē-ji-ji'	wi'-pa	dū-met'	do-ben'	kong+roh'
many	o-ru-i'	———	et'-o	yon'-soi	et-sušb-ta'-ri
how many?					bi-ik'
mark			i-ya'		
marsh	do-ri'	———	krung'-sho	———	
meat	jē-ku'+gru	jē-ke'	sing	dū-li	i-u-ran
medicine	buk'-pu-ri	k-pu'-li	du-ro'	———	
to mend	i-wo-yū'	———	yē-woz'+ung		
middle	shas'-ka	shus'-ka	wor-be'	wor-be'-shko'	ish'-ta
midnight	nē-nye'	kong+shong-shong'	kog-rong'-ē	ko-i-rong'-i	kag+ish-ta
milk	tsu'+diu	———	nau'+ri-o	———	tur-i-ka'

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribbi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
mine				to-nya'	a-rek'
monkey (red)	sar+mat'-ka	———	du'-i+go	do	nofg
" (howler)	d-ka'	———	bib'+go	bib	u'-li
" (white face)	kuk	———	yai'+go	———	ek
month				mok+ra-ra'	
moon	to-ru'	tu-ru'	mok	mok	tō-be'
more	i-ki'	———	o'-bi	———	
morning	si-syi'-ra	———	kok+shrung'-to	kok+shrung'	
mosquito	di-kri'	———	kwis'-king	kwis'-kwing	srun-sit
mother	mi	———	meh	———	be'-bi
mother-in-law	jak	———	aim	———	
mouse					kwi
mouth	ko'-kwa	ku'-a	kam'-o	———	kas'-a
mouth of river				di+sor'-go	
much	bi-ku'	———	et'-o	yon'-so	
mud	do'-ri	do'+ji-ka			so'-ra
nail (finger)	u-ra+sku+sho'-kwa	———	suk-wo+drung'-yo	———	drig'-i
narrow	si-ma'-na	———	pro-tir'-a	———	ku-ba'-dri
navel	mo'+wo	———	tu'-wa	tu'-wofg	
near	ko-ku'-sa	———	sosh'-ku	———	ek-chish'-ō
neck	ku-ri'+ki-cha	———	kring-duk	———	ing-a'
necklace	ku-ri'	———	bra		
night	ni-nye'	———	shka	———	big-at'
nipple					ka
no	kai	———	je'-mē	she'-mi	
noise	ko'-ja-gē	———	tu-t-et'-o	i-rong-ko'	kshis'-ka

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				593		1:Gabb
			dlo-drub		kag+i-bulb'-ta	
nose	mo'-ki	———	ne'-kwo	———	kshis'-ka	
nose	jik	———	zham'-ko	zhe'-mi		
not	kai	———	er'-i	———	cha	
now	hir	———				
numerals						
1	et'-ku	———	kra-ra'	kra'-ra	et-sik	
2	bot'-ku	———	pug'-da	kra'-bu	bug	
3	m-nyar'	m-nyat'-ka	mya'-re	kra-mi-a'	mang	
4	kier	kil	p-kegn'-de	kra-bū-king'	baib'-kan	
5	sker'a	———	shkegn'-de	kra-shking'	kīhi-skan'	
6	ter'-lu	———	ter'-de	kra-ter'	tesh'-an	
7	kul	———	kog'-ū-de	kra-kok'	kushk	
8	pagl	———	kwog'-ū-de	kra-kwong'	oib-tan	
9	te-ner'-lu	———	shkow'-ū-de	kra-shkap'		
10	d-bom'	———	dwow'-ū-de	kra-ra-wab'		
11	d-bom+et'+ku	———	king-shu+kra'	king-sho+kra'-ra		
12	d-bom+bot'+ku	———	king-shu+pok'	king-sho+kra-bu'		
13			king-shu+mya'	king-sho+kra-mi-a'		
14			king-shu+p-kegn'	king-sho+kra-bū-king'		
20			dwow-ū+pug'-da	sag+puk'		
30				sag+mi-a'		
oil	ki-n'	———	ki-o'	———		
old (thing)	i-ken'-a-wa	———	ke-ge'	zan-fe'	so-gro'	
" (person)	i-ken'-a-wa	———	yi-no+ke-ge'	zan-fe'		
on			hong	ē-li'		
once				fra-ra'-sei		
other					e'-je	

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
otter	dĭ'-bu-a	———	won-yuk'	wan-yŭ'	
our			shi'-ya		
out	i-we'-ten-ü-wa	shi-bi'-ga	kok'+su	hu'-ga	
outside	wi'-tu-ki	———	kok'+sur-e	hu'-ga	
over	king'-ga	———	kin'-go		
to own			toi		
package	dŭ-li'	———	shwong'+i-do	d-bok'-tan	ets-ong'
pain	di-ka'	di-li'-na	du-re'	ban	sa-o-ra
peccary (wary)	sir-bi'	———	shi-ri'	———	kra-mi-shuk
" (small sp.)	kas'-ri	kas-i-ri'	shtuk'-o	———	si-ni'
piece	i-wu-ku'	i-wu'-gi-tu	ba-ja-mo'	bo-kwa-ra'	
pile	i-dŭ-pan'-a	———	drub-par'-a		
to pinch	i-bĕ-tsu'	———	shoz-goz'+ung	———	
pine-apple	ka-ru-ru'-bui	ha-mu'-wa	pong'-wa	———	bwat
plantain	kru-bi'	———	i-bing'	———	mwa
point	i-bĕ-ta'	———	d-woi-rung'	d-bor-ong'	i-dru'
pot	ta-be'+wi	ta-be'+ung	droz'-bi		kwa-le'
precipice	hak+en'-a	———	i-geng'	{i-geng' skin	
priest	ksu'-gru	———	tang'ra		
to pull	si-ku'	si-gu'	shiz'+ung	———	
to push	i-nya'-tu-wa	pat-ku'-ju-mi	poz-rez'+ung	———	
quarter	i-ju-wa'	———	ba-bog'-yu	bob-wo-king'-de	
quick	ho-ru'-si	———	mal-ish'-tĕ	mal-e'	do-do'
quiet	kai-wa-shu'-ya	———	king'-e		
rain	kan+i'	———	shu-nyo'	shu-nyong'-wa	jo

rainbow	shko-ba′	———	dūn		talh-ka
raw					
ready	bi-ka′	b-tsi′	ta-pid′-zung		
red	mat′-ka	———	sri-zriñ′	kro-sri-zri-ren′-e	krú-bat′
reddish	b-tse′-na	———		sri-ren	
region	sar′-as	kin	kosh′-ko	———	
to rest	he-ru′	———	wosh′-ti	wosh′-to	
to return	re′-mi	bra′-ni		zwor′-kwos-ung	
rib				zhgring	
ribs	pre′	———	sheng′-ro	zhgring′-ro (special plur.)	
right hand	mo′-ki	———	kil-e′		
ripe	uri′-ru	———	kwi	———	brot-ka′-li
to rise	ku′-ka	———	shwo′-zu*	———*	
river	di-kru+e-na	di-kru+tyng′	di-kes′	———	di+kak′
road	nya′-ra	———	ir′-o-bo	———	neñg-kra
roof	hu′+tsang	———	ur+bo	———	
roots of tree	kar′+gi-cha	———	kor′+su-wo	kor+sreng′	kahas
rope	ksa	———	kyuñg		
rough	pa-nen′-e-ir-u	pa-nen′-e	ŏ-nos′-teng		
round	bri′-na		ki-ring′-ĕ		phi-gi-dat
to run	b-ton-o′	bi-ton′-u-mi	ti-ti-ĕh′	———	
sad				woi′-di	
saliva	kus′-kwa	———	trung	———	
salt	dĕ-ji′	———	drung	———	ki
sand	ksoñg	———	ĕra-sho′	———	up
sap	i-di-kli′	kar′+diu	kor′+di-o	———	
to say	i-shu′	———	o-ros′	tre	

* Imperative singular.

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
fish-scale	ni-ma′+kwo	———	ma+zre′-kwa	ma+kwo′-ta	
to scatter	sho-ti-a-wa-mi	tu-ru-mi′	zhduz′+ung	———	
scorpion	bi-che′	———	di-ye′	———	
to scratch	hen-biu′	biu	zhguz′+ung	drung′+shko	ki
sea	dö-je′	———	drung	———	
to see	sü-wa′	———	kor′+kwo-wo	———	
seed	kar+wa′	———	i′-ri-os	i-ti e′-ba	
to send				sez′-ung	
to sew			ya′-gro	sen′-te	ka-wik′
shadow	wig′-ra	———	yoz′-ung	———	
to shake	i-wuk-bu′	———	ir-o-ti′-ra	———	
shallow	pre′-na	pre′-rē	su-ret-eng′	(edge) peg-you′-soi (point) su-ret-eng′-e	
sharp	i-wu-ku′	a-ka′+ta	we	kwe	
she	he	———	wu-rir′-kwo shung	(murex) flin′-kwa dü-ram′-kwa	
shell (bivalve)	su-ri′	———	sob′-kwo		
shield	so′-gru	———	shkon′-gro	———	
skin	kra-be′	———	io-roz′-ong	———	
to shoot	i-tiu′	———	kwo-tir′-a	———	
short			d-wob′-dok	———	
shoulder	ko′-ka	———	kuz′-gwo	sur-o′	che-at′
shrimp	sok	———	sur-o-eh′	sog-bek-teng′-e	i-dosh-ö-re′
sick	kri-na′-wa	———	en′-i-yü	———	
similar	he′-kö-pi	———	toz′-ung		
to sing	bk-su′	———			

to sink	i-wo-tun-a	———	pis′+ung		
sister	ko-ta′	———	dor	———	
sister-in-law	shdo-bu′	———	kak	———	
skin	kwo	———	kwo′-ta	———	kwas-kwa′
woman's skirt	ba′-na	———	shwom′+zring		
skull	tsu-ko+du-chl′	dze-kung+du-chl′	ka′-dre-a	kog-wo′+dū-bo	
sky	du-ra′-bru	———	kob′-kwo	kom-ong′	
to sleep	sku-ri′-na	i-skwu′	poz′-ung	———	kap
sloth (brown)	si-na′-si	———	sho-rong′	———	
" (gray)	se′-ri-a	———	ki-a′	———	
" (little)	di-klu′-ji-ba	———	suz-bo′	———	
slow	hen′-a	———	wor′-a	———	ŭ-wa-ta′
small	tsi′-nē-kra	———	tl′-ra	so-tir′-a-wa	i-sta-mu′-ra
to smell	ha-rar′-ge	———	i-ro′-shis		
smoke	shkon-ē′	shkon-o′	nyo′	———	ji-l-ja′
smooth	jes′-na	je	tu-it′		
snail	*bu-ri	———	*pu-le′+na-kwa	shku′-ra-kwo	
" shell	*jok′-sē-ro	———	*i-wi′-bru	du′-kwa	
snake	kē-bl′	———	b-gur′	———	ta-bek′
to sneeze	tser′-gē	———	shor-ke′		
soft	do-ru′-na	———			
sole of foot	kru+ptu′	———	shkon′-kwo	ku-kwo′-woi-ro	kras-kwa+plang
solid			kong′-e		
son	jē-ba′	———	wa	———	
sour	shkun′-a	———	shpo-et′-o	shpo-yon′-soi	
spider	si-s′-mu-nya	———	ting		
to spit	kar-i′	———	trung+woz′+ung	trung+twoz′-ung	

* Probably special names of *Helix Bulimus*, *Melania*, &c., as in Bri-bri dialect, *kwa*, in Tiribi evidently means shell.

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Green River.	Tribi.	Terraba.	Bru-ka.
spleen	ko-u'	tak	wong	———	num
to spread			kwob-toz'+ung		
spy	ju-jet'-kuk	———	prob'-a		
to stand	her-wu'	———	jon'-ke	zhong-zhong'-ke	
star	kon̂g+wu'	———	d-bar-bo'	d-be-ra'-kwo	um'-ra
to steal	hog'-bru	———	ru-kez'+ung	rur'-ke	a-jang'-li
stick	kar	———	kor'+lo	———	krang
to sting	m-her'	ka'-wa	ta-wa'-ru	shor-ke'-so	
to stink	sa-ru-i+ha-rar'	su-ru-i+hrar'-ge	o-no'-et-o	o-no-ol'	
stone	hak	———	ak	———	kang
stool	krû-wa'	———	kruk	kru	
stop	ê-re'-re	he-re-re'	ko-shoz'+ü	———	
straight	mog-i'	———	i'-teng	kro-bek'-oi	du-u'-ka
to strike	it-pu'	———	i-ruz'+ong	sphoz'-ung	
strong	d-re'-re	———	d-bo-e'-to	kang'-ku-i	a-du-ru-re'
sugar	pash-tu'+chi-ka	———	jir'-bo-sho	aror'-bo-sho	
sun	di	di'-wo	do-ro'	———	kak
sure			zog'-u-de		
to swallow			d-kwoz'+ung	d-woz'-ung	
to sweat	pa-re'-na	———	sho'-ri-a	sho-ri'-na	
sweet	bro'-na	bro	pre'-bre	———	
to swim	bo-wo-ku'	bo-kwa'	ah-weh'	we	a-bu'-ü-li
tail	i-m-nek'	———	proc	frac	kwan-tsa'
to take	i-tsa'-mi	i-tsu'-mi	kroz'+ung	———	
to talk	bk-tu'	———	tnoz'+ung	———	
tall	b-tsi-br-wi	———	kok+shko'	———	

tame			un-e'-bi	———	
tapir	na'-i	———	so	———	na-i'
to taste	tsoŋg-air'	———	kuz'+ong		
teeth	ka	———	ko-wo'	———	kas'-a
" (molars)		ka+nyuk	ap	———	kam'i
to tell	i-shu'	———	ir-o-tos'		
then	he-re'-re	he'-re-re	en'-i	er'-a-ga	
there	wa-ji'-ga	di-ya'	kem'-nĕ	kim'-rish-ko	
they	he'-wa	ye	kweb'-ga	eb'-ga	i-roŋk
thick	kro-na-bi-ti'	hu-re'			
thief	hak	hak-bru'-gi			
thigh	tu-bru	———	kwor'-wo		
to think	her-wik'	———	wo-tniz'+ung	woi'-du	
thirst	her-ba'-na	her-si'	baum'-gung		
thorn					kwa
thou	ba	———	pa	fa	ba+a-bi'
throat				beng'-so	
to throw	i-hu-wa-mi'	i-tu'	d-buz'+ung	———	
thumb	u-ra+sku+in'-ga	———	sak-wo+kes'-yu	sak-wo+kes'-i	
thunder	hŭ-ra'	s'-ra	krik	———	kak'+an-te-gra
tick	ban'-o-wa	kas'-o-wa	tri'-gua		
to tickle	gi-pa'	———	yi-gru-woz'+ung		
to tie	i-mo'-a	———	kro-di-oz'-ung	kro-tenz'-ung	
tiger (spotted)	na-ma+kro'-na	———	d-kro+tong	d-boŋg+tan-tan'-e	ku-ra'
" (black)	na-ma+do-ro'-na	———	kro+zi'-a	d-boŋg+kro-si'-a	
" (red)	na-ma+mat'-ka	———	kro+sri-zrin'	shu-ring+d-boŋg'	
time (future)	ma-nya-ni'	nya-nya+si-nye'-ta	pĕa-ir'-e	de-nash'-ko	

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tirribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
time (past)	ba-ha'-si	nya-nya'	den-ai'	po-nyash'-ko	
tired	hĕ-rĕ-be'-na	———	sen-ol'	———	j-ro'-sha-ra
toad			krok	kro'-we	kshuk
tobacco	dŭ-wa'	———	do-wo'	———	du-a'
to-day	hir	———	er'-i	———	cha
toes	kras'-ku	———	sap'-kwo	———	
together	mya'-ra	———	hu'-nĕ	sha-ra'	
to-morrow	bu-ri'-ri	———	i-bong'	i-bou'-a-ga	sek
tongue	kok'-tu	kuk'-tu	kior'-kwo	ker'-kwo	kwat'-kwa
top of head	tsŭ-kung'+bĕ-ta	tsong'+bĕ-ta	kwa-dru-i-bo'		
tortoise	kwi	———	kwe	bog-o'	ba-eg'-ri
to touch	bŭ-rat-ku'	———	por-woz'+ung		
tree	kar	———	kor	———	krang
tribe	wag'+ĕ-ru	———	io-no'	———	
trunk of tree	kar	———	kor+i'-do		
to try	he-man'-i	———	tŭ-uit'		
to turn	men-e'-wa	———	wor-kwo'+zu		
twice					bug-ŭ-dak'
to twist			doz'+ung	zhu-iz'-ung	
ugly			so-o'-wa	———	
ulcer	shum-e'	———	zbing		
uncle	no-wa	naung	ke'-ga		
under	d-king'-ga	———	i-dor'-ko	tush'-ko	a-de'-bi
to understand	je-na-be'-ra	te-sa'	ku'-rob-dĕ	ko-kuz'-ong	
unripe			kro-pro-pru'-gi		
until			pe-si'-re		

192x
197

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

valley	koŋg+d-choi′	———	ztomb	zdam	
vein	ham-e′	———			
vine	ksa	———	kij′-wo	———	san-kwa′
voice	har′-ke	———	krun		
to vomit	i-tu′-wa	———	yar-we′	ya′-twe	
waist	ki-pa′	———			
to wait	kin-su′	———	ko-shoz′-ung	———	
to walk	i-shku′	———	hik	ik	
to want	ki-a-na′	———	woi-det′	———	
wasp	bu-kra′	———	wŭ-ro′	wo-rok′	srung-wa′
water	di-kru′	———	di	———	di
wax	har	bur′+i-nya	sot	on′-cham	but
we	sĕ-ha′	———		shing	ja-a-bi′
well	boe′	———			
wet	kis′-u	nun-a′-ga	puk-tong′-ĕ	pu-hu′-i	se-kar′
what	hi-ru′-in	er-hi′-i	kon-e-kro′-ti	zhe	
when	mi′-ga	———	jon′-wro	zhon′-wa	i′-ik
where					je
which	men-ĕ′	———	kon-e-de′		
to whisper	ka-kwa′	ji-kwa′	ba-tnez-wor′-a	kob′-wo+ba-kwoz-ung	kos′-wa
to whistle	ka-kun′-e	ka-kun′	b-ko′-ba-kwe		taish-kung
white	su-ru′-ru	———	plu-blun′	kru-ru′-ni	su-wat′
who	ji	———	i	e	di′-a
whole	har-e′-bu	kra-be′	kwo-hik′	i-don′-hi	
why					io′-ge
wide	shon′-a	shon	ba-met′-o	star′-e	wan-ka-li′
wife	(je+)ĕ-ra′-kra-wa	(je+)ĕ-ra′-kra	(bor+)iok′	(bor+)wa-re′	i-ra-rok′

192x
197

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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192x
197

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tribbi.	Terraba.	Bruna.
wild	kar+ŭ-bu′	———	kro-hi′	———	shung
wind	si-wang	———	pruc	———	i-rä-matk′
woman	č-ra′-kra-wa	č-ra -kra	wa-re′	———	
worn	d-cho′-nya	———	chus′-kro		
worse	se-ru-i+si′	———			
to wring		diu′-tru	zhguiz′+ung		
wrist	wu′-gĕ-cha	———	ork-wo+dok′		
yellow	psi	———	shoin′-lot	shoi-rañg′-i	sho-o-sat′
yes	hŭ′-ŭ	———	ing	———	u′-ge
yesterday	jĕ-ki	———	kub′-kĕ	kub-kesh′-ko	bi-ik
you	bas	be	ta-wa	fai-rung′-kwe	bi-roshk
your			poi	to-nya′	

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF COSTA RICA

By Alanson Skinner

INTRODUCTION

BELONGING to the Chibchan linguistic stock are the Bribri Indians, a small but primitive tribe inhabiting the mountainous district watered by the eastern branches of the Telirí river near the central southern boundary of Costa Rica and extending into northern Panama. They have been visited by a number of observers, including Dr William M. Gabb[1] (whose valuable account we have not hesitated to quote extensively) and Dr Henry Pittier de Fabrega.[2]

The writer spent the months of March and April, 1917, in collecting among these Indians for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at which time the

131
[197]
114

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca.*[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[12] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The
Boruca distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

[P. 8(A)]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*ξerí*) and amount to
approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near
[162] the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualys]

LANGUAGE

• 197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Qualys

[43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue.
[103] The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Fran-
[797] ciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

● 197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

184 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the
197 former contact in times long past between the
[533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but
[535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Leh-
[197] mann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study,
104 indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą iʒə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, ị, ọ, ụ, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[p. 9(B)]

194 ǯ, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*. It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of ǯ, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

L is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico [197] have a like consonant.

j is palatal and fricative.

r, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta*.

ts is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch*.

ʃ is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh*.

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch [192] produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example:

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dəwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jəwá* (medicine man)
low pitch: *du* (bird); *dəwe* (sickness); *jəwa* (otter)

(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 187 indicates), 1896.

[32] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.

[33] Pozas, N.D.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[888] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[888] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[889] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

[P. 86]

*539

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

19. *dikáswa*[201] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikáswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikáswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikáswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[202] You will never die." (*?*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikáswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *káswa*], dance [of *káswa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

---

19. dikúswa

1. ɛtsɨ́ kɨLɛ́,[203] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[204] patkɛ̨mj ɛtsɨ́ kɨLɛ́-i-tsúk. buLáme-tɨ, sibu-tə dikúswa ichake, "Šu-ruśwami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iɨ́té, "ké bu-ruśkua. be-ɛ̨ə emɛ̨. ké be-ruśkwɨ̨ šɨ̨tɛ̨."[205] (*?*) *é*-kuɛ̨gi sibu-tə dikúswa[206] meɨ̨t-eé buɨ̨únmeLe.

20. buLtakuLe[207]

1. kuɛ̨ɛ̨ɛ̨[208] kuɛ̨ɛ́ jaɛ̨ɛ̨ange[209] kuanjé jaɛ̨ɛ̨ɛ̨ɛ̨.
kuanjé ɛ̨ɛ̨ange kuanjé.

2. ta-kuɛ̨,[210] kuen-dí,[211] ta-kuen-dí, Lɨ̨n[212]-dí,
ta-seLaLa seLari,
ta-das-donchi.
jɛ̨[213] iberke ikuɛ̨ɨ́, jɛ̨-iberke jɛ̨n.

3. kuanjejeɨ́[214] jekua jɛ́eɨ́.

[755] [552] [778] [197] [172]

[201] This is the medicine man's song against sickness. [202] I.e., that you are sick.
[203] *kɨLɛ́* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kɨLɛ́*.
[204] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cayeo.
[205] This also means "nothing."
[206] The connotation is that the bird, *dikáswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikáswa*.
[207] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[208] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[209] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[210] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[211] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle. [212] *See* Theological Beliefs.
[213] *jɛ̨* and *jɛ̨n* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *káswa*.
[214] These sounds signify adornments.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace [126] of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

767 Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, 793 and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular, but many of the nouns are peculiar. *Si-bu*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they knew. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

756 Finally come the *Asas*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profes- 791 sion, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
[614] journey to the other world through song. The Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *sibəwak*, *korrebué*, or *sinąbwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLə* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *sini*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənítsuə* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

● [198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrbué*. We use *korrèbué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéhuwak*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabécar, an aspirant must belong to one of the [614] following clans: túgwa, bLɛriwa, sibawa, sənɨtswa, ʒɔʒɔwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred [198] songs with words in an ancient or secret [778] language unknown to the general public. These last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri [754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and [436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
776 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[244] Aguilar P., 1953.
[245] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Otón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

*539 At night, they were given a large jug for a bed.

One of the prisoners noticed that the head of the house would go out to hunt but as soon as he left, the roar of a jaguar was heard. He spied on the man and discovered that outside of the house he was a jaguar but, by shaking himself, his hide fell off and he became a man who went into the forest.

The watching prisoner crept up to the jaguar skin and carried it off. When the man returned and did not find his jaguar skin, he became furious and began to eat the people.

One old woman, seeing the awful things that were happening, heated an earthen rod and stuck it in the mouth of the man-jaguar while he slept. Then she quickly hid in a little tunnel she had prepared beforehand. This is how the people in Alta Talamanca were rid of such a terrible scourge.

The Medicine Man's Stones

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

*539 756 778 When *sibu* made the first eight medicine men, he died for four days. Three of these men predicted that he would not stay dead but would go to the sky. One of these was *díkúswa* who was once a water bird and when he said that *sibu* would never die he was made into the most powerful of the *siá* or medicine man's three principal stones. All medicine men know when they themselves are going to die as [763] *díkúswa* disappears or divides himself in half. He is so powerful that only the most powerful doctors dare to use *díkúswa*. The majority rely on *sorkuswa*. All the *siá*, however, communicate with *sibu* and the medicine men in a [198] "sacred" or private language unknown to the layman.

(15) The Sacred Stones[195]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

There is a spot in Talamanca where there are large boulders. Here live the *siá*, the medicine men's stones. A new medicine man, if it is possible, goes there and leaves grains of white maize on the rocks at night. The next morning the stones appear.

[195] *See* Linguistic Texts: *siá*.

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
[534] accompaniment is formed by an accordion, guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

*** Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

[P. 74]

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

114 Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have
194 been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, é, ę, ę́, ə, i, í, o, u, ú, ụ, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a
193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, kə, kə́, ki, kj, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, tə, sa, se, si, su, uk, ụk, še.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ŋa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use
194 of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and
114 Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[234]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental pho-
193 nemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

194 > The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except j, ę, ọ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ją, ąj, ʌi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, ụą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the
195 medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also
533 generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred or curing chants of the *jawá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba
*539 (Tribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

● [198]

[234] Jones, 1959.

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
juntas or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
574 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒa* (chicha-to drink). They
273 are held when there is need of group labor
such as building a house, clearing a field,
making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people
meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply
liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the
preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of
clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana
skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[824] the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a
half to three feet and they are played by hand.
Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a
stick. The people on the Pacific side do not
have the upright drum but use the Chiricano
caja or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with
two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick
237 while those of land turtles are used in a similar
manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a
musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled
with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or
wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the up-
right drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and
1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty
drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific
side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are
[211] accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each
house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the
whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the
museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
[461] dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
146 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase with-
262 out care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and
almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

184 197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

● 212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, 104 indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą iłə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, ị, ọ, ụ, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

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411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio, never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

534 All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

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Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A frame-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*si*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-was'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may result with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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757 to apply to the traders for medicines for fever. All go to Mr. Lyon in case of snake-bite, and when taken in time, he says he has never failed to cure a case with either ammonia or iodine, as seemed to be indicated. It may be interesting to note that after obtaining no relief with one of these medicines, he has given the other, and with immediate good results. He gives the iodine in the form of alcoholic tincture in 10 to 15-drop doses, every 10 to 15 minutes. Some of them seem to believe in the incantations of the *Asus* or doctors, but foreign medicines are gradually gaining ground over sorcery. For rheumatic pains, headaches, &c., there are two remedies used. The simplest is counter-irritation by whipping with nettle leaves. The other is bleeding. The lancet is made usually from the tongue of a jew's-harp, broken off at the angle and sharpened to a point. This is set at right angles in a little stick for a handle, and is used by holding it over the affected part and striking it briskly with a finger. They never regularly open a vein and draw off a quantity of blood, but every stroke makes a separate puncture, from which only a few drops exude. At Borubeta I saw a man bled to relieve the aching of fatigue in his arms. He had been scraping *agave* leaves, to extract the fibre for hammocks. He had at least fifty punctures made over his two arms.

222 439 314 The natural products of the country are principally sarsaparilla root and india rubber. The sarsaparilla vine is green, angular, and covered with thorns. It grows very long and climbs over bushes and even trees in the more open parts of the forest. At short distances it is jointed, and if it touches the ground every joint sends out a new set of roots. The leaves are large and acuminately oval and have three longitudinal ribs, the midrib and two parallel ones, half way between the middle and the edge. The fruit is round and grows in a cluster something like grapes. The vine has a tap-root, and besides sends out a large number of horizontal roots near the surface of the ground, and from six to ten feet long. The sarsaparilla hunter first clears away carefully all the bushes and undergrowth with his machete. He then, with a hooked stick, digs into the ground at the base of the vine until he loosens the earth and finds where the best roots are. The tap-root is never disturbed, and it is customary to dig up only half the roots at a time, to avoid killing the vine. Having selected those that look most promising, he places his hand under one or two and gently lifting them, follows their course with his hooked stick, loosening the soil and lifting them out, following them to their ends. They are then cut off, the dirt carefully replaced around the vine, and the roots laid in the sun, or hung up to dry. A vine yields generally from four to nine pounds of green roots. When dry they are tied into cylindrical rolls a foot long and four or five inches thick, weighing about a pound.

India rubber is obtained by scoring the bark of the trees obliquely. Several cuts are placed one above another and in pairs converging downwards; the sap being directed in its flow by a leaf placed at the bottom, which serves as a spout, to direct it into the vessel placed to receive it.

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to coagulate and turn black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 222 314 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes, axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot, and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell net-bags and hammocks to the Tiribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsaparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cocao, of which they might have enough and to spare for the more trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race. 439 438

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadelphia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students. 114

Vol I. Chapter VII. p. 684, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 684 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Vallentes, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Itamas, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio, never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to 534 them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have [532] been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [257] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [854] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

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825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

● 224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

[p. 25-B]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

there was standing a man of stately appearance. He asked, "Here I am; how art thou?" The other answered, "Well; why didst thou come here?" And he told how he had shot at a tapir, and had lost it. Then the man of the house went on, and said, "Why dost thou shoot to play? When thou shootest, do it so as to kill, so that the poor beast does not fall a prey to the worms. But I see thou art tired, so come in and have a seat." And he brought him *chicha*, and gave him to eat the meat of the tapir at which the hunter had shot without effect, but which the owner of the house had killed. 539

And when he had rested, drunk, and eaten, the hunter said that he had visited his host. But this one replied, "There, take thou this piece of cane, and plant it at thine home, and when the cane has grown its full growth again, then, but not until then, shalt thou be able to speak once more."

When the hunter got to his house, he could not utter even a word, so he planted the cane; and it grew, and when it had attained its full height, then the hunter could talk again, and he told all that had happened to him.

The man in whose house the hunter had been was the king of the tapirs, and this is why he treated him so.

VI. THE KING OF THE WILD HOGS.

Among the beasts, the wild hogs also have a king. He is to all 773 appearance like a very white and good-looking fellow, who goes 825 through the woods with a big stick in his hand. He lives in an enchanted place on the heights of San-krá-ua, and his door is guarded by a huge tiger.

The king of the hogs is displeased when the Indians wound his [224] subjects without killing them at once. Once upon a time there was in Boruca one of those bad hunters who had the reputation of being 539 a bad archer, and who always wounded the animals, but never killed them. One day he went into the woods, and met with a large herd of hogs, after which he ran and ran, without being able to reach them. When he paid attention to the place he had got into, he saw that he had gone astray. Then he went ahead until he came into the presence of the king of the hogs, who caught him by the throat and said, "Why dost thou hurt all my hogs without ever killing them? Now thou shalt suffer for it, because thou shalt remain in my hands until thou hast healed them all." And there he stayed for a long time, healing hogs; and at the beginning they did not let him heal them, but came upon him to bite. So that he suffered a thousand deaths, until they were cured a little, and became so tame as to follow him everywhere.

When there were no more hogs to cure, the king called our

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1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[72] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*havas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[72] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier [118] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)
[177]

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages; Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

756 term is *sią* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are
778 called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkúswa*. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves. Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to the medicine man on special occasions, or are handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan. When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish to give his own stones to a young professional, his brother or clan keeps them until a new doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without these two stones although other ones are also used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the particular animal when one hunts and it is for this reason the Indians say that medicine men never lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose a medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[774] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sanitswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of
252 gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
533 sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsẹn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəṇẹ́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[203] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kẹmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymi Indians of northwestern Panama. [776] [172] [171]

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[268] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[267] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[268] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tiribi, *AuA* in Terraba, and *Ku-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bri-bris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these in-
776 habit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are
778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who
[753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Uron, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-jums*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *ba-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to
776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Asus* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck,
[226] breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

824 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak
[293] further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent
[481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A frame-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*si*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-was'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may result with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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784 natives will admit. This penalty may be avoided, however, by calling in the services of the nearest shaman, who removes the taboo, or *búkuru*, by blowing upon the object and singing certain songs to the accompaniment of his medicine rattle. The following day it may be handled and disposed of with impunity.

226 *Fish Traps.*—Fish are taken by blocking small tributaries of a river and stranding them, by shooting with arrows or catching them in traps. Unfortunately none of these processes was observed, but pl. XXIX reproduces a photograph of a tributary of Coen river across which a temporary dam had been made to divert the course of the stream and leave the fish high and dry.

481 At this point we may mention the Bribri method of crossing swollen streams by means of the ingenious device of weighting themselves with heavy stones borne on the shoulders (pl. XXX). The writer did not have the good fortune to witness this performance, but we are enabled to introduce the accompanying illustration through the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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227
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PL. XXVIII

BRIBRI MEN FISHING

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 95]

262 825 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are 223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to [411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting 177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

● 226 Fishing. The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine [824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash 278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an [227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca*
[415] is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12): For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tum-*
[412] *bas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 When food is not taken by hand from the
415 vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 One of the most important elements of food
[263 of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca*
484] make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[2/1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [278] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called [824] *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

2/1 [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
● 226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsɨn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəɲé* which is a very strong term.

496 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[203] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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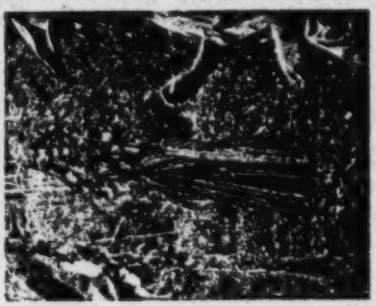
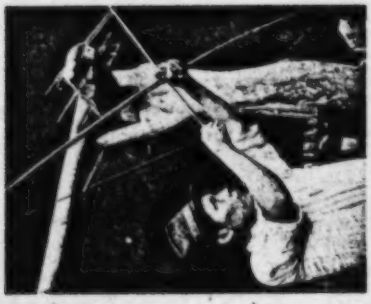
a



b



c

d

a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. *b*, Shooting fish. *c*, Using a blow gun. *d*, Shelter for chickens.

[END Plate 2]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio, never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to 534 them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

dreaded, since the Indians say they could not withdraw the arrow without pulling out the victim's intestines on the barbs. 411

Pl. XXIV, *b*, shows an arrow resembling the preceding, except that the foreshaft is round in cross-section and is barbed only on one side. It is a form used in fishing. 227 411

Pl. XXIV, *a*, is also a fish arrow, for taking small species. It has a foreshaft of cane split into four prongs, which open on contact with the water and spread out to encompass the fish. Pl. XXVIII represents a party of Bribri men in semi-costume ready to shoot fish.

Blowguns.—While not nearly so common among the Bribri as bows and arrows, blowguns are still to be seen in many houses. These weapons are made by removing the core of some pithy stalk about 6 feet long. The bore is rather large, and through it are shot clay pellets (pl. XXV, *a*) instead of darts. The outer surface of the weapon is covered with a heavy black gum, the same as that used on the arrows, but thickly applied. On all complete blowguns two shell beads are set parallel, close together, 411

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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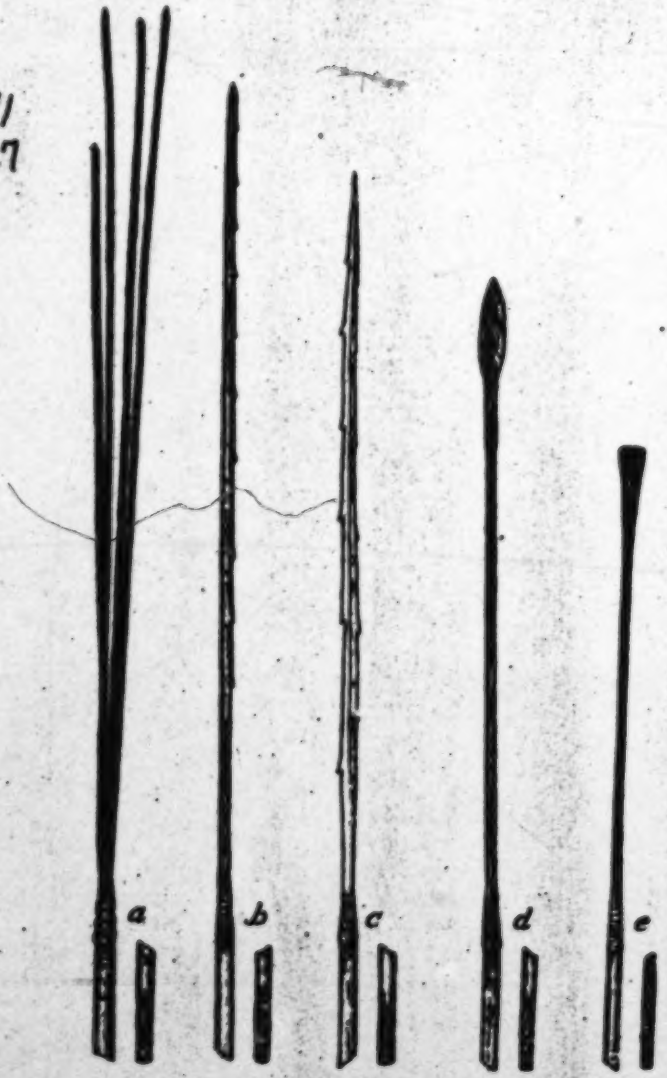

TYPES OF BRIBRI ARROWS

a, For small fish, length 6′ 1″; *b*, Typical fish arrow, length 5′ 7½″; *c*, War arrow, length 4′ 11½″; *d*, Large game arrow with metal point, length 5′ 1″; *e*, Small game arrow with blunt head, length 4′ 5″.

[Facing page 87]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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PL. XXVIII

BRIBRI MEN FISHING

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 95]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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FISH-WEIR ON COEN RIVER

[facing p. 97]

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam; the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachesis mutus*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 Fishing. The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anacardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into [482] rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which [171] closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [482] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets are made from it.

[824] A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

342 angular roof of thatched plantain leaves. These lodges vary from twenty to forty feet in length, averaging thirty feet, and from the ground to the apex of the roof-ridge they are eight to ten feet high. In general appearance they closely resemble the houses of the Florida Seminole, but usually lack the sleeping platforms of the latter (pl. 1).

Some houses are provided with floors about four feet from the ground, which generally are made of splints of palm or other wood, lashed with lianas to a framework of beams. Such floors afford an uncertain and yielding footing to a heavy person. Generally the floor covers only a portion of the ground area, an open space being left at one end to accommodate the fireplace, which is situated on the hard-beaten earth. The raised floor is reached by a short, log ladder, the steps of which are closely spaced notches. [352] Hammocks of native make swing from post to post across the lodge above this floor. Sometimes the floor is encompassed by a loose wall of sticks, set up vertically and [231] bound together, the intervening space be-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen, while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. 342 [231]

This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [415] The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle. [354] Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao lie without order on the ground. [415] Generally in this quarter one may see also the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano. 412 One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Tame parrots, parra-
231 keets, macaws, and other birds, or mammals, such as monkeys, screech at the visitor from a safe retreat in the rafters, and there is always a host of dogs to guard against.

342 Another, now uncommon, type of lodge is oval or round, a trifle larger and flatter than the form described. Its outer wall is only about four feet high, loosely built of sticks set up vertically and tied together. This type of lodge is light inside, but its sides are not tight; it has no raised floor, and no smoke-hole. The kitchen is always some distance from the door, and though never in the center of the building, is often at the end opposite from the entrance.

352 516 [532] In all the forms of lodges observed, there are many four-legged stools, sometimes roughly carved to imitate tortoises, and very long benches. The Bribri, when at home, never squat on the bare ground like their North American relatives, but each member of the family, including the youngest child, has his own seat.

342 The last type of Bribri house to be mentioned is the most striking. It is called today a "*palenque*," or "king's house," by

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

● 231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

[p. 7-A]

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ʃjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *oskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *paweel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

[p. 7-B]

with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [23]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

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forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

[p. 13-B]

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[21] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[21] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own. 311

Property and Inheritance. The oldest male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people. 428

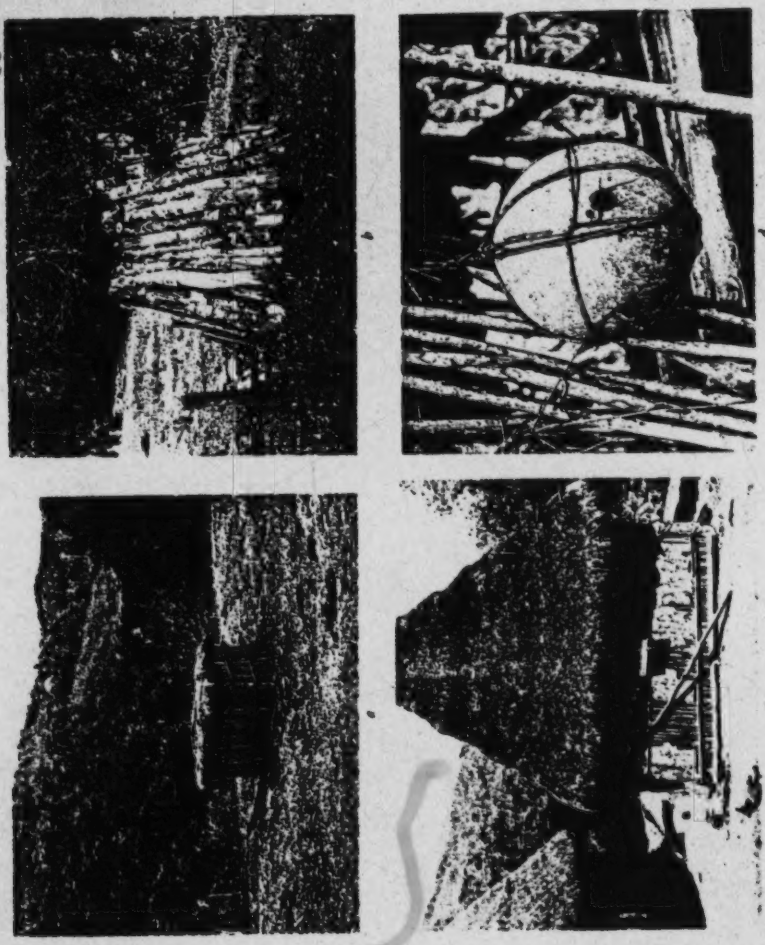
Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an inheritance. The cows are seldom milked. 231 [556] [439] [556 234]

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot. 476 [342] [364]

Political Organization. Most traces of political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 625 625 623

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

231
243



a, b, Two types of chicken coops. c, Vertical pole construction with spots of *Aphrophyr* and hanging "nest" for setting hen. d, Domestication of bees (hive made from a gourd).

[p. 54]

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ká* (*ká* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *buǯiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *ǯiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan
[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection against the inevitable pigs which are kept by [231] the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is [245] [272] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated [439] and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, [273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, [231] and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de [175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ."[68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

[P. 13(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

●231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but not in all. They are enclosed at night in small [417] houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), 1/4 or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

1/4 [see category 116, End Plate 2 - Analyst.]

● 231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).¼
794 In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
231 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent, the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

¼ [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
● [231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morki*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1] [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, ●231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*,[77] made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Tala- manca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [77] It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1/4 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLɔ* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [17] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals.[1] Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
[415] hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[412] in every household although their number is
limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
women but chiefly by the men.
[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guaramo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[80] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
[824] needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[80] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *biguerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skobarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *sakibaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[80] Skinner, 1920, pp. 59-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [80] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[80] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Fur- [412] nishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 41(B)—QUALYST]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

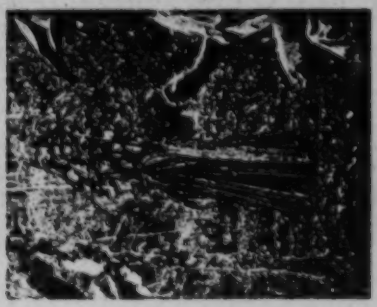
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 41(B)—QUALYST]

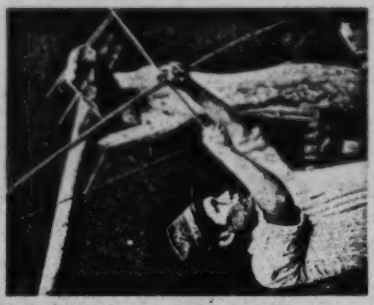
[495] [341] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[342] Usually 100 pounds.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

142
231
226
291
411
417





a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Throwing fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Shelter for chickens.

[End Plate 2]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

342
291
285

a

b

342
284
516
291
354
415
231

c

d

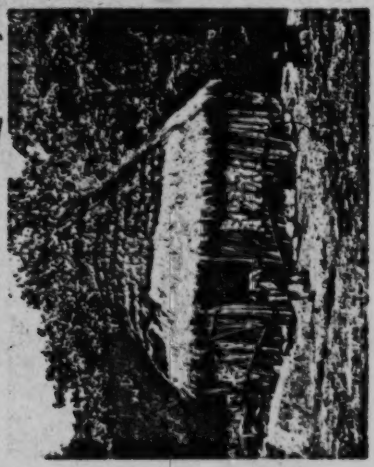
a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

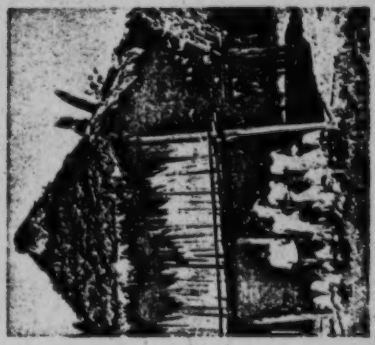
[END PLATE 5]

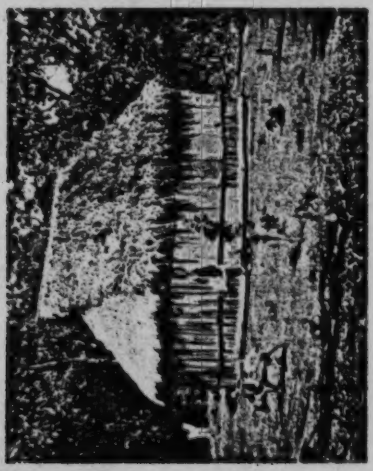
6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

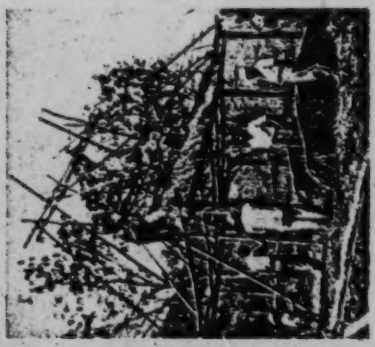
SA19 Talamanca SA19
cabecar
Bribri

342
357
291
231









a, Cabécar combined rectangular and round house, Ujarrás. Note the grass and palm roofing. *b*, Cabécar round house, Ujarrás. *c*, Constructing a Bribri rectangular house, Cabagra. *d*, Bribri raised rectangular house.

[END PLATE 6]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
302
291

a

b

142
302
291
854
231

d

a, Bribri boy. *b*, Bribri girl. *c*, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. *d*, Bribri man.

[END PLATE 12]

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an 234]
inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who [342]
wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of 625
political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who 625
is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

● 237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [894] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

291 the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partly conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty [894] dress, I must do these people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both men and women. . . . .

301 "For ornaments all wear necklaces; the fav-
237 orite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of
301 them, they wear great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman. . . . . Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. . . . . On one occasion, I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days, I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are some-

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

times, though rarely, used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [321] [534]

"The men sometimes wear headdresses made of feathers. The most prized are the white down feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made of chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one headdress made from the hair of the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place." 237 301

Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

301 ●237 789 778 *Necklaces.*—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

301 Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

301 321

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

301 [435] golden eagles formerly common among them, the latter being much easier to make.

Headdress.—Pl. XXI represents a man's headdress made of the tail-down of an eagle, as described by Gabb. The pure white, fluffy feathers are attached in clusters to a woven cotton head-band of white with red stripes.

Pl. XXII shows another warrior's head-gear, the foundation of which is trade cloth, upon which, in front, are gummed alternate [237] rows of blue and red feathers, with a crest of yellow.

Pl. XXIII, *a*, illustrates an old head-band consisting of a canvas fillet on which are mounted half a dozen long, draggled feathers of the red macaw.

While the Bribri wear no nose or cheek plugs, they say that this custom is still in vogue among some of the neighboring tribes. These ornaments are said to be made of tapir bone, and are three or four inches long, slender and cylindrical. When [727] taken by the Bribri from a slain enemy, they are highly valued as war trophies.

000 *Bark and Fiber Articles.*—Besides the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

237
301

PL. XXI

MAN'S HEADDRESS

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 81]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

237
301

PL. XXII

MAN'S HEADDRESS MADE OF ROWS OF FEATHERS ALTERNATING IN COLORS

[facing p. 83]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

237
301
372
412

HEADDRESS OF MACAW-FEATHERS AND FIPE-FAN OF HAWK-FEATHERS

[facing p. 85]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigona*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Cordage.** The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, *5*, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [954]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and as "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ba'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

386 threads, the Indians lamented to the writer that they had forgotten how to make many of the beautiful colors their ancestors knew. In particular, they wanted to know how to obtain a bright blue. As a consequence, the seeds [123] of the broad-leaf indigo were sent them for planting.

The colors still made by the *Boruca* are black, light yellow, pale blue, and purple. Light brown is obtained by using the natural colored cotton, as stated before. Formerly, red was made by boiling the leaves of the sangrilla tree which is called *rus kra'* in Boruca, and is abundant in the neighboring forests. At present, they do not make this dye, as they seem to think it too much trouble. A fast jet black is procured by cooking the bark of a tree called *carbonero* (*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.) in Spanish, and *grifin-kra'* in Boruca, and combing the liquid with a black clay found in the vicinity. Light blue is made from a narrow-leaf indigo (*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.) which abounds by the river. The leaves are boiled for dye. Purple is obtained on the sea coast near Punta Mala and Dominical. Here a mollusk (*Purpura patula* Gould), called *la morada*, is gathered at low tide off the rocks which jut out of the water along the shore. Formerly, the Indians swam out to the rocks with the cotton thread on top of their head 237 to collect the animal.[26] The *Boruca* have no 386 tradition of any of this. At the present time, they gather the mollusk when the tide is out from the shore, and from the rock they can reach by wading. Great pain is taken not to let the creature die. On obtaining the mollusk, they first turn over the shell so that the sea water runs out. Then they blow into the shell, holding the thread in front. The angry animal spits out a fluid on the thread, after which he is thrown back into the sea. This fluid is at first a greenish-yellow, but when dry, becomes deep purple.[27] They say that the ink is best when the moon is full, and no good when the moon is new. At other times, the color is not so strong, nor does it dye evenly. [648] This dye has long been prized not only by the

[26] See Cockburn, 1779, p. 112.

[27] According to Dr. W. J. Clench, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University, this dye is a drug used by the snail to anesthetize its victim.

[28] See Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 353–54; Cock-

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[30] Information given to the writer by Professor
[115] Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-B]

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[296] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied
[412] to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[157] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[17] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tə ʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside ●[237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[29] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas*; reme-
[45] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas*, and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] [77] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
[824] in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[474] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guariumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
[824] needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chicá* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *biguerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *sakíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentendra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

● 237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
824 on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

756 term is *sié* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are
778 called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
swa. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves.
Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to
the medicine man on special occasions, or are
handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan.
When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish
to give his own stones to a young professional,
his brother or clan keeps them until a new
doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without
these two stones although other ones are also
used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild
pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the par-
ticular animal when one hunts and it is for this
reason the Indians say that medicine men never
lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Araceæ*
sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing
paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf
is used more as an indication of magic power
than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during
childbirth. Other articles which compose a
medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[231] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kuê;* a
lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the
feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quet-
zals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and
shells of which three are of particular impor-
tance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikwo*, a rose
and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

Training and Procedure. Although there is no
756 fixed time required for preparing to become a
medicine man, it usually takes from two to
six years, depending upon the capacity of the
novice's memory. The first six months are
intensive. The apprentice goes for three days
without eating. He makes a lean-to in the
woodland out of all the herbs he can gather,
edible and non-edible, and stays there for two
days so as not to see the sun. At night he can
go outside. During this period, the medicine
man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After
two days and two nights the teacher and his
pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the
hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analys]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[824] the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[204] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Anal,157]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-se'-ka-ra* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *bu-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *bu-ku-ru'*.

The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
474 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an
574 extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

● 241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461] the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273] man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacua over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

is shown in pl. III, from a photograph kindly furnished by Prof. M. H. Saville. 482

Drying platforms for cacao, and outside granaries, built close to the houses, are found everywhere. 343

Gardens.—Many Bribri lodges are surrounded by yards enclosed with small bough fences, within which nothing is grown; but every home has its small banana or plantain plantation and its grove of cacao trees, sometimes very large and old, with occasional lime trees or yampi plants. These trees usually grow close to the dwelling, and often surround it. Corn fields are commonly seen, and calabash trees are always in evidence. Cotton plants, growing either singly or in small clumps, are sometimes found near the houses. 241 ●

Household Utensils.—As above stated, every member of a family is provided with a low stool or seat, hewn from a block of wood. These seats (fig. 2) are round, square, or oblong, and the long, round, tapering legs of some examples suggest the stone metates found at Las Mercedes. There can be no doubt that the custom of 352 171

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian
[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had
[346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
[245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying
[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand
[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]
[804] *A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE *ACTIVITIES*

square *varas*.[18] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence 417
is nearly always made with living posts,

[p. 5-B]

417 usually from the *poro-poro* tree[16] (*Cochlospermum bibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco*
[B24] *de fuego*, or *brutf-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced.
241 One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *únbab*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

243 The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black[18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum bibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

[798]

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

241

821

When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia*[88a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

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773

[88a] See below.

[p. 25-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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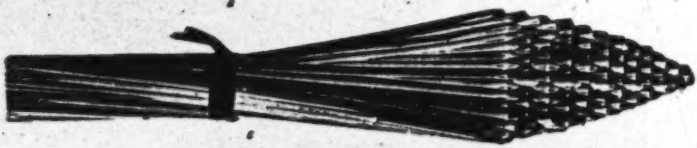

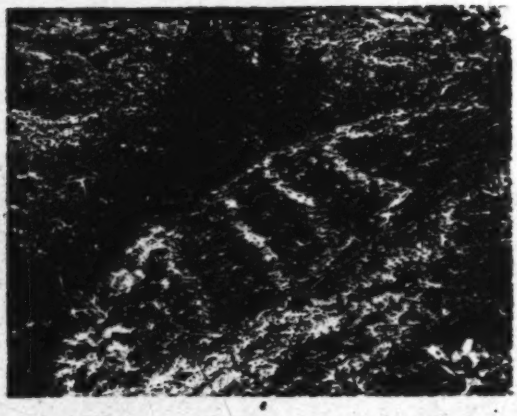

a, Funeral of a woman. b, Mask used in New Year's celebration. c, Straw masses (½ actual size). d, Rattles or maracas with bone handles. e, Remains of contour agriculture on the savanna.

[p. 60]

[P. 11(A)] Bribri Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ką́* (*ką́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *bužiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *žiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Analyst]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Analyst]

[P. 11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621
361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

● 241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, c), and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[see category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

241 462 [178] Women formerly felled trees and did as much field labor as the men. Today, however, women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 241 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The [137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).

245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 262 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63] [137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 241 This basic diet is supplemented with several varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [177] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vege-
[245] tables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
[272] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
[434] sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
[273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
[231] (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
[175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[66] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ¼ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

¼ [see category 116, End Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] [423] pertains to personal effects and the house. When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

*539 *gra* and *karqimina*. The medicine man has to
821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
776 make rain or to stop the rain. September is
756 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds
will not be washed away. It is then that the
●[241] *jawá* chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

karqibikégra, karqimina
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [174]

(*Bribri and Cabécar*)

When *bukubLute*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

(*Cabécar*)

*589 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
[753] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tsinkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2–4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

[P. 99 (B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

BRIBRI

241
262
192

rice	*árroz* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*)
beans	*ázuwo* or *ázu* (this covers all varieties)
Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.)	*shá ázu*
black beans	*ázu doLoLó*
red bean	*ázu máskLe*
butter bean	*wówo*
pole bean	*ázu kLóie*
yuca	*aLí*
black maize	*ikwó doLoLó*
yellow maize	*ikwó tsikríri*
white maize	*ikwó sururú*
bananas	*kLóm*
red banana	*kLóm mat*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 99 (C)--analysis]

CABÉCAR

yuca	*ike*
pole bean	*koni kaLió*
black bean	*koni doLoná*
red bean	*koni matká*
vegetable pear	*jarwo*
tiquízque	*bua*
pejibaye	*diká*
seedless pejibaye	*diká jɔ̃erribo*
rice	*arroz* (Spanish)
banana	*chomp*
plantain	*kalbí*
pig banana	*kochi chomp*
maize	*kwó*
black maize	*kwó doLana*
Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob)	*sejé kaikwó*
pumpkin	*pis*
coffee[1]	*capé* (corruption of the Spanish *café*)

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 99 (C)--analysis]

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

[P. 99 (C)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated Foods and Domesticated Animals

BRIBRI

● 241
262
192

guineos	*chimę́*
plantains	*tsaLá; mud*
sugar cane	*pákəL*
United Fruit Company bananas	*síwəwə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
pumpkin	*apí*
swine	*kəchi*
chicken	*tkró*
cow	*baca*
horse	*no word*
duck	*no word*
cat	*michi*
dog	*chichi*
pejibaye	*dikó*
alligator pear	*amók*

CABÊCAR

mango	*mango* (Spanish)
orange	*china*
chile	*lá*
Inga	*waLoa*
chocolate	*tsirú*
alligator pear	*jomę́*
yam	*tsəLirba*
sour sap	*tsá*
papaya	*kicha*
sugar cane	*palta*
cow	*vaca* (Spanish)
pig	*kəchi*
chicken	*jóskivo*
dog	*chichi*
cat	*michi*
turkey	*chę́*
duck	*pato* (Spanish)
horse	*caballo* (Spanish)

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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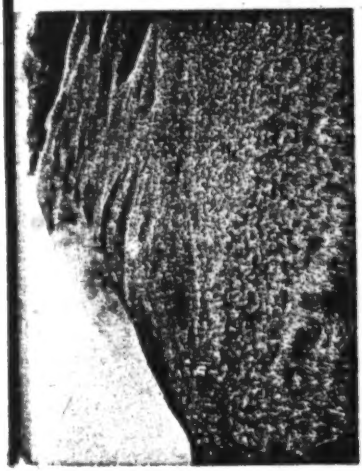
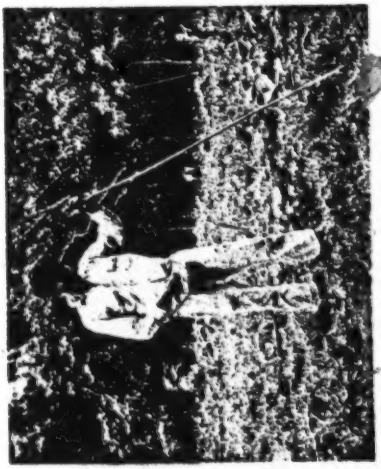
d



a



c

a–b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *c*, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *d*, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste 252
to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *uish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn [243]
is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. [412]
In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is [462]
always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If 273
it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uron. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

417 usually from the *poro-poro* tree[16] (*Cochlospermum hibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco*
[B24] *de fuego*, or *brutſ·a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced.
241 One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *ûnbah*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

243 The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black[18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
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[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

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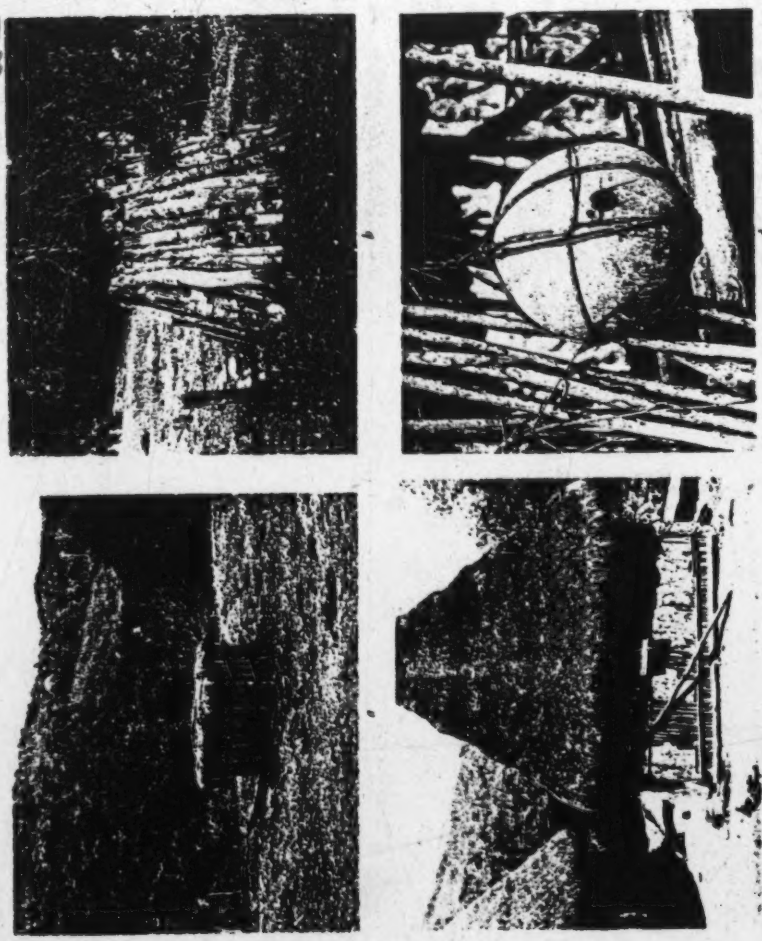
[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

231
243



a, b, Two types of chicken coops. c, Vertical pole construction with spots of *bejuyupa* and hanging "nest" for setting hen. d, Domestication of bees (hive made from a gourd).

[p. 54]

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P 12(B)]
Bribri
Cabecar

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
[245] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
[272] sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated
[439] and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
[273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
[231] (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de
[175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[66] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ¼ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raices y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

¼ [See category 116, End Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

[P. 16(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16(B)--Analyst]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16(B)--Analyst]

[11] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [12] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

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[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

241 462 [178] Women formerly felled trees and did as much field labor as the men. Today, however, women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 241 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The [137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.). 245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 262 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63] [137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 241 This basic diet is supplemented with several varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [177] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most import- [439] ant food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejiballe* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilitti*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had
[346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
● [245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand
[804] [continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

= A *vara* equals 33 inches.

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Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

241 Women formerly felled trees and did as
462 much field labor as the men. Today, however,
[178] women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these
241 peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The
[137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).
● 245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are
262 in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63]
[137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 This basic diet is supplemented with several
241 varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American food-
[177] stuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is [245] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per- [272] sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated [439] and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, [273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared [231] (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de [175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [986]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tirlbi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Valientes, living beyond the Tiribis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Valiente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no [248]
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

286 *Weaving.*—Two women's blanket skirts of woven cotton were obtained after considerable search, one of which is shown in pl. XVIII, *b*. As the manufacture of cotton cloth is now said to be a lost art, we must turn again to Gabb[14] for his observations.

"Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with
● 248 no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The
[462] women collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it. The loom
286 is a simple frame of four sticks; the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow
[462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two or three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a
292 little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the
286 dead and the women's petticoats are wider and

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[437 a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The
283 best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[236] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[439 generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

50 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (FIG. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every [248] household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most import- [439] ant food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejiballe* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwo, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilitt*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise without.

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

●249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

[p. 7-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

193
361

[249
417]

[413
284]

a, b, Distant views of Boruca village. c, Rice-cutter (actual size). d, Extraction of sugar cane juice.

[p. 53]

[P.11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the 262 manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [257] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [154] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kʃ̃-kɔg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maíz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

252 palms are boiled and fried. Another generally liked food is the tender leaf of the bean vine. This is prepared either with eggs or in soup.

Meat, fowl, and fish are frequently wrapped in the leaves of the *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen). Another *Calathea* known as "black *bijagua*" is used interchangeably with the first kind. The food wrapped in the leaves is roasted on the hearth stones. There are various ways, however, of preparing different meats. Armadillo is often boiled or fried. Domestic and wild pig and venison are placed on top of three or four sticks over the hearth stones and roasted. Sometimes the flesh of these animals [251] is sun-dried and salted, or is smoked for preservation. Beef is almost never eaten, as the cattle the *Boruca* possess are not numerous and are in the hands of a very few; besides, since they are used for traction, they are economically too important to eat (see p. 23). Posole is a common dish and is made of dried meat, usually wild pig. The meat is chopped fine and cooked with corn. The combination is then ground. If this is boiled every night, it keeps for many days.

Shell fish is boiled, but fish, other than shell fish, is seldom eaten fresh. When it is, however, it is put into a soup, or roasted in leaves, or fried. As a rule the fish is cut into three [251] pieces and salted to be eaten when needed. If salt is not available, the fish is smoked and [757] saved. Smoked fish is said to be excellent for diarrhea.

372 **Fire-making.** The majority of the *Boruca* use matches, although a few of the older people occasionally use two sticks to start a fire. This is accomplished by taking a stick of pejibaye and rubbing it around and around in a small hole in a stick of *guácimo* (*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.), until sparks set the *guácimo* on fire. Some of the elders still talk of the stones which were formerly rubbed together to start fire, using a piece of cotton as a wick. These are not seen today.

In the bush, or in the fields, fire, which is all important among the *Boruca* for clearing purposes, is kept in an old tree trunk from day to day. This is done by throwing ashes over and around the fire to keep the embers hot and alive, much as is done in New England fireplaces at present.

251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *habas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 20), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

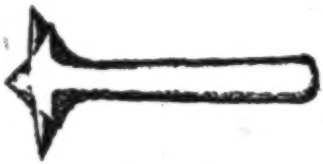

FIG. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily.
[832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

[p. 10-A]

273 a rule on the wall outside of the house, but sometimes inside the house, for three days (see fig. 5, *b*). It is then taken out and rewrapped in the same leaf but this time using the outer side of the leaf on the inside, and left for three more days hanging on the outside wall. If a yellow mold appears, it is still used, but not considered as good as without the mold. At the end of the three days, it is unwrapped again and left in the sun until it is thoroughly dried, when it is considered suitable to use as yeast in the chicha. When green plantains are used, the *Boruca* prefer to dry them on stones by the river instead of in the customary manner on hides by the houses. When dry, the plantains are ground and added to the corn to ferment. This also is considered *moboso*, *monsera*, or yeast. When pejibaye, ñampí, yuca, or ripe plantains are used, they are cooked and then ground before being added to the corn.

The next step is to crack more corn, grind it, and let it soak overnight. It is then cooked until it starts to boil, when it is removed from the fire and mashed with a wooden masher (see fig. 2). Sufficient water is mixed with the corn to keep it from being either too hard or too soft. The grain is then mixed with the yeast. This concoction is left anywhere from six to fifteen days in *habas* lined with leaves. These *habas* are generally kept on the *tabancos*. At the end of the allotted time, the *baba* is taken to the river, and its contents emptied into gourds. Water is added to the paste which is pounded until it becomes soft. The chicha is usually kept in large earthenware jars, called *dʒɛ-bwĩ-griŋ'*, in a corner of the house, and [251] covered with leaves or a cloth to keep for further use.

The corn for *twistʃa'* is made from corn that is left to sprout in water. When it has sprouted, it is ground on the *tumbas*, or grinding stones, and then cooked in a pot, after which it is left in wooden trays, called by the Spanish name *bateas*, to cool. When cooled, the corn is chewed by the women and the residue is spit into a clay vessel. Here it is mixed with water and brown sugar is added. It is then strained, put into a vessel, and left to ferment. The fermentation often takes place over night.

[p. 10-B]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the 412 method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, [171] large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1/1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done by pushing forward and pulling backward as [171] in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

1/1 [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

[P.16(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
[243] shelter is not practised except in lower Chiripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
[184] a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, however, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *havas*[1] made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Tala- manca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves- [272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste 252
to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *mish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn [243]
is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a [412]
stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is [462]
always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If 273
it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uren. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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412 shaped only by use. Cacao and maize are
[252] ground upon the surface of the metate with
a muller or mano, which is another, though
smaller, natural waterworn bowlder.

On abandoned sites near Teliri river some crude three-legged stone metates were found (figs. 9, *a*, *b*, drawn from fragments), pecked from hard scoria. These are inferior to the beautiful "tiger" metates of Las
[173] Mercedes; nevertheless, some of the Bribri believe that these fine metates were used by their ancestors. The Mercedes and Anita Grande sites also yielded some of the plain, three-legged metates, as well as those of the more ornate variety.

411 *Digging Stick or Warclub.*—Pl. XVII, *a*,
412 represents a digging stick of narrow, paddle shape, made of "cacique" wood. While the natives said that this specimen was once used as an agricultural implement, some of them also declared that it had been employed as a warclub. They referred to the stick as a "macana," in which is recognized an implement equivalent to the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*, a warclub in which blades or spikes of obsidian were embedded.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

courtesy of Professor Saville, from whose collection of prints it came. 481

Food.—Plantains are extensively used, and, eaten boiled, seem to form the staple diet of the Bribri. Bananas are also extensively eaten. According to Gabb,[19] the Indians roast green plantains as a substitute for bread, but when ripe they are roasted and eaten with chocolate, in order to sweeten the latter. They are also boiled green to eat with meat or corn. Ripe plantains are boiled, mashed, and mixed with equal quantities of corn-meal paste for cakes or chicha; sometimes this paste is diluted with water and made into a gruel. 262 252

Corn in a variety of colors is cultivated—red, white, blue, yellow, black, and purple. It is eaten when fresh, boiled in the ear; but it is generally dried, hulled, and ground to flour on a stone metate with a mano, or, as Gabb relates, on a flat slab from one of the buttresses of a ceiba tree, dressed smooth. The dry corn is soaked over night to soften it; it is then spread on the metate and crushed with the convex stone muller, which is rocked over it. The paste is then boiled,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* [412] in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [154] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kj̃-kɔg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maíz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

252 palms are boiled and fried. Another generally liked food is the tender leaf of the bean vine. This is prepared either with eggs or in soup.

Meat, fowl, and fish are frequently wrapped in the leaves of the *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen). Another *Calathea* known as "black *bijagua*" is used interchangeably with the first kind. The food wrapped in the leaves is roasted on the hearth stones. There are various ways, however, of preparing different meats. Armadillo is often boiled or fried. Domestic and wild pig and venison are placed on top of three or four sticks over the hearth stones and roasted. Sometimes the flesh of these animals [251] is sun-dried and salted, or is smoked for preservation. Beef is almost never eaten, as the cattle the *Boruca* possess are not numerous and are in the hands of a very few; besides, since they are used for traction, they are economically too important to eat (see p. 23). Posole is a common dish and is made of dried meat, usually wild pig. The meat is chopped fine and cooked with corn. The combination is then ground. If this is boiled every night, it keeps for many days.

Shell fish is boiled, but fish, other than shell fish, is seldom eaten fresh. When it is, however, it is put into a soup, or roasted in leaves, or fried. As a rule the fish is cut into three [251] pieces and salted to be eaten when needed. If salt is not available, the fish is smoked and [757] saved. Smoked fish is said to be excellent for diarrhea.

372 **Fire-making.** The majority of the *Boruca* use matches, although a few of the older people occasionally use two sticks to start a fire. This is accomplished by taking a stick of pejibaye and rubbing it around and around in a small hole in a stick of *guácimo* (*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.), until sparks set the *guácimo* on fire. Some of the elders still talk of the stones which were formerly rubbed together to start fire, using a piece of cotton as a wick. These are not seen today.

In the bush, or in the fields, fire, which is all important among the *Boruca* for clearing purposes, is kept in an old tree trunk from day to day. This is done by throwing ashes over and around the fire to keep the embers hot and alive, much as is done in New England fireplaces at present.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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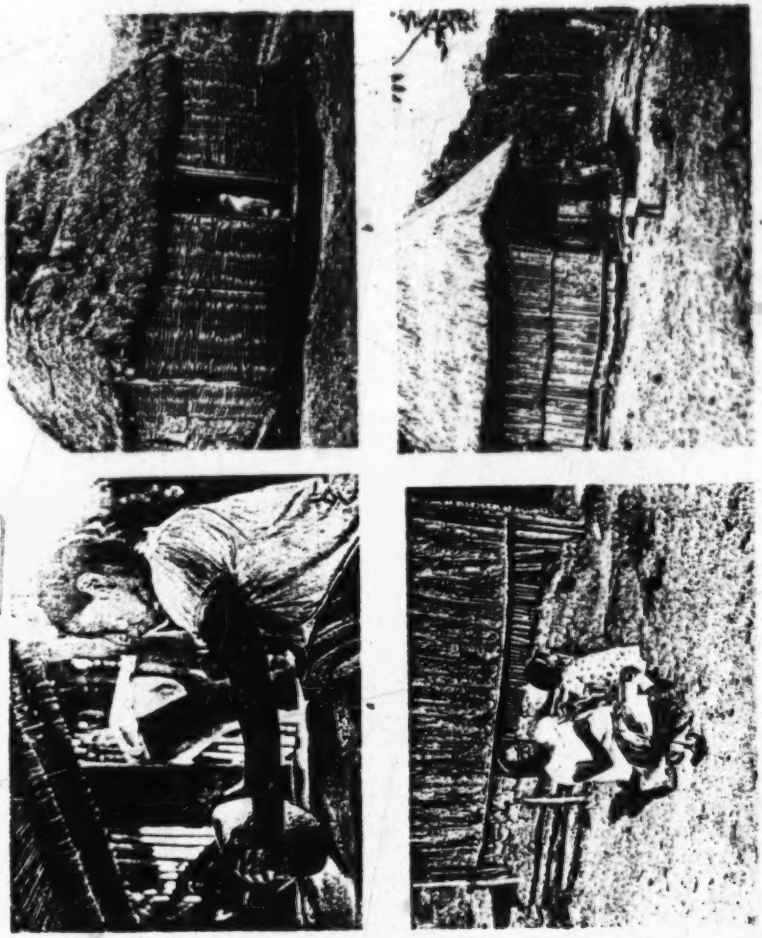

a, Method of grinding corn. b, Single pole as base of house (note window on left, and yuca for chicha hanging on front wall). c, House base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). d, Front stone terrace, Cartí.

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[p.55]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/4]
794 In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
231 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent, the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death
[262] feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[2] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morki*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
322 posedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1] [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[2] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwəkri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

● 252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[2] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the 412 method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, [171] large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugəca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Tala- manca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [Is a carrying baskets– ANALYST]

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly
[177] borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration
[531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars,
824 containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making
[252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes
[264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa-
[534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.
The gourds are generally plain, and when
[531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden
[322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93]
273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only
824 people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[93] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of
226 their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
● 252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsən.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəṇé* which is a very strong term.

496 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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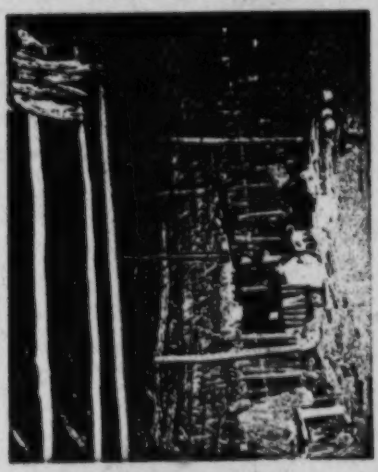

a, Natural smoking areas in a savanna. b, Natural smoking areas in a house. c, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. d, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

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[415] is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tum-*
[412] *bas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

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[263 of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca*
484] make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [754] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kj̃-kɔg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maíz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

*539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

*539 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO[200]

(*Bribri*)

*539 276 *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for [261] tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiqə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiqə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

*539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dus* (tobacco).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are
[211] accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
[461] dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
146 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase with-
262 out care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

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Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zi-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zü-bo'* and by the Boruca, *Si'-bük*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-ser'-ka-ra* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *ba-ku-ra'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *ba-ku-ra'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461] the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273] man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [257] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejiballe* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilitl*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

courtesy of Professor Saville, from whose collection of prints it came. 481

Food.—Plantains are extensively used, and, eaten boiled, seem to form the staple diet of the Bribri. Bananas are also extensively eaten. According to Gabb,[19] the Indians roast green plantains as a substitute for bread, but when ripe they are roasted and eaten with chocolate, in order to sweeten the latter. They are also boiled green to eat with meat or corn. Ripe plantains are boiled, mashed, and mixed with equal quantities of corn-meal paste for cakes or chicha; sometimes this paste is diluted with water and made into a gruel. 262 252

Corn in a variety of colors is cultivated—red, white, blue, yellow, black, and purple. It is eaten when fresh, boiled in the ear; but it is generally dried, hulled, and ground to flour on a stone metate with a mano, or, as Gabb relates, on a flat slab from one of the buttresses of a ceiba tree, dressed smooth. The dry corn is soaked over night to soften it; it is then spread on the metate and crushed with the convex stone muller, which is rocked over it. The paste is then boiled,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving the village early each morning and returning
[512] about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
●[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

248 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ſjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *oskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *paweel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
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Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was 797
undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those 133
mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent.

The products of these mountains for the use of man are 262 ●
plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] [137]
sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] [136]
saginos,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls.

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[1] *Guilielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Ipomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Crax globicera.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus verraguensis.*

[P. 7 (A)]

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

[136] [133] [262]

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

[797] 174

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

[101]

241 Women formerly felled trees and did as
462 much field labor as the men. Today, however,
[178] women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these
241 peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The
[137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).
245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are
262 in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63]
[137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 This basic diet is supplemented with several
241 varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of
[177] the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 12(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

[245] [272] [439]

262 Among the Talamanca peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is raised primarily for making a fermented drink, chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribrí), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ."[68] In all early

[243] [273] [231] [175]

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[66] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maiz puquísimo. . . ."

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), 2/4 or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

2/4 [See category 116, End Plate 2 - Analyst.]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
262 the range they are kept more as a bank account
[954] than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are
252 eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
411 large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
322 posedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1] [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting [857] birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a ●[262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *shamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[§] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[72] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*havas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[72] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

§ [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
● [262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16(B)--QUALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

[P. 26(A)]

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Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skíLi*		5 days after today *skíiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb[98] and Pittier[99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [761] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will
[264] die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and
[262] pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Furthermore, she cannot drink water other than that
[271] from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense* [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[824] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kusk* is "to bathe."
192 [100] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[100] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) [262] and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were [775]

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P 36(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar
614
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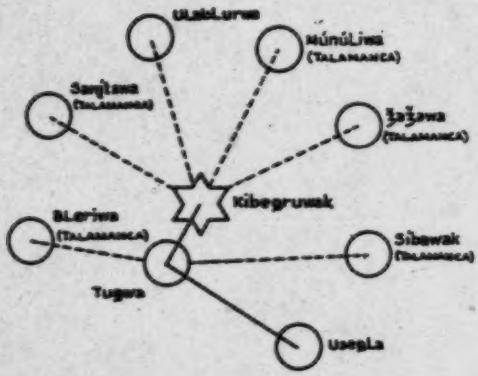

a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128] *Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica*

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--analysis]

614 177 manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614 463 [565] Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [127] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari 262 614 [643] region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

[127] The *isLwak* and *tsirrwiwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupawak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar
[P.36(B)]
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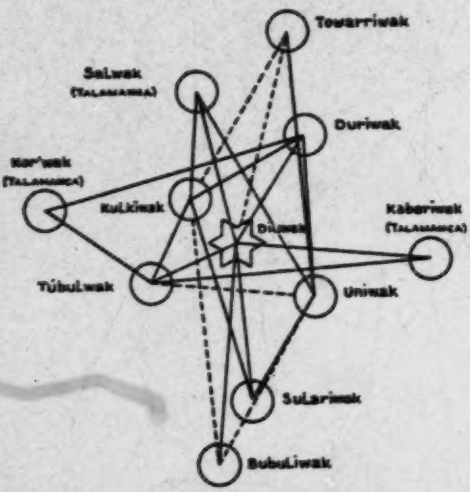

b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séką́* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ką́* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *dítsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *sruwet* meaning "other group."[118]

[582]
[614]
101

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

[118] In the Cabécar, *dəswak* means "same group." *sébewetar* is "other group."

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from
484 the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected
757 magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[143] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbuwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

*539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

*539 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLewak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO[200]

(*Bribri*)

*539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiṇə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiṇə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

*539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dus* (tobacco).

[P. 99 (B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

241
262
192

BRIBRI

rice	*árros* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*)
beans	*átuwo* or *átu* (this covers all varieties)
Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.)	*shá átu*
black beans	*átu doLoLó*
red bean	*átu mátkLe*
butter bean	*wówo*
pole bean	*átu kLóie*
yuca	*aLí*
black maize	*ikwó doLoLó*
yellow maize	*ikwó tsikríri*
white maize	*ikwó nururú*
bananas	*kLóm*
red banana	*kLóm mat*

[Text continues top of P. 99 (C)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

yuca	*ikɔ*
pole bean	*kɔni kaLiá*
black bean	*kɔni doLoná*
red bean	*kɔni matká*
vegetable pear	*jarwɔ*
tiquízque	*buɔ*
pejibaye	*diká*
seedless pejibaye	*diká jɔʒerrirbɔ*
rice	*arroz* (Spanish)
banana	*chomp*
plantain	*kalbí*
pig banana	*kɔchi chomp*
maize	*kwá*
black maize	*kwá doLana*
Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob)	*sejé kaikwá*
pumpkin	*pis*
coffee[1]	*capé* (corruption of the Spanish *café*)

[Text continues bottom of P. 99 (C)--analyst]

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

[P.99 (C)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated Foods and Domesticated Animals

241
262
192

BRIBRI

guineos	*chimú*
plantains	*tsəLá; muá*
sugar cane	*pákəL*
United Fruit Company bananas	*tkwəwə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
pumpkin	*apí*
swine	*kíchi*
chicken	*tkró*
cow	*baca*
horse	*no word*
duck	*no word*
cat	*michi*
dog	*chichi*
pejibaye	*dikó*
alligator pear	*amók*

CABÉCAR

mango	*mango* (Spanish)
orange	*china*
chile	*lá*
Inga	*wəLoə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
alligator pear	*jomó*
yam	*tsəLirbə*
sour sap	*tsá*
papaya	*kichə*
sugar cane	*paltə*
cow	*vaca* (Spanish)
pig	*kəchi*
chicken	*jóskivo*
dog	*chichi*
cat	*michi*
turkey	*chó*
duck	*pato* (Spanish)
horse	*caballo* (Spanish)

[P. 100 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	Use
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLə	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kúLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever—mash stem and boil
[342] tsáchica	*Menispermacen Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] təbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
duśskLə	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	Use
harbə	*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri	fish poison
chatə	*Serjania* sp. *Potbomorphe piperaceae*	fish poison; boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] botuLú	*Eufobia sapium*	glue
chicarté	*Bocconia frutescens*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--analyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.100(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apískicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
kloksɔ	*P. aurium* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ĩirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

824
[278]
[845]
[272]
[844]

CABÊCAR

	Latin	Use
popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bɔ́Lk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacis sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

[278]
[386]
[515]
[278]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.103(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the
648 visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into his own hands. On more than one occasion,
[439] he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria,
644 the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejiballe* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilitti*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca*
[415] is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural
[412] boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 When food is not taken by hand from the
415 vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 One of the most important elements of food
[263 of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca*
484] make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

Pittier[38] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*. 438 175

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*–2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral. 438 648 [817 263]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Concepcion, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of 796

[38] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* [412] in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fish-
ing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves;
bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers;
sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal
skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers
for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers
for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the
Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs
of all houses and are for sleeping as well as
resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves
are placed on the ground by the fire and are
used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs
and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on
the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are
common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a pro-
truding head and tail. The women sit on them
while cooking, or people while talking, in
order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the
men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in
Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden
mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas*, and
basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold
chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to
protect them from animals. Large earthen
chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all
the big circular houses of the Bribri and in
some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a
Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true
even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils
are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of
their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly
[177] borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration
[531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars,
824 containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making
[252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes
[264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa-
[534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.
[531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or childlike drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden
[322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93]
273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only
824 people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.
[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1 [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
761 person or animal sees her in this state, he will
[264] die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taʒe*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
192 [188] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[189] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
[856] Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
863 crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in con-
nection with excretion are taught practically
from birth. The child is taken out of the house
and held up while he does his needs. He is not
allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling
itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
a father lie in a hammock with his small chil-
dren beside him. Parents pay attention to per-
sonal details, such as wiping a child's nose or
•264 washing its face. There are not, however,
regular meal hours. One eats when there is
food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat
three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes
are taught to swim and help to make fires,
using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when
sitting on the low benches or on the ground
before the hearth. At the age of seven, they
begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and
cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt,
using small arrows for training. When the
adults are out in the fields or hunting, children
up to ten years old stay at home to tend the
fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for
example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water
when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no
school and all lore is learned by word of mouth
on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine
men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must
undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have
some connection with the handling of the dead
(*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line.
Often they play with mud daubers' nests or
similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

764 (*see* Fibers). They cover the bark cloth with the leaves of white *bijagua* (*murksí*) and tie
[824] it again with the special string. Leaves of the white *bijagua* are essential for the dead. They
•[264] are not used to wrap or serve food as is the black *bijagua* (*bikuLəkə*) because they have a faint taste and odor. After the feast the bundle is "buried" in the forest. In effect, it is covered with briar bushes and branches or is even placed in a shallow grave.

Gabb [112] gives a description of two deaths he witnessed among the Bribri in the second half of the past century.

In 1947, the writer had the opportunity to be present at a ceremony for a little girl in Cabécar, the account of which follows. When we arrived at the house, a small ceremonial fire called *hanburu* had been made and beside it the *já* had placed a gourd filled with water. As we entered, they put another gourd filled with *chilate*, a preparation of ground maize, ripe bananas, and water, on a white *bijagua* leaf by the fire as well as a cotton burr and a little raised-rim grinding stone with a pestle on top.

Some cotton without seeds was tied with *pita* to a stick. There was also a *mochila* or net carrying bag with two small gourds filled with ground cacao and ground maize, respectively
775 (fig. 11, *b*). The belief is that the soul goes below where the sun comes from. When the sun rises, the soul goes along with it to the sky but always returns below. The food set by the fire is needed for this journey.

764 The *bika'kra* or Organizer of the Feast put this food on the raised shelf where the body was lying hidden by a banana leaf screen made with a pole frame. Then he undertook the task of seeing that there was enough food for the people present.

The grieved mother, a widow, remained apart from everyone, sitting at the very edge of the house, grimly silent. As long as the dead was there, custom decreed that she could not do a thing, neither eat, except to drink chocolate, nor talk at length. She also had to be bathed with hot water by a woman after the body was removed. Meanwhile the Organizer of Feasts arranged the banquet which various women were preparing over a big fire inside the house. He also fixed the raised shelf which was rather fragile.

[112] Gabb, 1875, pp. 497–99.

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[189] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A frame-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*si*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-was'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may result with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *babas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

● 272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 20), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

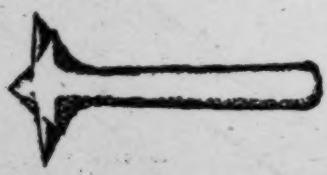

Fig. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily. [832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

[p. 10-A]

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain [755] cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every- [824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

373 Miscellaneous. Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
308 with *jabencillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[294] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied
[412] to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[151] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tiwa* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[170] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tsju-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-kra*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 12(B)]
Bribri
Cabecar

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
[245] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
272 sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated
439 and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
243 raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
273 chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
231 (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de
[175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
[243] shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
[262] practised. Here the people depend upon bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
[574] quence require chocolate. It is also the most appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[70] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [71] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *fiampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [484] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same 342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un- [361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages [192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by men and women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

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[P.100(B)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[8]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
824 [278] chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
[845] spiskicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
• [272] [844] sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨrekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

CABÊCAR

	Latin	Use
[278] popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
[386] bóLk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
[515]	*Solanacis* sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
[278]	*Pepperomis* sp.	for heart

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
[211] to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

[461] The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
146 dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
262 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase without care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-ss'-ku-ru* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *ba-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *ba-ku-ru'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461 the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273 man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste 252
to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *mish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, [243]
and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. [412]
In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is [462]
always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If 273
it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uren. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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● 273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejiballe* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwo, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kiliti*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually stewed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

opposite sides of the break. Pl. xiv, *b*, shows another utensil, similar to the last, but shallower. These objects are used as sieves for corn flour. 415

Pottery.—Possibly the most interesting of all Bribri household articles are the huge pottery jars (pl. xv, xv, *a*) used in fermenting *chicha*, the native intoxicant. According to information given by the Indians, these vessels are made of selected clay, which is ground on a metate and mixed with crushed, burnt stone, or coarse sand. The clay is then dampened and made into rolls, and the vessels are built up, coil by coil, and the rolls smoothed. On some abandoned camp-sites, large potsherds, broken so that they plainly showed the coils as well as the tempering, were found. After being shaped and smoothed, the vessels are dried slowly in the shade for several days; then one vessel at a time is taken outdoors, wood is heaped over them, and they are fired. 323 415 [273]

In shape these vessels differ entirely from the pottery found in the graves at Las Mercedes, but resemble the pointed-base Algonkian jars of the Atlantic coast of North America 415 171

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *habas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 20), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

FIG. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily. [832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

[p. 10-A]

273 a rule on the wall outside of the house, but sometimes inside the house, for three days (see fig. 5, *b*). It is then taken out and rewrapped in the same leaf but this time using the outer side of the leaf on the inside, and left for three more days hanging on the outside wall. If a yellow mold appears, it is still used, but not considered as good as without the mold. At the end of the three days, it is unwrapped again and left in the sun until it is thoroughly dried, when it is considered suitable to use as yeast in the chicha. When green plantains are used, the *Boruca* prefer to dry them on stones by the river instead of in the customary manner on hides by the houses. When dry, the plantains are ground and added to the corn to ferment. This also is considered *moboso*, *monsera*, or yeast. When pejibaye, ñampí, yuca, or ripe plantains are used, they are cooked and then ground before being added to the corn.

The next step is to crack more corn, grind it, and let it soak overnight. It is then cooked until it starts to boil, when it is removed from the fire and mashed with a wooden masher (see fig. 2). Sufficient water is mixed with the corn to keep it from being either too hard or too soft. The grain is then mixed with the yeast. This concoction is left anywhere from six to fifteen days in *habas* lined with leaves. These *habas* are generally kept on the *tabancos*. At the end of the allotted time, the *haba* is taken to the river, and its contents emptied into gourds. Water is added to the paste which is pounded until it becomes soft. The chicha is usually kept in large earthenware jars, called *dze-bwi'-griŋ'*, in a corner of the house, and [251] covered with leaves or a cloth to keep for further use.

The corn for *twistʃa'* is made from corn that is left to sprout in water. When it has sprouted, it is ground on the *tumbas*, or grinding stones, and then cooked in a pot, after which it is left in wooden trays, called by the Spanish name *bateas*, to cool. When cooled, the corn is chewed by the women and the residue is spit into a clay vessel. Here it is mixed with water and brown sugar is added. It is then strained, put into a vessel, and left to ferment. The fermentation often takes place over night.

[p. 10-B]

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vege-
[245] tables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
272 raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
[439] sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
[273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
[231] (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
[175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ."[68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [184] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause [484] fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bacu* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same
342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un-
[361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages
[192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb [91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration of the skirts consists of wide brown and white [531] stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, up to twelve feet in length and supported by [273] four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

767 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is
764 common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at
[273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has
[756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former
[775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This
[768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the
[656] geographical location. Government and ecclesiastical authorities have prohibited the funda-
[797] mental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] tion between *sini* and *sinąbwak?* (*See* Social Organiza-
[533] tion.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.
[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[184] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

[P. 35(A)]

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[115] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the
[177] Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[115] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[116] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[202]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[52] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bi	*rer*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*bérua*	*bəmitsɨn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəpɨ́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipo* (coyeo).

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
533 on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
184 tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
534 [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analys]

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
237 or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
381 fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsi* tree and is then tied
824 with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
184 chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their
labor free until the project is completed. These
affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the
over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep
guarded by his female companions or vice-
versa, and the joint work of the men begins
as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[535] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take foreign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford; one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather. He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Cartago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success, and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he had the effrontery to calmly claim it as his doing! They also claim to "blow" a proposed route of travel, so as to drive away snakes and bring good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sickness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are used, and are said to be equally efficacious.

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt for a day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addition to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmities. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend, who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One purported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamorphic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction. My little knowledge of medicine, and a moderately well-supplied medicine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon

276 **Narcotics.** Tobacco is used extensively by both the men and the women. It is chewed mostly by the men, but also by the women. All people, including the children, smoke cigarettes, and both sexes use wooden pipes.

When hungry and no food is available, or

[Continued on p. 11-B, first paragraph]

HOUSES

342 **Houses** are built straight from the ground, without any attempt at a foundation, the floor being of earth. Occasionally, a shallow ditch is dug around the whole as a drain, and sometimes a low base of earth is built up and kept in place by wooden poles laid horizontally and supported by short vertical poles (see fig. 5, *c*), or by several wooden planks. Houses like this have earthen steps as an entrance. The majority of the structures, however, have a single pole at the very base serving as a finish between the house and the ground, and, in a measure, as a protection against water seepage from the outside (see fig. 5, *b*). None have porches.

In the lower, warmer areas, such as Curré and Lagarto, the houses frequently have a row of stones around their base, and even a protruding terrace of stones at the front (see fig. 5, *d*). This offers better protection in wet weather, as these sites are low and subject to backwashes from the river when rains and floods are heavy.

342 824 The shape of Boruca houses is square or rectangular. They are made of wooden poles with grass roofs. The wood used is *palo de mayo* (May tree) or the María tree, *palo María* (*Calophyllum brasiliense* Camb. var. *Rekoi* Standl.). There are two kinds of *palo de mayo*. One kind has white wood and is identified scientifically as *Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague, while the other, which is preferred and has a pinkish tinge is probably *Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.? The *palo María* also has a pinkish wood, and is used only when the tree is very small. On the coast, the wood of the *huiscoyol* palm (*Bactris minor* Jacq.) is used for roof rafters when available. It is not used in Boruca, as this palm does not grow there.

342 **House Construction.** The poles which are the thickest are placed vertically at the corners, by the doors, and at intervals along the

[Continued p. 11-B, second paragraph]

[a] *Cydista pubescens* Blake, according to Dr. R. J. Seibert, Turrialba, Costa Rica.

when working and extra strength is needed, 276
the Indians chew a root from a plant called *cordoncillo* in Spanish. It is a member of the *Piper* family, and has various uses among these Indians (see pp. 20, 21, 27).

HOUSES

walls to serve as supports. The intervening 342
space is filled in by not so thick poles placed very close together, either vertically as in figures 5, *c*, *d* and 4, *c*, or horizontally as in figure 9, *c*. When they are placed horizontally, they are woven in and out of the supporting vertical poles which, of necessity, are more numerous in this type of construction. When the wall poles are vertical, thicker poles are placed horizontally in a single line on the outside at the bottom, the center, and the top, acting as a supporting band to hold the wall in shape. These bands are bound to the other poles with fiber ropes.

There are three kinds of fiber used in house 342
construction. The most popular, and practically the only kind found in Boruca houses, is 283
that known as the *bejuco de fierro* or *negro*. This is a thick vine growing in the forest (perhaps *Anthurium scandens* [Aubl.] Engler).[21a] Its leaves resemble those of the bean known as *haba blanca*. From this vine, as many as eight cords are obtained, depending, of course, on the width desired. Another fiber used is called *bejuco de hombre* and is known also as *andariel*. This is really an aerial root and is found in house construction on the coast, around Palmar Norte, where the *bejuco negro* is not obtainable. The third type of fiber is made from the bark of a tree called *capulin blanco* (*Muntingia Calabura* L.). Sometimes both horizontal and vertical wall construction are found on the same house (see fig. 6, *a*). Windows are rare, 342
but when present, the framework is always made of the thicker poles. The window shutter, however, is of planks and the hinges bought at *ladino* stores. Doors also have a framework of poles. The doors themselves are made of the small vertical poles following the vertical construction of the walls and are tied with vines, no hinges being used. Frequently, the walls have a rough coating of *bajareque* both inside and out. *Bajareque* is a mixture of cow dung and mud. Strangely enough, the

[P-65(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

*539
312
757
[262]

In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

*539
824
846

sibu gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO[200]

(*Bribri*)

*539
●276
[261]

sibu was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

*539
776

sibu had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiṇə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiṇə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

*539
824

This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

842 without misgiving, publically, in order not to have off-spring. (These Indians were living in Caña Coén.)

I hardly baptized a baby, because a large portion of the women are sterile through a remedy which they take, be it from being deceived, be it from being lost, be it from their own evilness, taking and masticating in the woods the bark and the juice (sap) of dangerous trees. There are about four old women who are most guilty: María Caferina and Margarita in the house of Simeón, Rosalía, mother of Luis Quirós, and María, called "camisa," mother of the woman who lives with Miguel Medina, some four hours distant from Simeón. The evil of this "cure" ("curar"), being so alarming, I wrote a letter to the Mayor (Alcalde) don Lucas Alvarado, in which I authorized the authorities of Estrella to at least threaten these criminal women, in case they could not be intimidated, to take them prisoners to Limón. I attacked strongly on a thousand occasions this evil. . . .

The above was written in the year 1894. In 1897, we find the following:

The great evil of taking means not to bring forth young, is disappearing, and once again children are being born.

In Buenos Aires which is situated between Boruca and Talamanca, the Chirícano women are said to drink a preparation made by boiling [278] the leaves and stem of *Justicia tinctoria* ([Oerst.] Hemsl.) and drinking a gourd of this three times daily the first day of menstruation. As yet, we have not been able to verify this usage, but it is a curious fact that in the majority of the yards of these people this plant is found. The excuse given for this plant is that [296] it is used to wash clothes, serving as bluing.

The medicine to induce pregnancy is apparently more complicated than that to stop conception. The following is an analysis made by Dr. Reif in the United Fruit Company laboratory in La Lima, Honduras, of this medicine from the *Boruca* Indians:

278 A brown liquid with some flocculent precipitate and a strong odor of hydrogen sulfide indicating puri-
842 tion of organic matter. It is an aqueous solution containing some tannins but no alcohols, alkaloide or saponines. After evaporation of the liquid and removal of hydrogen sulfide smell, a strong odor re-

278 842 sembling that of Castoreum remained. This odor is possibly derived from glands of some tropical animal since beavers do not occur there.

The tannins would indicate that some bark or barks were used in the preparation. Microscopical examination of the residue did not give any clues.

[171] A few places where such practices as these are known are Africa, the Fiji Islands, and Ecuador.

278 757 The following is a list of the more generally known cures used by the *Boruca* and usually prescribed by the *curandera*.

Malaria is treated by drinking the liquid left from cooking the bark of a tree called *hombre grande* (*Quassia amara* L.), and sometimes, from boiling the fruits of the *cedrón* (*Simaba Cedron* Planch.)

For stomach-aches, a vine called in Boruca *so-kra'* (*Philodendron* sp.) is boiled with the ever useful *Kuikʃ-as* (*Piper* spp.), and drunk.

Dysentery in adults is treated by boiling the bark of the María tree, the guava tree, the leaves and the yuca-like root of the *contrayerva* (*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.), and the ripe vanilla pod (*Vanilla fragrans* [Salisb] Ames).

Rheumatism is treated by rubbing the afflicted parts with the oil of the copaiba tree.

To stop boils, the leaves of the *kana kra'* (*Conostegia extinctoria* [Bonpl.] D. Don.) are used in combination with a lard made from the marrow of the leg bones of a cow and lemon juice. The lard helps to keep the leaves in place, and is supposed to aid in drawing out the poison.

752 278 For snake bites, some Indians, but not all, as the majority go to a *sukia* for this, use the leaf of the *guaco* (*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.). They mash the leaf, soak it in water, and then put it on the afflicted parts. Another remedy for snake bites is to use the bulb or root of the *Strychnos* or *curarina* vine (*Strychnos toxifera* Schonb. ex Benth.). This is cut into pieces and mixed with the *guaco* leaf and boiled very well. The resulting liquid is drunk. The most effective remedy for snake bites, however, seems to be the resin from the *caraña* tree (*Protium* spp.). This tree grows on the coast, particularly near Dominical. The resin is mixed with honey and is both drunk and applied to the bite.

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[1/2] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bovas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [278] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called [824] *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

1/2 [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict
[262] diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense* [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[824] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kusk* is "to bathe."
192 [100] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[100] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was
753 considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition.
[774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *bák-namá* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

● 278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 A medicine for snake bites is made from
824 *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and
757 is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and
755 magical elements included in curing are songs
533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to
[787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wímbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[1.1.1.1(A)1.1]
Bribri
Cabécar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	*Yellow Variety*
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	53.2	46.1

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--Analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	*Use*
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLa	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] káLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever—mash stem and boil
[842] tsáchica	*Menispermacea Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] tsbéchica	*Cirrus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
duískLa	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--Analyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	*Use*
harba	*Phyllantus* sp. *Pittieri*	fish poison
chata	*Serjania* sp.	fish poison
	Piperaceae	boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] boeuLá	*Euforbia sepium*	glue
chicaré	*Bocconia frutescens*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--Analyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 100(B)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apískicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨdokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

824
[278]
[845]
[272]
[844]

CABÉCAR

	Latin	Use
popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bɔ̃Lk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacia sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

[278]
[386]
[515]
[278]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely
there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as
expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; 464
but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with
tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse
and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan
Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame
with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for
sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door,
and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and
"meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are
of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by
a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven
openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer
and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer
than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually
dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A
coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tribi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tribis,
in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but
much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente
nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost
every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open
bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin
it.

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old [439 rubber inner tubes collected from the coast 524] are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives 324 for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao.

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 The first four hours of the day are told by [825] cock crows.[32] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well [783] as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camibar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camibar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[32] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [854] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

● 282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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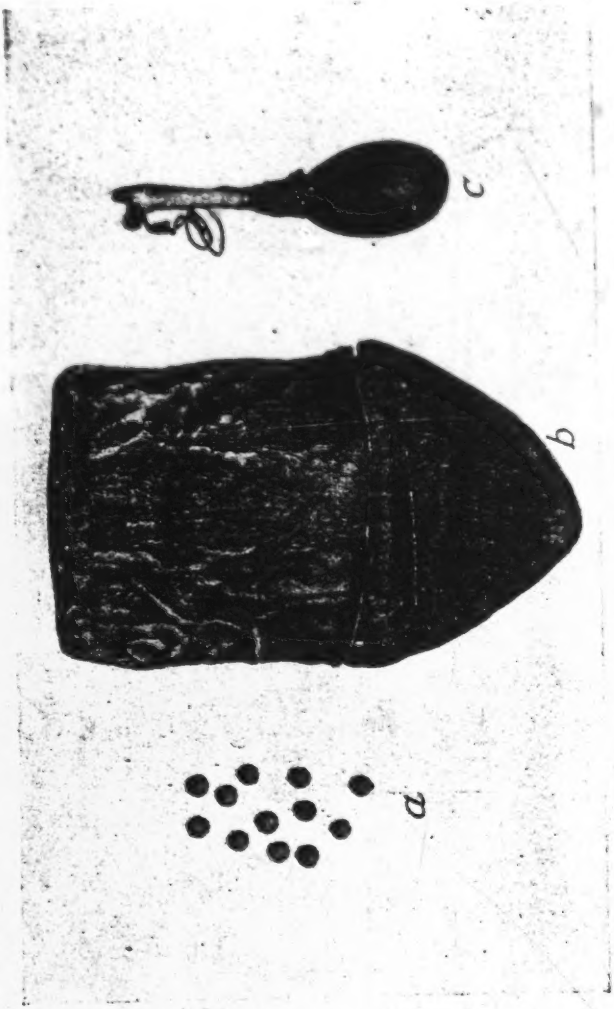
PL. XXV



BLOWGUN PELLETS OF CLAY; LEATHER POUCH; SHAMAN'S CALABASH RATTLE
(Length of the rattle, 7½ inches)

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 89]

283

283 CORDAGE--types of cordage made (e.g., thread, yarn, string, rope); materials used (e.g., bast fiber, cotton, wool, silk, sinew, hair); preparation of materials (e.g., soaking, retting); techniques of manufacture (e.g., twisting, spinning, braiding); special apparatus (e.g., spindle, spinning wheel); specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Industrialized manufacture of cordage 288
Sewing 294
Nautical rigging 501
String figures 524

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely
there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as
expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course;
but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with
tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse
and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan
Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame
with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for
sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door,
and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and
"meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are
of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by
a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven
openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer
and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer
than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually
dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A
coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tirlibi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tiribiri,
in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but
much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente
nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost
every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open
bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting coca or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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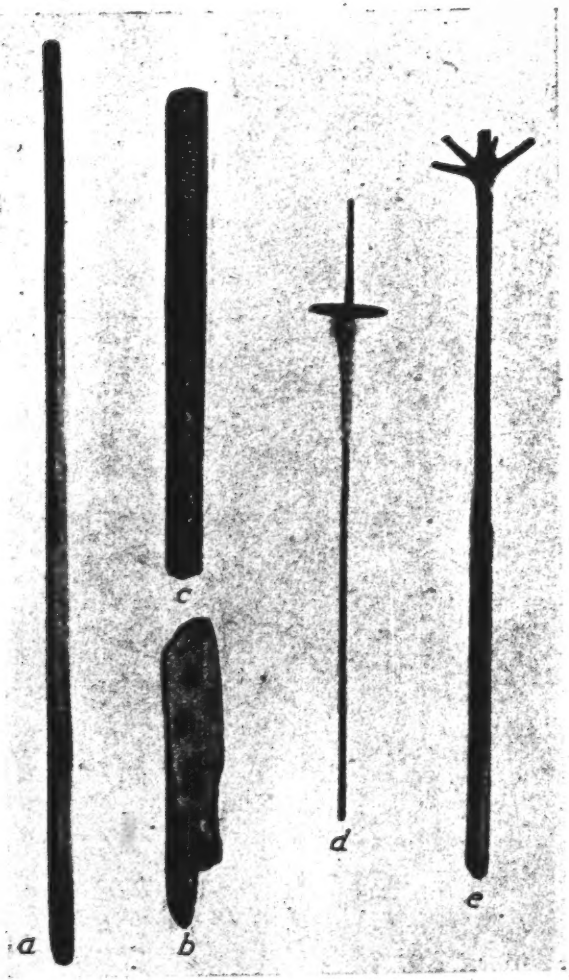

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Fire-drill; *b*, Hearth; *c*, Bark-beater; *d*, Spindle; *e*, Cacao stirring stick. (Length of *e*, 26 inches)

[facing p. 72]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

● 283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

301 237 789 778 *Necklaces.*—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

301 Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

301 321

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Bark and Fiber Articles.—Besides the blankets of beaten bark used for beds and as wrappings for the bones of the dead, the Bribri have burden straps of the same material. These are merely plain bands of tapa. The Indians say the bark is stripped from the trees in sheets, then pounded on a log with a wooden bark-beater. 287

Twisted fiber string and ropes, from several native substances, including agave, are made in varying degrees of fineness. These are used for every purpose, from bag and hammock weaving to tying house-posts and fastening drum-heads, and as cord for their suspension. 283

Weapons.—Besides the digging-stick war-clubs above described, the Bribri declare that in their former wars they used lances, those remembered being about six feet long, of hardwood tipped with iron. Gabb reports obtaining one of these, and also a small, round shield of tapir hide—another obsolete article. 411

Pl. XVII, *d*, represents a bow, 4 ft. 10 in. in length, and, as usual, furnished with a fiber string. The arrows are compound, having a reed shaft and a hardwood fore-

when working and extra strength is needed, 276
the Indians chew a root from a plant called *cordoncillo* in Spanish. It is a member of the *Piper* family, and has various uses among these Indians (see pp. 20, 21, 27).

HOUSES

walls to serve as supports. The intervening 342
space is filled in by not so thick poles placed very close together, either vertically as in figures 5, *c*, *d* and 4, *c*, or horizontally as in figure 9, *c*. When they are placed horizontally, they are woven in and out of the supporting vertical poles which, of necessity, are more numerous in this type of construction. When the wall poles are vertical, thicker poles are placed horizontally in a single line on the outside at the bottom, the center, and the top, acting as a supporting band to hold the wall in shape. These bands are bound to the other poles with fiber ropes.

There are three kinds of fiber used in house 342
construction. The most popular, and practi- 283
cally the only kind found in Boruca houses, is that known as the *bejuco de fierro* or *negro*. This is a thick vine growing in the forest (perhaps *Anthurium scandens* [Aubl.] Engler).[21a] Its leaves resemble those of the bean known as *haba blanca*. From this vine, as many as eight cords are obtained, depending, of course, on the width desired. Another fiber used is called *bejuco de hombre* and is known also as *andariel*. This is really an aerial root and is found in house construction on the coast, around Palmar Norte, where the *bejuco negro* is not obtainable. The third type of fiber is made from the bark of a tree called *capulin blanco* (*Muntingia Calabura* L.). Sometimes both horizontal and vertical wall construction are found on the
same house (see fig. 6, *a*). Windows are rare, 342
but when present, the framework is always made of the thicker poles. The window shutter, however, is of planks and the hinges bought at *ladino* stores. Doors also have a framework of poles. The doors themselves are made of the small vertical poles following the vertical construction of the walls and are tied with vines, no hinges being used. Frequently, the walls have a rough coating of *bajareque* both inside and out. *Bajareque* is a mixture of cow dung and mud. Strangely enough, the

505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigona*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Cordage.** The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, *5*, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [854]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ba'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

medium-sized *haba*, the strips are usually 285
around 30 inches long, while the largest are around 50 inches. The base of the *haba* is triangular with the corners and two sides rounded. The third side is kept flat to fit more steadily on a person's back. In making the basket, the strips are placed on the ground and the foot put over as many ends as possible to hold the pieces in place. The opposite ends are left free, and the weaving is done with the fingers (see fig. 9, *a*). The pattern resulting from this is a hexagon (see fig. 7, *b–1*). When the base is completed the strips are doubled upward and interwoven, particularly at the corners, and horizontal strips are added as strengthening bands at the start and finish of every hexagon, the pattern remaining the same as that of the base. At the very top, a horizontal band is overlapped by the main strips and woven into the rim. A wide ribbon of the vine is fastened around the *haba* when used for carrying. This band is suspended from the [482]
forehead of a person, and the basket hangs flat on his back (see fig. 8, *a*).

Baskets are also made from the *bejuco negro*, or, preferably, from the vine called *anda-riel* (see p. 11). These baskets are circular with a decided bulge or projection a little above the base. They vary in size from short baskets with handles to very tall ones (see fig. 7, *c*). The strips used for the baskets are cut narrower than those for the *haba*, and may be added to in order to increase the depth of the article. As with the *haba*, the strips are put on the ground at the start. They are crossed, however, in the center, and another strip is then tied to this center portion or base, and is woven in and out of the projecting strips by hand. Adding of strips to make the basket larger is accomplished by weaving a strip well into the basket until an end appears on the other side of the base.

Weaving. The *Boruca* are today the only 286
Indians of Costa Rica who do any weaving, in spite of the fact that they do very little. In 1945, there were only six women in the village of Boruca who wove skirts, *mantas*, and one woman who wove only men's belts. Almost 283
all the women and many of the girls, however, 286
knew how to make thread. A common practice was to make thread and give it to one of 437

[*] Barrett, 1925, pt. II, pp. 252, 258.

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[457] a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the
thread and sold it or exchanged it with the
weavers for some other object. The primary
cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving ap-
pears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that
yields a very small pod, and consequently, the
Indians become discouraged at the produce.
The famous "colored cotton," which is so
called as it is light brown, is also planted. This
is the cotton which called the Spaniard's atten-
tion so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the
Cayapa Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored
cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, how-
ever, more delicate to make into thread than
283 the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The
best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[236] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of peji-
baye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'*
and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are
considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is
commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and
occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some
of the whorls are undecorated, but some have
incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from
the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is
then put on a hide, and the women take two
sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton
making it as smooth as possible, after which,
it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into
balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman
sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a
gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle
in her right hand and the thread in her left,
between the thumb and index finger, working
so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely
in her hand at all. This process the Indians
call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances
in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its
natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have
a few colors which they dye themselves, but
red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[139] generally not as dyes, but as already colored
mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino*
town. Due to the relatively high price of these

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the ● [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being made by the *Boruca*. The European war, how- 177 ever, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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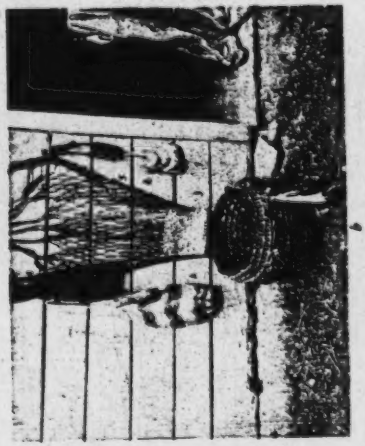

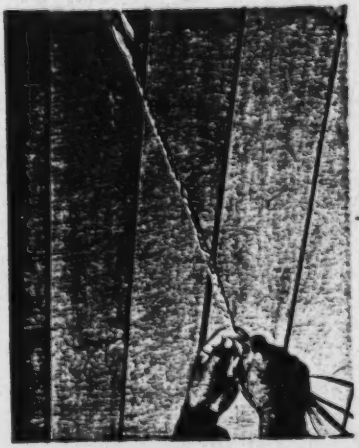

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a, Girls laden with oranges in *kabu* in front of school house. *b*, Carriage artifacts used by the *Bersan* i, *kabu*; *2*, *4*, *7*, string bags made by the *Tilamanca* peoples; *3*, *kabu*; *5*, string bag made by the *Bersan*; *6*, hammock made by the *Bersan*. *c*, *Magaya* ready for use. *d*, Sample of rope techniques.

[p. 58]

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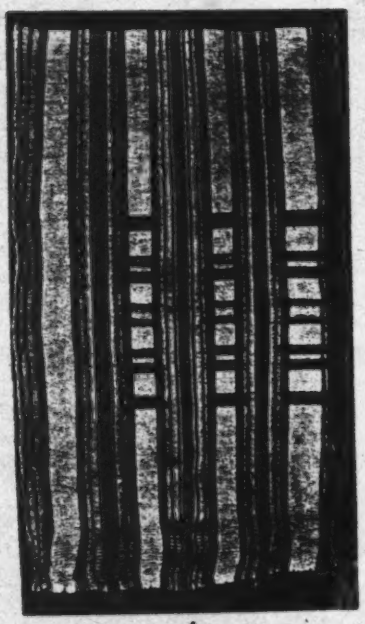

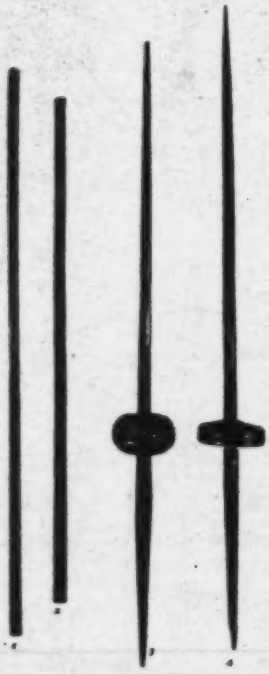

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a, Mantle or shirt with single-faced weft-pattern weave (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). b, Pejibaye artifacts: 1, 2, pejibaye rods used in weaving; 3, 4, spindles and wheels of pejibaye (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). c, Start of a hake. d, Woman weaving man's belt.

[p. 59]

[Ought to read "pejibaye." See errata, p. 51. —Analyst]

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konp* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

MANUFACTURES

283 [824] 248 [790] **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Havas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is
[137] among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
times when trade was common between the
[438] Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even
today, one passes through cleared tunnels
under the matted roots of trees and shrubs
which, according to tradition, are the same
passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the
three trails which cross the range (*see* Geog-
raphy), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges
made of vines which span chasms and swift-
flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges
are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word
used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string.
The vines are woven netlike to form one or
two sides. The first type can be either a single
net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or
it is placed as a railing along a log. To make
the second style, two stout vines are swung
across the space to be bridged and fastened
securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of
braided vines is tied to these so as to form
a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape,
or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*).
These hammock bridges are remade every six
months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*,
of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into
thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both
[462] men and women prepare this fiber, although
it is generally the women's task. The leaf is
cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even
the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded
to soften it, and then it is put on a log and
scraped with the blunt edge of a machete
from the top to the bottom. At the bottom
end, the woman pulls the remaining outer
fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[38] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into [482] rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which [171] closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [482] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets are made from it.

[824] A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are [462] three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made [824] in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild [415] rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 100 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	Use
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLə	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kúLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever—mash stem and boil
[342] táchica	*Menispermacen Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] təbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
duískLə	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	Use
harbə	*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri	fish poison
chatə	*Serjania* sp. *Pothomorphe piperaceae*	fish poison; boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] botuLú	*Eufobia sapium*	glue
chicarté	*Bocconia frutescans*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--analyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

133
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[249
417]
[413
284]

a, b, Distant views of Boruca village. c, Rice-cutter (actual size). d, Extraction of sugar cane juice.

[p.53]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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a

b

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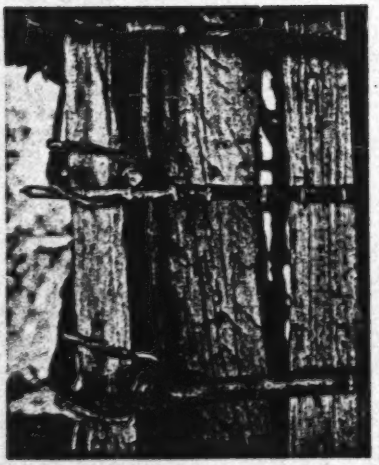

c

d

a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. *c*, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. *d*, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha 000 352
jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and 415
kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from [439]
less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of [263]
salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flex- [285]
ible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then [251]
lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, 412
and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be [439]
found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting [241]
corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small 415
holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled 411
guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the [283]
finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [854] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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[854]

also the method of carrying a child on the back of a Bribri woman when traveling.

A specimen of a handsome type of basket, made of split palm-leaves or of cane, fashioned in a diagonal twilled technique like some of the baskets of the Alibamu, Choc-

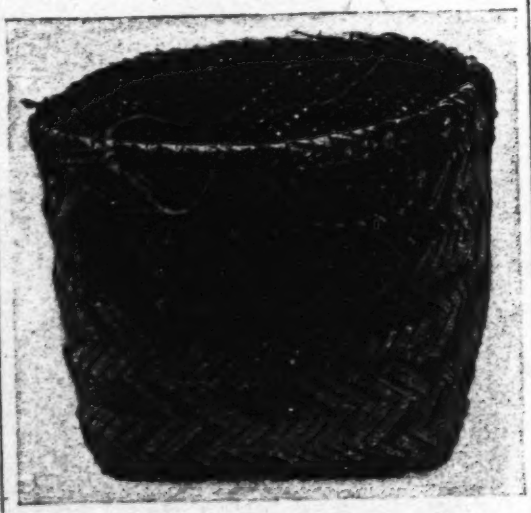

FIG. 4. Basket for holding trinkets (diam. 9¼ in.).

taw, and other Indians of our Gulf states, is illustrated in fig. 4. Such baskets are used for holding trinkets, and are not common.

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, *5*, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [854]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ha'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

medium-sized *haba*, the strips are usually 285
around 30 inches long, while the largest are around 50 inches. The base of the *haba* is triangular with the corners and two sides rounded. The third side is kept flat to fit more steadily on a person's back. In making the basket, the strips are placed on the ground and the foot put over as many ends as possible to hold the pieces in place. The opposite ends are left free, and the weaving is done with the fingers (see fig. 9, *a*). The pattern resulting from this is a hexagon (see fig. 7, *b–1*). When the base is completed the strips are doubled upward and interwoven, particularly at the corners, and horizontal strips are added as strengthening bands at the start and finish of every hexagon, the pattern remaining the same as that of the base. At the very top, a horizontal band is overlapped by the main strips and woven into the rim. A wide ribbon of the vine is fastened around the *haba* when used for carrying. This band is suspended from the [482]
forehead of a person, and the basket hangs flat on his back (see fig. 8, *a*).

Baskets are also made from the *bejuco negro*, or, preferably, from the vine called *anda-riel* (see p. 11). These baskets are circular with a decided bulge or projection a little above the base. They vary in size from short baskets with handles to very tall ones (see fig. 7, *c*). The strips used for the baskets are cut narrower than those for the *haba*, and may be added to in order to increase the depth of the article. As with the *haba*, the strips are put on the ground at the start. They are crossed, however, in the center, and another strip is then tied to this center portion or base, and is woven in and out of the projecting strips by hand. Adding of strips to make the basket larger is accomplished by weaving a strip well into the basket until an end appears on the other side of the base.

Weaving. The *Boruca* are today the only 286
Indians of Costa Rica who do any weaving, in spite of the fact that they do very little. In 1945, there were only six women in the village of Boruca who wove skirts, *mantas*, and one woman who wove only men's belts. Almost 283
all the women and many of the girls, however, 286
knew how to make thread. A common practice was to make thread and give it to one of 437

[a] Barrett, 1925, pt. II, pp. 252, 258.

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-kra'* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquianos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* [439] towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c–4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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4, On and Indian woman baker with grasses for a roof. *b*, Artifacts of the *Boruca*: 1, mantle or skirt; 2, baby; 3, doll; 4, maracas or rattles; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, sieve. *c*, Artifacts of the *Boruca*: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, basket; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. *d*, Women wearing the mantle, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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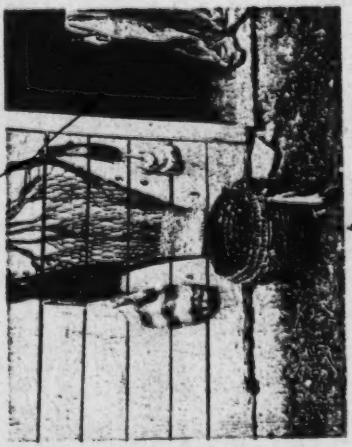

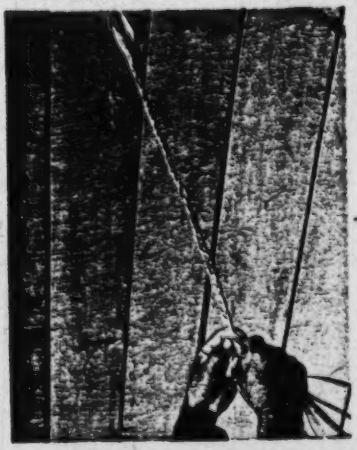

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4, Girls bakes with oranges in bakes in front of school house. b, Carriage artifacts used by the Boruca: 1, bakes; 2, 4; 3, string bags made by the Talamanca peoples; 5, bakes; 5, string bag made by the Boruca; 6, hammock made by the Boruca. c, Malgua ready for use. d, Sample of rope techniques.

[p. 58]

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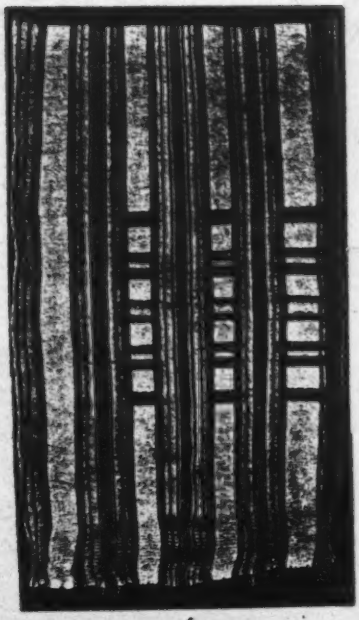
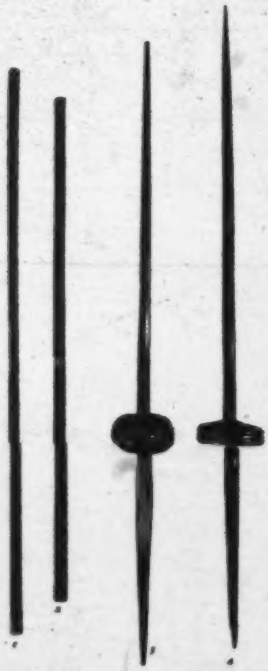


a



b

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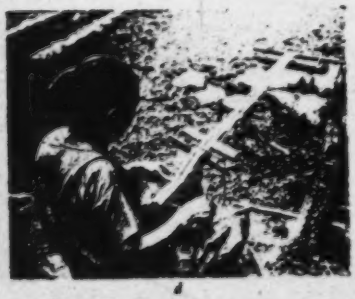
c



d

a, *Manta* or shirt with single-faced weft-pattern weave (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). b, Pejibaye artifacts: 1, 2, pejibaye rods used in weaving; 3, 4, spindles and whorls of pejibaye (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). c, Start of a hake. d, Woman weaving man's hake.

[p. 59]

[Ought to read "pejibaye." See errata, p. 51. —Analyst]

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
237 bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *biguerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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c

d

a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. *c*, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. *d*, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dang-
ling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely
there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as
expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course;
but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with
tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse
and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan
Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame
with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for
sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door,
and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Every-
thing is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and
"meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are
of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by
a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven
openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer
and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer
than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually
dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A
coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tiribi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tiribis,
in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but
much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente
nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost
every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open
bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin
it.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a litle more then a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Be- [386] sides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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LARGE CARRYING BAG
(Depth, 24 inches)

[facing p. 54]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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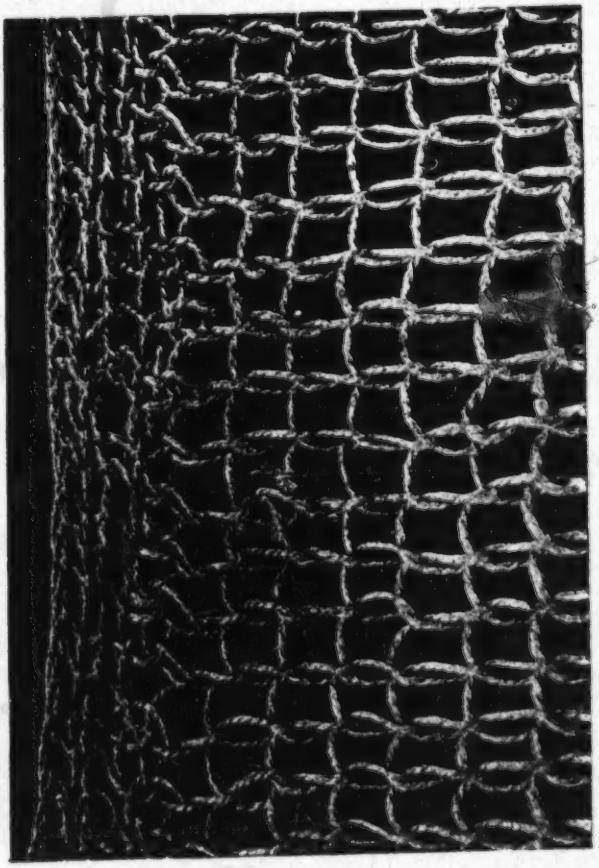

DETAIL OF BAG SHOWN IN PLATE V

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 55]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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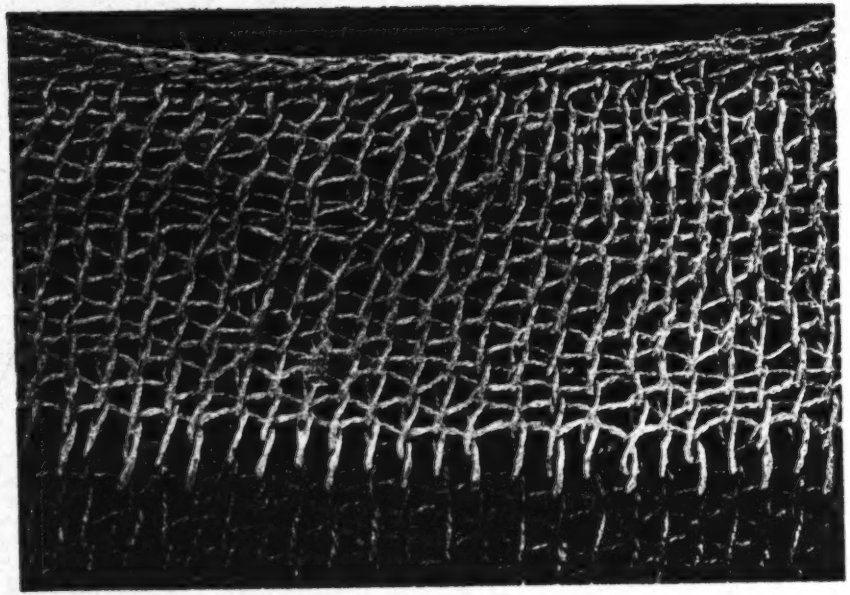

DETAIL OF A CARRYING BAG

[facing p. 56]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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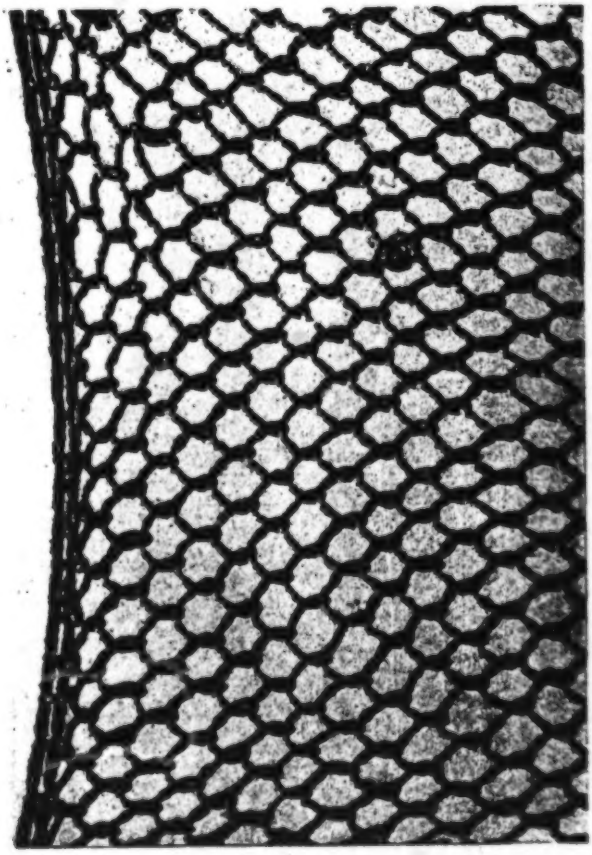
PL. VIII



SKINNER—BRIBRI

DETAIL OF SINGLE-LOOP CARRYING BAG

[facing p. 57]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

The seats vary in size from diminutive forms used by children to benches six to ten feet long, narrow, with square ends and clumsy feet. Some of the children's seats have been used as toys. Pl. IV, *a*, illustrating a seat shaped like a turtle, still has about the neck a portion of the fiber string by which its little owner dragged it about; 352 352 524

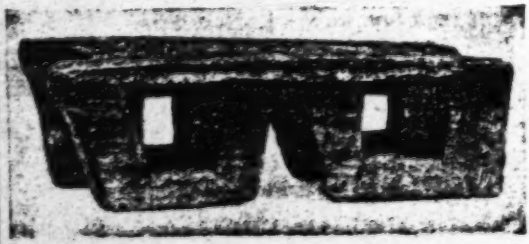


FIG 3.—Stool with unusual supports (length 13½ in.).

and, to add to the realism of its play, the child had also fitted the ill-smelling carapace of a freshly killed tortoise of the family *Chelydra* over the top of this stool.

Hammocks and Beds.—Large, handsomely netted hammocks of string made from native fibers are often used for sleeping, each member of the family having his own. They are 352 286

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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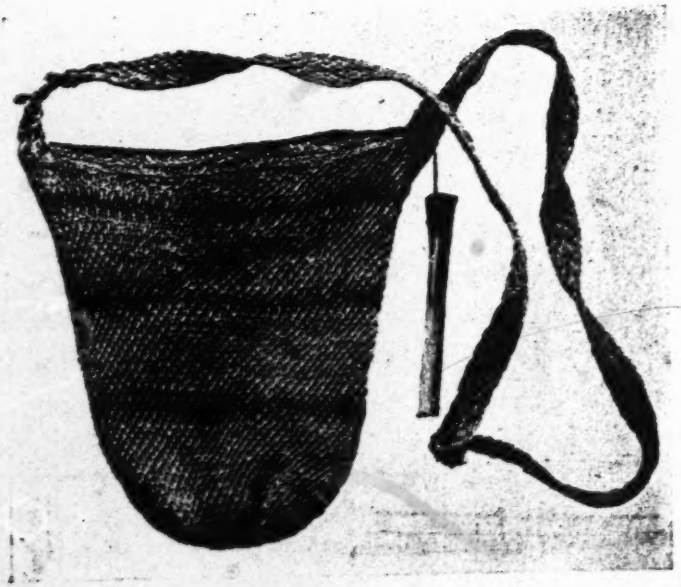

BAG WITH DOUBLE POCKET FOR CARRYING BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth of bag, 7½ inches)

[facing p. 58]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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286 made usually in two sizes, only both of which are more capacious than ours. A large example in the collection of the Museum is made in coarse diagonal net, the strands passing over two and under two.

Especially in such houses as are provided with raised floors, one finds beds in addition to hammocks, the groundwork of which is usually a coarse, plain blanket made of a [287] heavy bark cloth, or tapa, about a yard square.

Bags.—In abundant evidence in every house are the carrying bags, in varying sizes, consisting of coiled work without foundation, and manufactured of cotton or sisal fiber. These bags are made with bone [412] needles, fashioned somewhat like the bone netting-needles of the Central Algonkians, and are, as Gabb says, "meshed like our fiber nets." The bags are sometimes double, one being netted within another, and are often ornamented with a few encircling, parallel bands in black or red, or both, co-ored with native bark dyes. The bags are [482] called *chákara*. All are furnished with a head- or breast-strap, woven of one piece with the bag.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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BAG FOR BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth, 6 inches)

[facing p. 59]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

with the bag. They are by no means so handsome as the bright-colored bags made by the Valiente Indians nearer the coast, and the Bribri complain that their manufacture will soon be a lost art, except among those dwelling in the remote forest fastnesses, whence the greater supply now comes. Nevertheless, at present the bags are plentiful, and abundant specimens of numerous weaves were secured, ranging in size from tiny pockets, intended to contain clay blowgun pellets, to large receptacles for transporting plantains. 286 415

Pl. v represents a large carrying bag, the ground color of which is white, traversed by two transverse horizontal bands in brown. It is of the same technique as the specimen shown in Mason's work,[10] which the author describes as "a coiled carrying bag from Chiriqui, Colombia, and is a type of an enormous amount of ware to be found in Middle America . . . . and is called in this monograph coiled work without foundation . . . . the twine constituting the fabric interlocks with the stitch underneath and makes a complete revolu- 286 [171]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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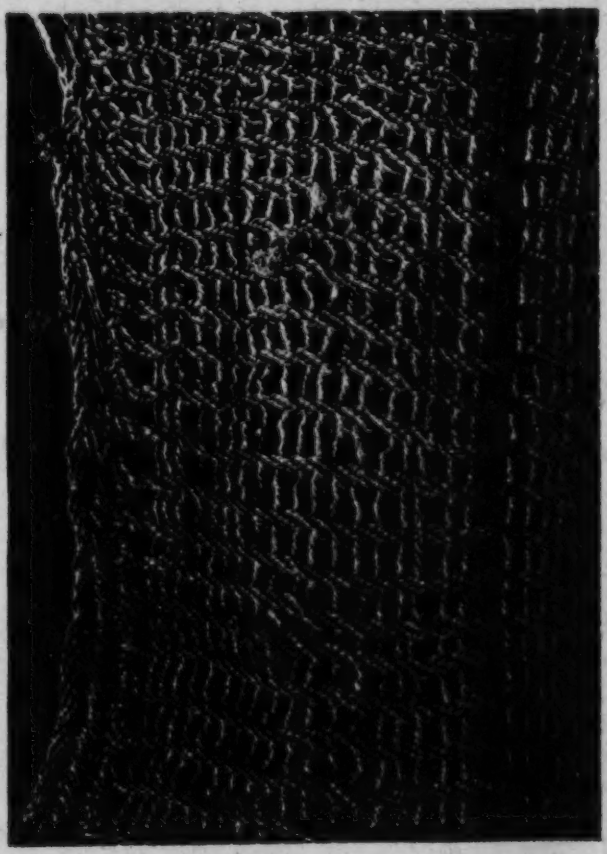
PL. XI



DETAIL OF WOVEN CARRYING BAG WITH RIBBED APPEARANCE

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[Facing p. 60]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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tion, catching the next stitch, and so on. Without definite information on the subject, it is believed that in making these bags some sort of a gauge is used by the weaver—a small stick which may be slipped along as the work proceeds."

The edge of the bag mentioned above is shown in detail in pl. VI and is made similarly to the rest of the receptacle, except that, instead of looping into the coil directly above it, each loop passes over two loops to the right, then returns, passing two more to the left before interlocking with it. The border is composed of a double row of such netting. The carrying strap is made of a 22-strand braid, netted diagonally.

Pl. VII represents the detail of a large carrying bag, white in ground color, with three bands of decoration, each being a double bar, brown above and gray beneath. The process resembles that of the preceding (pl. VI), except that each loop, instead of passing through one loop, goes through two, and crosses itself on two more loops in the row below. The next rows above and below alternate the grouping of the pairs of loops.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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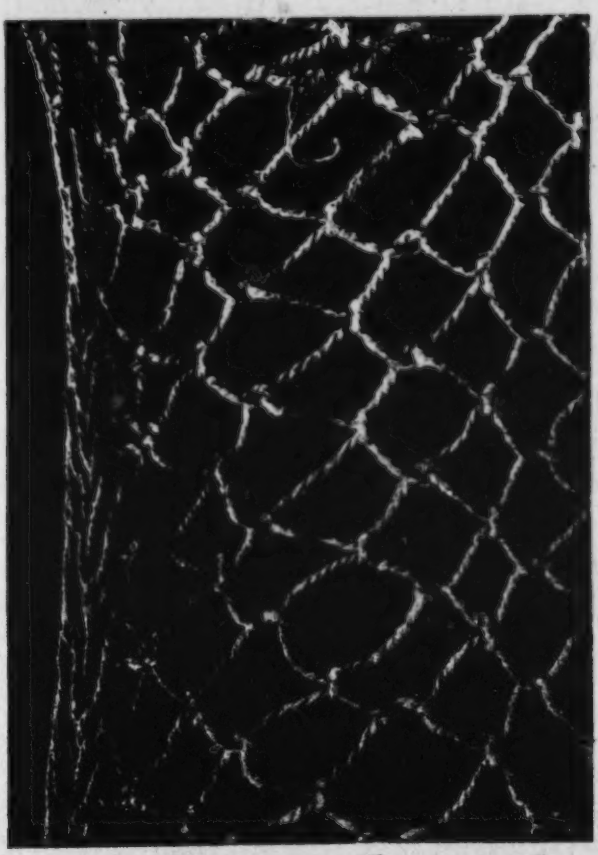
PL. XII



SKINNER—BRIBRI

DETAIL OF A BAG OF LOOP-WORK ALTERNATING WITH KNOTTED NET

[facing p. 61]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

The edge is similar to that shown in pl. VI, except that it is a single row. The strap for carrying is only an 18-strand net. 286

Pl. VIII shows the detail of a small bag, woven like the last, except that each loop connects singly with its neighbor, and does not take in groups of two, as in pl. VII.

Pl. IX represents a small, double-pocket bag woven like that shown in pl. VI. The bag is intended for carrying clay blowgun pellets, with a division reserved for small game. A bone pellet gauge is attached to the edge. The edge differs from the others in that it is made up of two strands, and the strap for carrying is 20-ply. 286 415

Pl. X shows a small, elongate receptacle, designed for carrying blowgun pellets. The carrying strap is made similarly to all the others, but is of two-strand net. The bag is of coil without foundation work.

The bag of which a detail is illustrated in pl. XI is based on the coil without foundation process, except that, instead of alternating the pairs of loops, they are directly opposite throughout. The cord of which the 286

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [854] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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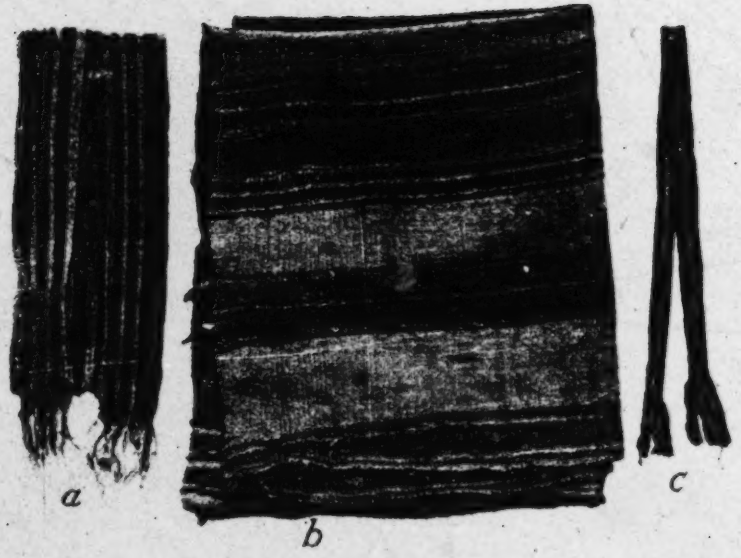

WOVEN FABRICS
(*a*, Belt; *b*, Blanket; *c* Headband)

[facing p. 75]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 *Weaving.*—Two women's blanket skirts of woven cotton were obtained after considerable search, one of which is shown in pl. XVIII, *b*. As the manufacture of cotton cloth is now said to be a lost art, we must turn again to Gabb[14] for his observations.

"Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with
248 no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen
[462] all the year round, together on every tree. The women collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it. The loom
286 is a simple frame of four sticks; the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow
[462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two or three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a
292 little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the
286 dead and the women's petticoats are wider and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel."

286 [292] [386] [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri.

[531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

301 237 789 778 *Necklaces.*—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

301 Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

301 321

medium-sized *haba*, the strips are usually 285
around 30 inches long, while the largest are around 50 inches. The base of the *haba* is triangular with the corners and two sides rounded. The third side is kept flat to fit more steadily on a person's back. In making the basket, the strips are placed on the ground and the foot put over as many ends as possible to hold the pieces in place. The opposite ends are left free, and the weaving is done with the fingers (see fig. 9, *a*). The pattern resulting from this is a hexagon (see fig. 7, *b–1*). When the base is completed the strips are doubled upward and interwoven, particularly at the corners, and horizontal strips are added as strengthening bands at the start and finish of every hexagon, the pattern remaining the same as that of the base. At the very top, a horizontal band is overlapped by the main strips and woven into the rim. A wide ribbon of the vine is fastened around the *haba* when used for carrying. This band is suspended from the [482]
forehead of a person, and the basket hangs flat on his back (see fig. 8, *a*).

Baskets are also made from the *bejuco negro*, or, preferably, from the vine called *anda-riel* (see p. 11). These baskets are circular with a decided bulge or projection a little above the base. They vary in size from short baskets with handles to very tall ones (see fig. 7, *c*). The strips used for the baskets are cut narrower than those for the *haba*, and may be added to in order to increase the depth of the article. As with the *haba*, the strips are put on the ground at the start. They are crossed, however, in the center, and another strip is then tied to this center portion or base, and is woven in and out of the projecting strips by hand. Adding of strips to make the basket larger is accomplished by weaving a strip well into the basket until an end appears on the other side of the base.

Weaving. The *Boruca* are today the only 286
Indians of Costa Rica who do any weaving, in spite of the fact that they do very little. In 1945, there were only six women in the village of Boruca who wove skirts, *mantas*, and one woman who wove only men's belts. Almost 283
all the women and many of the girls, however, 286
knew how to make thread. A common practice was to make thread and give it to one of 437

[*] Barrett, 1925, pt. II, pp. 252, 258.

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[437 a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The
283 best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[286] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[439] generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[28] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[29] Information given to the writer by Professor
[115] Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-B]

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

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3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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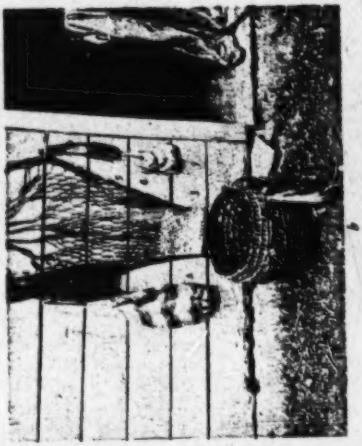

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4, Girls bakes with oranges in bakes in front of school house. 5, Carriage artifacts used by the Bribri; 2, 4, 7, string bags made by the Talamanca peoples; 3, bakes; 5, string bag made by the Bribri; 6, hammock made by the Bribri. 6, Maguey ready for use. d, Sample of rope techniques.

[p. 58]

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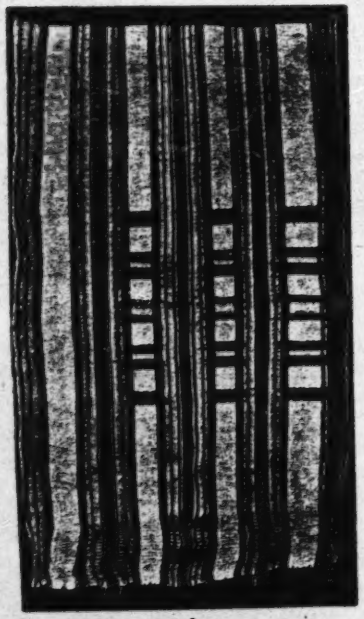

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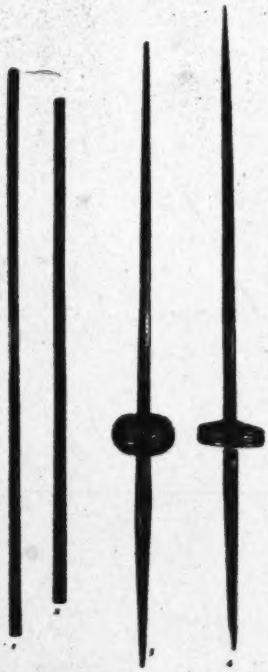

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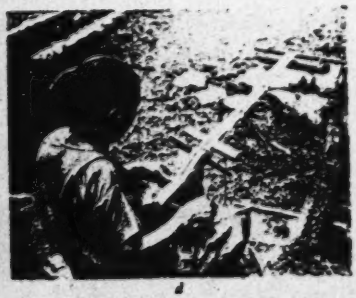

d

a, Mantle or skirt with single-faced weft-pattern weave (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). b, Pejibaye[1] artifacts: 1, 2, pejibaye rods used in weaving; 3, 4, spindles and whorls of pejibaye (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). c, Start of a *bake*. d, Woman weaving man's belt.

[p. 59]

[1] [Ought to read "pejibaye", see errata, p. 51. —Analyst]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyta;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymi.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Talamancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women
291 all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Téjar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[139] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guariumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are
[482] suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when [252] planting; and as sieves, in particular for making *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

[531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

savage Indians do not possess it. The drum is their greatest favorite. 534
It is from twenty inches to two feet long, cylindrical for half its length, with a diameter of six or seven inches; it then tapers convexly to near the other end and then widens out a little. The pattern is always the same, and the size varies but a few inches. The larger end is tightly covered with the skin from the belly of the iguana lizard. It is glued on by fresh blood, being held in place with string until dry. A cord tied around each end suspends it loosely from the left shoulder, and it is held under the left arm, being beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. It is used principally to accompany and keep time to singing and is an indispensable part of every feast or gathering of whatever kind. To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, per- [321]
haps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tribi made of a deer's bone. The priests use in their songs a rattle, made of a small pear-shaped tree calabash, lashed to a bone at the small end. This contains a few seeds of the "shot plant," or Canna. It is held upright and solemnly shaken in time with the song until the end of the stanza, when, as a signal for the chorus to strike in, it is given a dexterous twirl, throwing the seeds rapidly around inside. On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy hamile is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above-mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it.

Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization 291
approaches. Formerly the dress of the men consisted only of a breech-cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the 287
inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with a roughened stick over a log. This loosens the fibre, and renders it soft and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is washed out. After drying, it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held 291
against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then falls over in front, for about a foot long, like an apron. When cotton cloth is used, it is simply caught up in front and behind under a cotton belt, with a similar apron in front. Sometimes, for warmth, a shirt of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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286 made usually in two sizes, only both of which are more capacious than ours. A large example in the collection of the Museum is made in coarse diagonal net, the strands passing over two and under two.

Especially in such houses as are provided with raised floors, one finds beds in addition to hammocks, the groundwork of which is usually a coarse, plain blanket made of a [287] heavy bark cloth, or tapa, about a yard square.

Bags.—In abundant evidence in every house are the carrying bags, in varying sizes, consisting of coiled work without foundation, and manufactured of cotton or sisal fiber. These bags are made with bone [412] needles, fashioned somewhat like the bone netting-needles of the Central Algonkians, and are, as Gabb says, "meshed like our fiber nets." The bags are sometimes double, one being netted within another, and are often ornamented with a few encircling, parallel bands in black or red, or both, co-ored with native bark dyes. The bags are [482] called *chákara.* All are furnished with a head- or breast-strap, woven of one piece with the bag.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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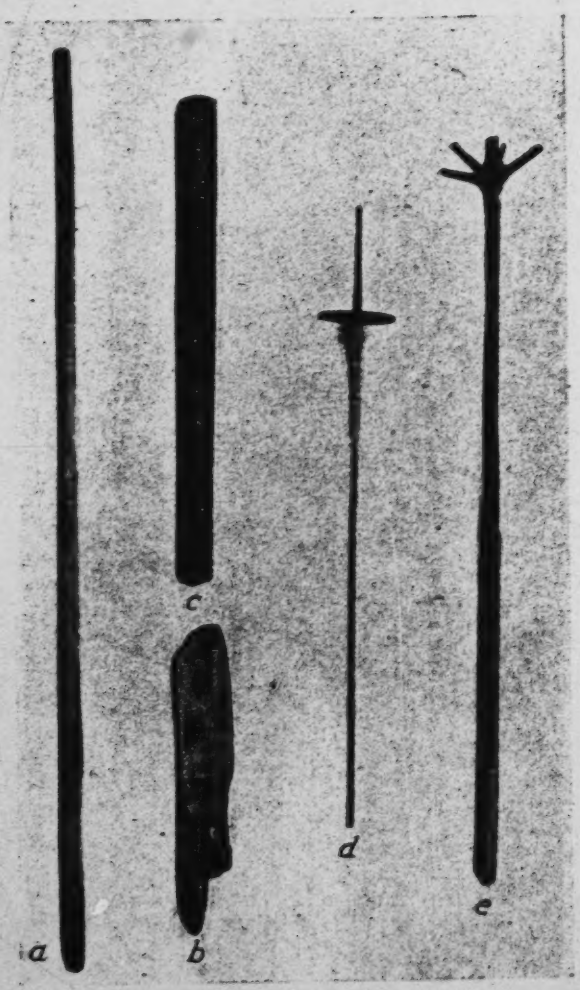

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Fire-drill; *b*, Hearth; *c*, Bark-beater; *d*, Spindle; *e*, Cacao stirring stick. (Length of *e*, 26 inches)

[facing p. 77]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Bark and Fiber Articles.—Besides the blankets of beaten bark used for beds and as wrappings for the bones of the dead, the Bribri have burden straps of the same material. These are merely plain bands of tapa. The Indians say the bark is stripped from the trees in sheets, then pounded on a log with a wooden bark-beater. 287

Twisted fiber string and ropes, from several native substances, including agave, are made in varying degrees of fineness. These are used for every purpose, from bag and hammock weaving to tying house-posts and fastening drum-heads, and as cord for their suspension. 283

Weapons.—Besides the digging-stick war-clubs above described, the Bribri declare that in their former wars they used lances, those remembered being about six feet long, of hardwood tipped with iron. Gabb reports obtaining one of these, and also a small, round shield of tapir hide—another obsolete article. 411

Pl. XVII, *d*, represents a bow, 4 ft. 10 in. in length, and, as usual, furnished with a fiber string. The arrows are compound, having a reed shaft and a hardwood fore-

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287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain [755] cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every- [824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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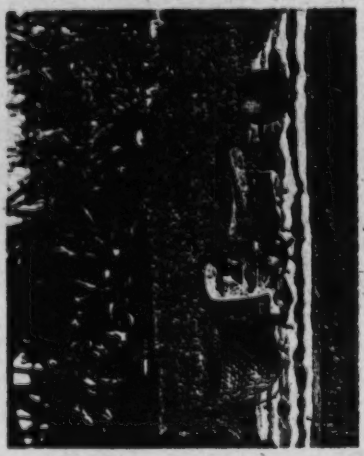

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6. Old and Indian women laden with grasses for a roof. 4. Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, mask or skirt; 2, belt; 3, doll; 4, mortar or pestle; 5, mask; 6, fan-tailed scarf; 7, man's belt; 8, drum; 9, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, basket; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. 2. Women wearing the mask, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
[192] *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for
lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
[184] manca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
low stool is always present but a chair and a
[352] table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
[824] in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
[353] remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
women but chiefly by the men.
[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [519] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testi* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, up to twelve feet in length and supported by [273] four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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included, to which these people have been subjected by the rubber hunters, who enter their country from Nicaragua, and their not possessing fire-arms to repel the aggressors, they have become so timid that they fly on the first approach of strangers. The few who have been captured are either young children, or persons taken by surprise. I have been unable to learn of any in Costa Rica, although a boy, now dead, lived for a while in Alajuela. A few are said to have been taken to San Juan del Norte, (Greytown,) and to Grenada, Nicaragua. The Alajuela boy, although he learned the meaning of some Spanish words, so as to know what was meant, when spoken to, was represented as sullen. When asked the names in his language of things that he was familiar with, like plantain, banana, &c., he always remained silent, and neither coaxing nor threats could extort a word. R 648

The people are invariably represented as of short stature, broad, and of enormous strength. They live in neighborhoods; they cannot be called villages, the houses being scattered over an extensive area and at distances of from one to several hundred yards apart. The houses are low, consisting of a roof, pitching both ways from a ridge pole, and resting on very short but very thick posts. This is thatched with palm leaf and is entirely open at the ends and sides, under the eaves. Their tools are stone axes set in wooden handles, good steel machetes (all agree that they have seen these, but where do they get them?) and planting sticks similar to those used by the Bri-bris. With these tools they cultivate great quantities of plantains, bananas, yuca, coco, (*Colocasia esculentum*,) besides possessing large plantations of the *pehi balla* palm and of cacao. Of the furniture in their houses, I was told of cord hammocks and net bags, similar to those of Bri-bri, and of blocks of light wood for seats. They seem to sleep on the ground floor of their houses, simply spreading down a layer of plantain leaves. Their bows and arrows are described as similar to what I have seen elsewhere, except that the arrows are not supplied with any harder points than those furnished by the pehi balla wood. The dress is described as identical with the old styles in Talamanca; mastate breech cloths for the men, and the same material, in the shape of short petticoats for the women. R 361 [147] 342 R 412 R 241 R 352 [513] 411 R 291

The country of the Rio Frio is said to consist of broad fertile plains, unsurpassed in beauty and fertility by any lands in the Republic. The Rio Frio itself is large and is navigated by the large canoes of the *hulleros*, or rubber hunters, to a point within three days' walk of Las Cruces on the Pacific side. But the poor inoffensive people who inhabit this region are now so intimidated by the "Christians" who have visited them, that they can only be approached by a foreigner by stealth. If they can escape they do so, but if driven to bay, or think they can overpower the strangers, they greet them with a flight of arrows. They are especially afraid of firearms, and a pistol shot is sufficient to depopulate a settlement. R 133 648

I believe the above short statement contains the most reliable informa- R 114

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a litle more than a foot wide [291] The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides [386] native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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savage Indians do not possess it. The drum is their greatest favorite. It is from twenty inches to two feet long, cylindrical for half its length, with a diameter of six or seven inches; it then tapers conveexly to near the other end and then widens out a little. The pattern is always the same, and the size varies but a few inches. The larger end is tightly covered with the skin from the belly of the iguana lizard. It is glued on by fresh blood, being held in place with string until dry. A cord tied around each end suspends it loosely from the left shoulder, and it is held under the left arm, being beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. It is used principally to accompany and keep time to singing and is an indispensable part of every feast or gathering of whatever kind. To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tribbi made of a deer's bone. The priests use in their songs a rattle, made of a small pear-shaped tree calabash, lashed to a bone at the small end. This contains a few seeds of the "shot plant," or Canna. It is held upright and solemnly shaken in time with the song until the end of the stanza, when, as a signal for the chorus to strike in, it is given a dexterous twirl, throwing the seeds rapidly around inside. On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above-mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it.

534 [321]

Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization approaches. Formerly the dress of the men consisted only of a breech-cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with a roughened stick over a log. This loosens the fibre, and renders it soft and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is washed out. After drying, it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then falls over in front, for about a foot long, like an apron. When cotton cloth is used, it is simply caught up in front and behind under a cotton belt, with a similar apron in front. Sometimes, for warmth, a shirt of

291 287 291

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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291 mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men [177] have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly the hair 302 was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright-colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat.

291 The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of mastate. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo-blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe and wound round the waist by the midribs. With nothing above nor below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partially conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty dress, I must do these 291 people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both 834 men and women. In a year and a half of life in their country, traveling constantly with a body of them, bathing, fording rivers, living in their houses, and seeing more than strangers generally do of the intimate domestic life of the people they are among, I can only recall a single instance of carelessness, and not one of a wanton exposure of those parts of the person, that their ideas of modesty required to be kept covered.

291 The dress just described is that of the Bri-bris and Cabecars. The Tiribi men, where they do not wear pantaloons, always use the native cotton breech-cloth, never the mastate. The women wear a long strip of cotton cloth, made with a hole in the middle, like a poncho, and reaching before and behind, nearly to the ground. It is gathered up at the waist by a belt, and the edges are caused to overlap at the same time, so that the whole person is securely covered. I was also told that under this they wear a species of breech-cloth or drawers. They are much more retiring in their manner than their Bri-bri sisters; never speak

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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		nyeta, very heavy; *tyng chukli*, very large; *pe ratski orui*, many people are coming; *pe tsosi tsot-tsei*, there are many people there. 192 x
how much	be-kongu'	*Chi-ka*, material.
mud	doch'-ka	
mute	mĕ,	
nail	u-rats'-kwo	*U-ra+ska*, finger; *kwo*, scale, skin, &c.
naked	sum'-ĕ wu'-ji-ka	Both words are used for bare or naked; but the latter ("empty" *q. v.*) is usually applied to naked children who, according to local custom are yet too small to wear clothing. [291]
to name name	i-kye' kye	Probably both derived, with i-ki-a'-na, to want, from the same root as i-*kiu*, to call. These three verbs run into each other in conjugation.
narrow	shu+tsi'-la-la bŭ-sutk'	*Shu*, see middle; *tsi-la-la*, small. Anything hollow; also a stream. Anything solid.
navel	mo'+wo	*Knot.*
near	tsi'-net ku-ku'-ni kot'-ka	In place or time. In time only.
neck	ki-li'+kŏ-cha	This *kĕ-cha*, does not seem to be connected with *ki-cha'*, a string or tendon. It occurs again in leg.
necklace	na-mu'+ka pu-li'+ki-cha bi'-wo+ki-cha	Tiger's teeth. Made from shell beads; see *shell* and *string*. Made from beads *q. v.* There are other less common names, all taken from the material

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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SKINNER—BRIBRI

BRIBRI DWELLING WITHOUT SIDES
A bowlder used as a metate is shown in the foreground

[facing p. 47]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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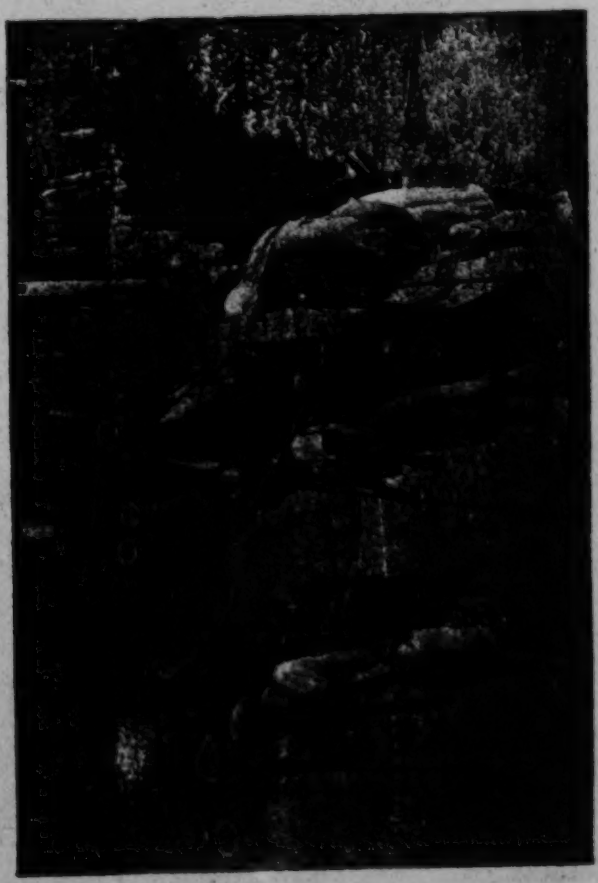
PL. III



CARRYING PALM-LEAVES BY MEANS OF THE BURDEN STRAP

[facing p. 51]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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BRIBRI FAMILY TRAVELING, SHOWING BURDEN BASKET IN USE, ALSO THE METHOD OF CARRYING A CHILD.

[facing p. 62]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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Clothing.—Many of the Bribri state that formerly their garments were made of beaten bark cloth, resembling the blankets which they still use for bedding, but thinner, and decorated with painted designs. These have now passed out of use, and except for blanket skirts (pl. XVIII, *b*) woven of cotton, with plain band designs in native blue dye, the Indians have adopted the cloth of civilization, roughly made into garments approximating those of their white neighbors. Regarding their dress, Gabb[13] says:

291

"Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization approaches. Formerly, the dress of the men consisted only of a breech cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with a roughened stick [pl. XIX, *c*] over a log. This loosens the fiber, and renders it soft and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is washed out. After drying it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then falls over in front for about a foot long, like

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

an apron. When cotton cloth is used, it is simply caught up in front and behind under a cotton belt, with a similar apron in front. Sometimes, for warmth, a shirt of mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly, the hair was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat. 291 ●

"The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of *mastate*. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less, to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe, and wound round the waist by the midribs. With nothing above or below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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301 "For ornaments all wear necklaces; the fav-
237 orite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of
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2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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PL. XXVIII

BRIBRI MEN FISHING

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 92]

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanagira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

● 291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [231]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *mastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their [439] hair, seldom appearing with less than two combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two 302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

TRANSPORTATION

481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The 482 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

[a] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 198.

erally put the braids up, tying them together 302
with ribbons. The hair is kept sleek with cocoa-butter, and the skin is cleared of freckles or blemishes by using a mixture of cocoa-butter (see p. 20) and *tſama*. T*ſama* is sometimes called by the Spanish name *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.).

The men wear the regulation pants and 291
shirt of the *ladino* and some still use the woven belt. In the beginning of this century, the men wore a typical costume, the cloth for which was woven by the men. Lehmann[23] notes that this was characteristic of the *Cotos*, whom, as we have seen, form part of the modern *Boruca*. Weaving was done by some, not all, of the men and women. In particular the older *Coto* men wove for all the other men.[24] The men used a *huipil* without sleeves which took one month to weave and reached below the knees. The stripes were narrower than those of a women's skirt, and they were more like the belts used at present by the men. Beneath this, they wore a loin cloth of *mastate*, and a woven belt which kept the loin-cloth in place. Formerly, the men cut off all their 302
hair except a small portion in the front which stood up like unruly bangs. One old man in 301
1944 used the same sort of decorations which were used years ago, pelts of birds, squirrel tails, and bird egg shells as necklaces.

Most Indians go barefooted, although occa- 291
sionally sandals are seen. These sandals are of hide, usually of wild peccary, with thongs of twisted hide which pass between the first and second toe and between the third and fourth toe, being fastened on the outer side by the ankle.

TRANSPORTATION

to transport essentials on his back (see fig. 492
7, *a*), and never to pull a cart as amongst the *ladinos*. The very few horses of the *Boruca* (see p. 23) are ridden with a halter, and old, worn, second-hand saddles.

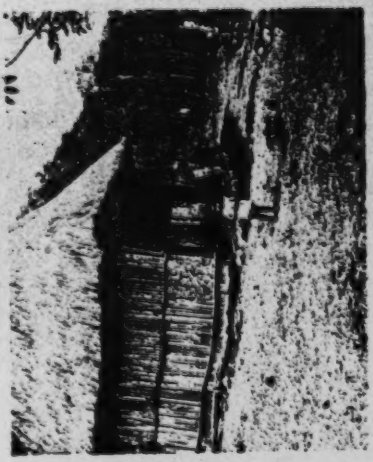
By Water. In addition to a mountainous 505
land, the terrain of the *Boruca* and most of their communities border on water. The Diquis River still forms an important highway for these people. Until a few years ago, the

[23] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 50.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

342



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a, Method of grinding corn. b, Single pole as base of house (note window on left, and yeast for chicha hanging on front wall). c, House base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). d, Front stone terrace, Carré.

[p.55]

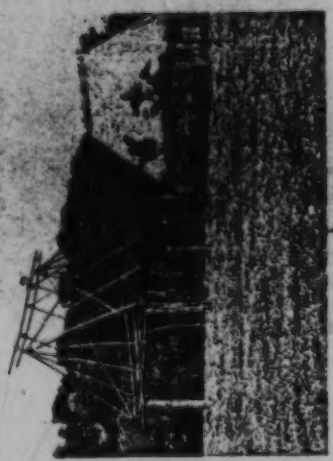
3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

342

[417]

[291
854]



4. Two types of house construction in same house. A, Bare framework of roof, Palmar Norte. B, Roof thatched in more advanced stage, Boruca.
5. Partly thatched roof showing framework, grass, and bales.

[p. 56]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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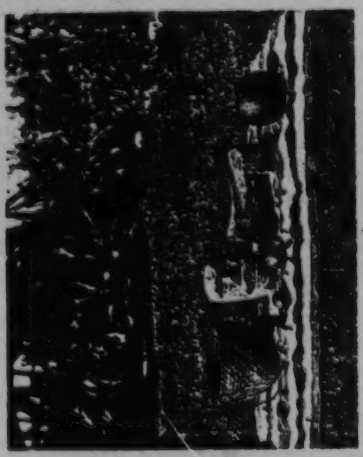
415
532
524



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4, Ox and Indian women bake with grasses for a roof. A, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, mono or shirt; 2, baby; 3, doll; 4, mono or sarong; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's hat; 8, nave; 9, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, basket; 3, nave; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. 2, Women wearing the mono, or shirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

PEABODY MUSEUM PAPERS VOL. XXVI, No. 2, FIGURE 9

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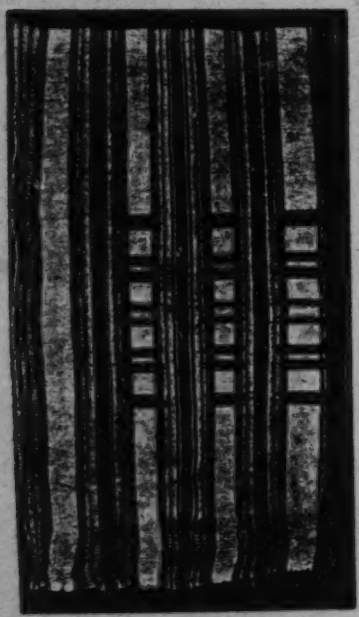

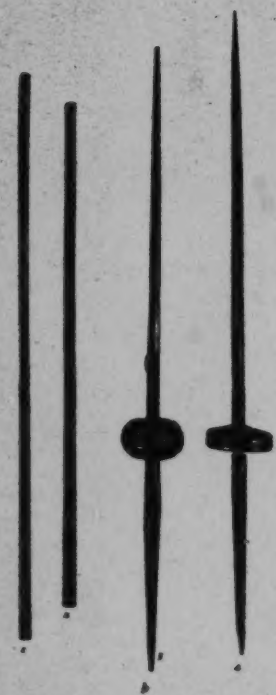

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a, Mano or chiri with single-faced web-pattern weave (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). b, Pejibaye artifacts: 1, 2, pejibaye rods used in weaving; 3, 4, spindles and wheels of pejibaye (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). c, Skeet of a hole. d, Woman weaving man's belt.

[p. 59]

[Ought to read "pejibaye." See errata, p. 57. —Analyst]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyto;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zeguo;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymí.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymíes* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymíes,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
[192] *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for
lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
[184] manca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--QUELYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

● 291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca culture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-QUELYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[23] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *bavas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[A39] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a, d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca [83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

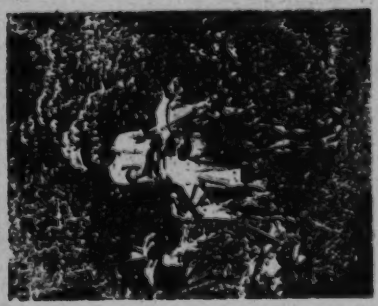
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

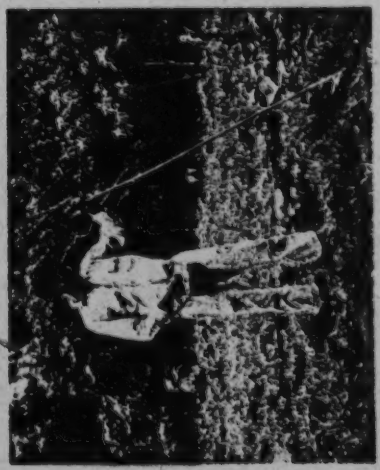
[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

133
137
241
291
482
492





a–b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *c*, Plowing in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *d*, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

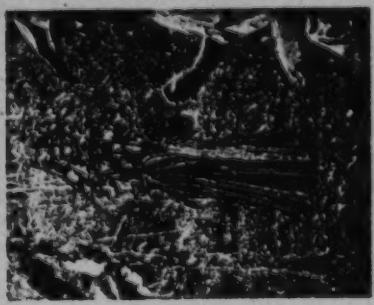
[END Plate 1]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

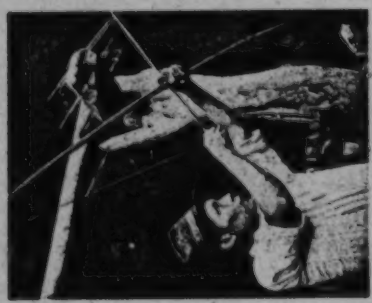
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

142
231
226
291
411
417

a



d



b

c

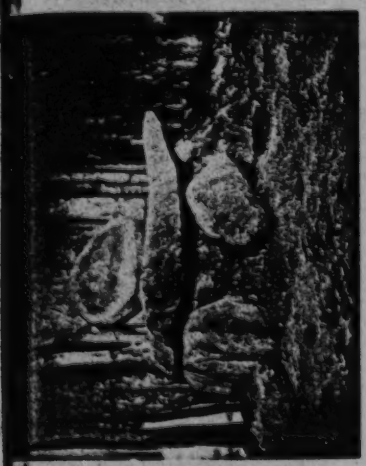
a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Shooting fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Shelter for chickens.

[END Plate 2]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

291
252
353
354
412
516



a, Natural reading cross in a savanna. b, Natural reading cross in a house. c, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. d, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

342
291
285

a

b

342
284
516
291
354
415
231

c

d

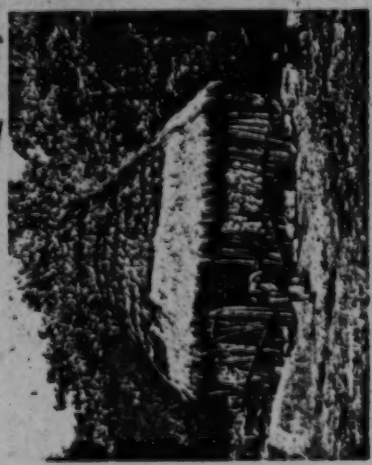
a-d, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

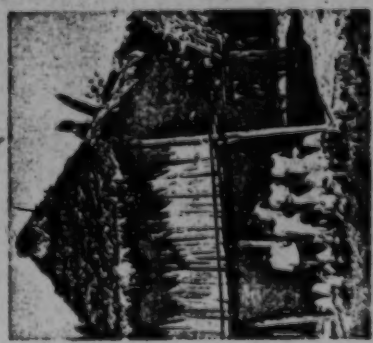
[END PLATE 5]

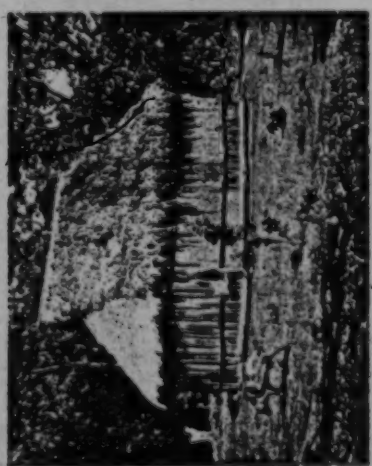
6: Stone E-3 (1956-1959) 1962

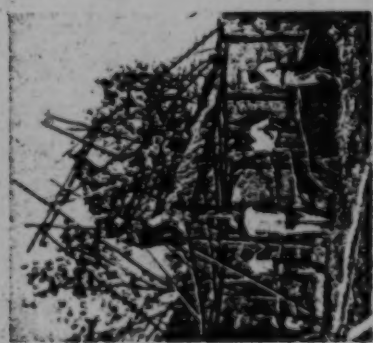
SA19 Talamanca SA19
cabecar
bribri

342
357
291
231









6. Cabécar combined rectangular and round house, Ujarrás. Note the grass and palm roofing. 5. Cabécar round house, Ujarrás. 6. Cajamarcing: a Bribri rectangular house, Cabécar. 7. Bribri raised rectangular house.

[END PLATE 6]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

142
291
301
302
[531]

a

b

[854]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. *c*, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. *d*, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

142
291
302

a

b

[516]
[301]
[854]

c

d

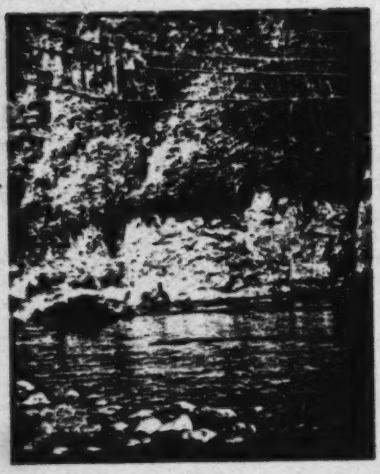
a, Bribri man. b, Bribri woman. c, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. Note Boruca mantu on woman. d, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

[END PLATE 9]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

133
491
415
764



a

b

291
342
756
778

c

d

a, View bridge, Alta Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alta Coen. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
302
291

a

b

142
302
291
854
231

d

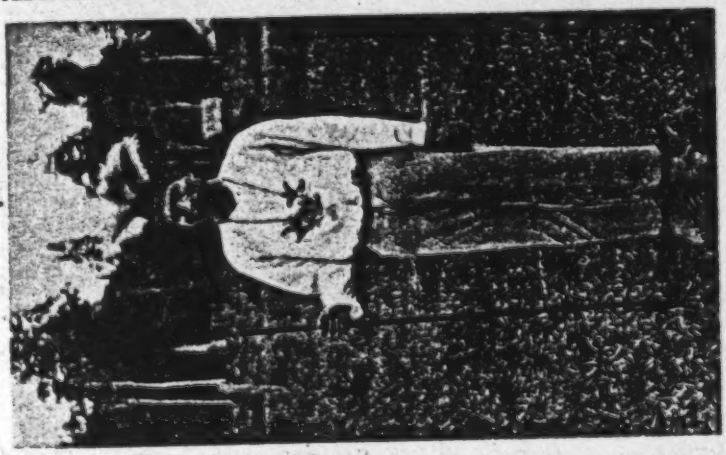
c

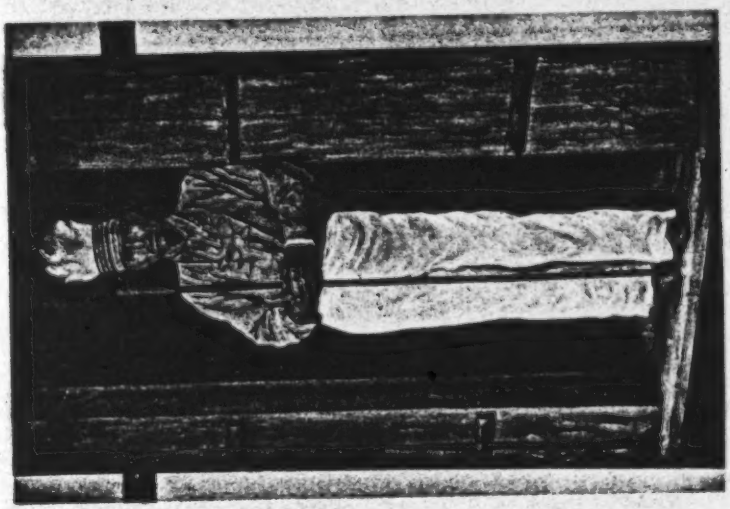
a, Bribri boy. b, Bribri girl. c, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. d, Bribri man.

[END PLATE 12]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

142
291
301
643
292





a, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
b, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (from Fernández Guardia, 1913).

[END PLATE 13]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
291
301
302

a

b

c

d

Bribri children from the Pacific slope at the school in Salitre. (Photographs courtesy of Ing. José Fabio Góngora.)

[END PLATE 14]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 *Weaving.*—Two women's blanket skirts of woven cotton were obtained after considerable search, one of which is shown in pl. XVIII, *b*. As the manufacture of cotton cloth is now said to be a lost art, we must turn again to Gabb[14] for his observations.

"Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with
248 no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The
[462] women collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it. The loom
286 is a simple frame of four sticks; the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow
[462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two or three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a
292 little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the
286 dead and the women's petticoats are wider and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel."

286 [292] [386] [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri.

[531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

SKINNER—BRIBRI

PL. XXXI

292
532

MASK AND DANCE DRESS COLLECTED BY W. M. GABB
(Courtesy of the U. S. National Museum)

[facing p. 10]

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [476] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions). 301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark [824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own [237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301] [292] [293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648

The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 funeral feast. It is said that his death was due to having mistakenly drunk tincture of iodine. What is probably the truth is that he was poisoned because of personal hatreds. Kohkemper[11] recounts the version which seems most acceptable. He states that Antonio fell out with an Indian woman and she poisoned him and afterwards met the same fate.

José, the nephew, died a few days later. It is not known whether his death was due to natural or violent causes. With his passing, the kingship of Talamanca remained vacant.

[292] [301] Some years after this, the French traveler Périgny, found the insignias of royalty well preserved. These included a headdress of eagle

[11] Kohkemper, 1954, p. 60.

643 feathers and the necklace with six large golden
292 eagles, the remaining testimony of the last monarch in Costa Rica.

[301] In 1957, a group of Bribri Indians from Talamanca brought a headdress of eagle plumes, fashioned in the same manner as the one used by King Antonio, to the National Museum of Costa Rica. They asked that it be placed near the portrait in oil, dating from 1892, of the deceased ruler (fig. 14). This hangs in one of the halls of the museum and shows
[301] King Antonio Saldaña with his royal jewels. This gesture is evidence that the memory of the last king has not been forgotten and that in spite of his debilities he remains important in the traditions of his people.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

142
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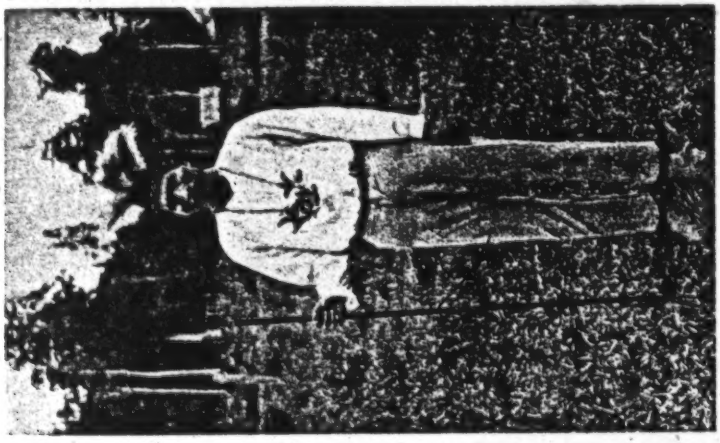
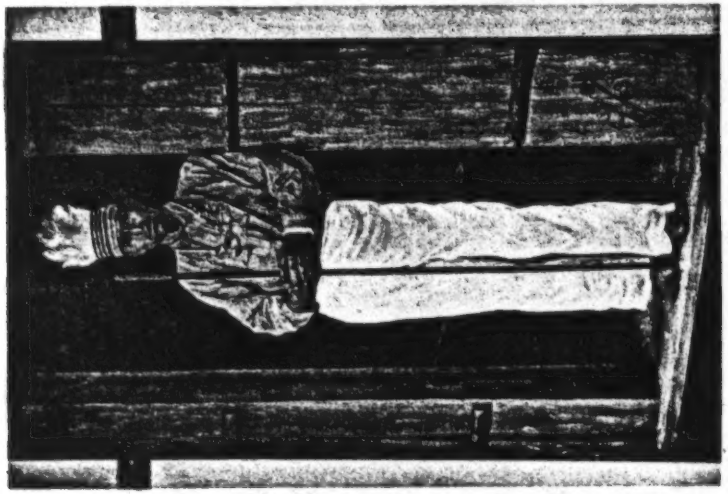


b



a

a, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
b, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (*from* Fernández Guardia, 1913).

[END PLATE 13]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *As* in Tirlbi, *AsA* in Terraba, and *Ka-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bri-bris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these inhabit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are
776 778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who
[753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Urem, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-Juma*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *ba-ka-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-Juma* or peak. In addition to
776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Asas* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck,
[226] breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward.; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

324 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak
293 further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent
[481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might ● 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [257] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) [224] tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

293
411
412
[532]

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Planting dibble and war club, length 5'; *b*, Cacique stick, length 4' 7"; *c*, Blowgun, length 6' 10"; *d*, Bow, length 4' 10'

[Facing page 73]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribí made of a deer's bone. 534

"On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it."

Cacique Sticks.—These are long, cane-like staves, made of a dark, hard, heavy, reddish-brown wood called "cacique". As a rule they are entirely plain, but pl. XVII, *b*, exhibits an example of a type, now said to be obsolete, that has the figure of a man rudely carved on the handle. These canes are highly regarded, because of certain 293 [532] [757]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

293 757 astringent properties said to be contained in the wood, and they are sometimes scraped and the scrapings drunk with water as a curative. It is supposed to stop bleeding, and is also valued for intestinal ailments. [622] Formerly they may have been the property only of the headmen.

293 A stick once owned by Ramón's father, the old "king," was in the custody of Señor Alejo Jimenez, governor of Talamanca, who lives at Saporio. It was taken by the Bribri from a neighboring tribe, probably the Tiribi, in war, many years ago, and the Indians are very anxious lest it should pass out of their hands, since they say, "it cost us blood." This staff was seen by Gabb,[16] who states:

> "It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. The top is carved in the shape [532] of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carv-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

ing, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it." 293

The stick, which was seen by the writer, is still unobtainable.

Gold Ornaments.—Pendants of gold were formerly worn as chiefs' insignia, and, it is said, were also given to successful partisans in the Tiribi war. They are now nearly a thing of the past, as the whites have long eagerly sought and purchased them. These ornaments were made in the form of eagles (sometimes double-headed), alligators, and frogs, and were worn as breast-plates or gorgets. They no doubt were entirely similar to the antique forms from the graves at Las Mercedes. Señor Ricardo Fernandez Guardia[17] reproduces a photograph of Antonio Saldaña, father of Ramón and last "king" of the Bribri, with several large gold eagles round his neck. These eagles are also noted by Gabb.[18] 301 [622]

As the Bribri believe that death will overtake the Indian owner who sells one of these gold ornaments, it may be that there are really more of them in existence than the 784 [763]

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P103(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

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[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
[415] hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[412] in every household although their number is
limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, *d*).
[Text continues top of P. 21(B)--Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for [824] cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every 248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.
[Text continues bottom of P. 21(B)--Analyst]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-kra'* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquíanos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa [439] Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c–4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The
[296] roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing
[412] agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[75] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS
OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[77] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tə ʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*.[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1898, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

842 without misgiving, publically, in order not to have off-spring. (These Indians were living in Caña Coén.)

I hardly baptized a baby, because a large portion of the women are sterile through a remedy which they take, be it from being deceived, be it from being lost, be it from their own evilness, taking and masticating in the woods the bark and the juice (sap) of dangerous trees. There are about four old women who are most guilty: María Caferina and Margarita in the house of Simeón, Rosalía, mother of Luis Quirós, and María, called "camisa," mother of the woman who lives with Miguel Medina, some four hours distant from Simeón. The evil of this "cure" ("curar"), being so alarming, I wrote a letter to the Mayor (Alcalde) don Lucas Alvarado, in which I authorized the authorities of Estrella to at least threaten these criminal women, in case they could not be intimidated, to take them prisoners to Limón. I attacked strongly on a thousand occasions this evil. . . .

The above was written in the year 1894. In 1897, we find the following:

The great evil of taking means not to bring forth young, is disappearing, and once again children are being born.

In Buenos Aires which is situated between Boruca and Talamanca, the Chirícano women are said to drink a preparation made by boiling [278] the leaves and stem of *Justicia tinctoria* ([Oerst.] Hemsl.) and drinking a gourd of this three times daily the first day of menstruation. As yet, we have not been able to verify this usage, but it is a curious fact that in the majority of the yards of these people this plant is found. The excuse given for this plant is that [296] it is used to wash clothes, serving as bluing.

The medicine to induce pregnancy is apparently more complicated than that to stop conception. The following is an analysis made by Dr. Reif in the United Fruit Company laboratory in La Lima, Honduras, of this medicine from the *Boruca* Indians:

278 842 A brown liquid with some flocculent precipitate and a strong odor of hydrogen sulfide indicating putrition of organic matter. It is an aqueous solution containing some tannins but no alcohols, alkaloide or saponines. After evaporation of the liquid and removal of hydrogen sulfide smell, a strong odor re-

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of
226 their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

● 296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
533 sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsẹn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəṇẹ́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[203] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have [532] been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [251] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

291 the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partly conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty [894] dress, I must do these people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both men and women. . . . .

●301 237 "For ornaments all wear necklaces; the favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of 301 them, they wear great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman. . . . . Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. . . . . On one occasion, I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days, I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are some-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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"The men sometimes wear headdresses made of feathers. The most prized are the white down feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made of chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one headdress made from the hair of the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place." 237 301

Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

Necklaces.—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

•301 237 789 778

Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

301 301 321

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

301

PL. XX

SKINNER—BRIBRI

NECKLACES

facing p. 79

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

ground down to form discs. The boring of the teeth in this necklace is also of interest, as the holes are rimmed in from both sides, in an old aboriginal style. The small teeth at the end may be those of monkeys. Pl. xx, *b*, is an amulet of jaguar and other teeth strung with small, white-glass trade beads. 301 [321]

Several children's necklaces of monkey and raccoon teeth were observed, but the writer was not able to obtain any.

Pl. xx, *a*, represents an interesting necklace, composed of shell disc beads ground from a species of conus, and with a single heavy bead as a central piece. Beads of this heavy cylindrical type are valued highly by the Bribri. Ramón exhibited several of them, each of which he valued at the price of a cow, and one massive pink-and-white cylindrical pendant which he valued at two cows. The beads were costly, he said, because they required so much labor to manufacture and the material is not easily acquired. Ramón declared that such beads were the insignia of chiefs, and were more valued by the Indians than the 301 435 [321]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

● 301 [435] golden eagles formerly common among them, the latter being much easier to make.

Headdress.—Pl. XXI represents a man's headdress made of the tail-down of an eagle, as described by Gabb. The pure white, fluffy feathers are attached in clusters to a woven cotton head-band of white with red stripes.

Pl. XXII shows another warrior's head-gear, the foundation of which is trade cloth, upon which, in front, are gummed alternate [237] rows of blue and red feathers, with a crest of yellow.

Pl. XXIII, *a*, illustrates an old head-band consisting of a canvas fillet on which are mounted half a dozen long, draggled feathers of the red macaw.

While the Bribri wear no nose or cheek plugs, they say that this custom is still in vogue among some of the neighboring tribes. These ornaments are said to be made of tapir bone, and are three or four inches long, slender and cylindrical. When [727] taken by the Bribri from a slain enemy, they are highly valued as war trophies.

ooo *Bark and Fiber Articles.*—Besides the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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PL. XXI

MAN'S HEADDRESS

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 81]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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PL. XXII

MAN'S HEADDRESS MADE OF ROWS OF FEATHERS ALTERNATING IN COLORS

[facing p. 83]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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HEADDRESS OF MACAW-FEATHERS AND FIRE-FAN OF HAWK-FEATHERS

[facing p. 85]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

ing, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it." 293

The stick, which was seen by the writer, is still unobtainable.

Gold Ornaments.—Pendants of gold were formerly worn as chiefs' insignia, and, it is said, were also given to successful partisans in the Tiribi war. They are now nearly a thing of the past, as the whites have long eagerly sought and purchased them. These ornaments were made in the form of eagles (sometimes double-headed), alligators, and frogs, and were worn as breast-plates or gorgets. They no doubt were entirely similar to the antique forms from the graves at Las Mercedes. Señor Ricardo Fernandez Guardia[17] reproduces a photograph of Antonio Saldaña, father of Ramón and last "king" of the Bribri, with several large gold eagles round his neck. These eagles are also noted by Gabb.[18] 301 [622]

As the Bribri believe that death will overtake the Indian owner who sells one of these gold ornaments, it may be that there are really more of them in existence than the 784 [763]

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *mastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their
[439] hair, seldom appearing with less than two combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two
302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

TRANSPORTATION

481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The
492 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

[a] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 198.

erally put the braids up, tying them together 302
with ribbons. The hair is kept sleek with cocoa-butter, and the skin is cleared of freckles or blemishes by using a mixture of cocoa-butter (see p. 20) and *tʃama*. T*ʃama* is sometimes called by the Spanish name *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.).

The men wear the regulation pants and 291
shirt of the *ladino* and some still use the woven belt. In the beginning of this century, the men wore a typical costume, the cloth for which was woven by the men. Lehmann[23] notes that this was characteristic of the *Cotos*, whom, as we have seen, form part of the modern *Boruca*. Weaving was done by some, not all, of the men and women. In particular the older *Coto* men wove for all the other men.[24] The men used a *huipil* without sleeves which took one month to weave and reached below the knees. The stripes were narrower than those of a women's skirt, and they were more like the belts used at present by the men. Beneath this, they wore a loin cloth of *mastate*, and a woven belt which kept the loin-cloth in place. Formerly, the men cut off all their 302
hair except a small portion in the front which stood up like unruly bangs. One old man in 301
1944 used the same sort of decorations which were used years ago, pelts of birds, squirrel tails, and bird egg shells as necklaces.

Most Indians go barefooted, although occa- 291
sionally sandals are seen. These sandals are of hide, usually of wild peccary, with thongs of twisted hide which pass between the first and second toe and between the third and fourth toe, being fastened on the outer side by the ankle.

TRANSPORTATION

to transport essentials on his back (see fig. 492
7, *a*), and never to pull a cart as amongst the *ladinos*. The very few horses of the *Boruca* (see p. 23) are ridden with a halter, and old, worn, second-hand saddles.

By Water. In addition to a mountainous 505
land, the terrain of the *Boruca* and most of their communities border on water. The Diquis River still forms an important highway for these people. Until a few years ago, the

[23] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 50.

844 tier,[35] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-krá*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
[178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuikʃ·as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

831 **Puberty.** There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikʃ·as* to drink so that they will not flow per leg.

[35] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

[p. 21-A]

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[139] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[Text continues top of P. 20(B)--analyst]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[Text continues bottom of P. 20(B)--analyst]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[474] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[231] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[231] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
[137] over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
● 301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301 292 293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648

The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 funeral feast. It is said that his death was due to having mistakenly drunk tincture of iodine. What is probably the truth is that he was poisoned because of personal hatreds. Kohkemper[11] recounts the version which seems most acceptable. He states that Antonio fell out with an Indian woman and she poisoned him and afterwards met the same fate.

José, the nephew, died a few days later. It is not known whether his death was due to natural or violent causes. With his passing, the kingship of Talamanca remained vacant.

[292] [301] Some years after this, the French traveler Périgny, found the insignias of royalty well preserved. These included a headdress of eagle

[11] Kohkemper, 1954, p. 60.

643 292 feathers and the necklace with six large golden eagles, the remaining testimony of the last monarch in Costa Rica.

[301] In 1957, a group of Bribri Indians from Talamanca brought a headdress of eagle plumes, fashioned in the same manner as the one used by King Antonio, to the National Museum of Costa Rica. They asked that it be placed near the portrait in oil, dating from 1892, of the deceased ruler (fig. 14). This hangs in one of the halls of the museum and shows [301] King Antonio Saldaña with his royal jewels. This gesture is evidence that the memory of the last king has not been forgotten and that in spite of his debilities he remains important in the traditions of his people.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

142
291
301
302
[531]

a

b

[854]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. *c*, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. *d*, Cabécar women carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

142
291
302

a

b

[516
301
854]

c

d

a, Bribri man. b, Bribri woman. c, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. Note Boruca tassels on woman. d, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

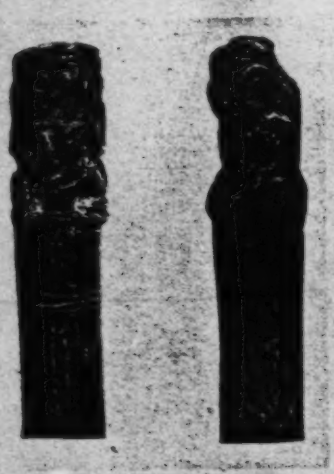
[END PLATE 9]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

Vol. XLIII, No. 2, Pieces 12

532
756
778
[172]



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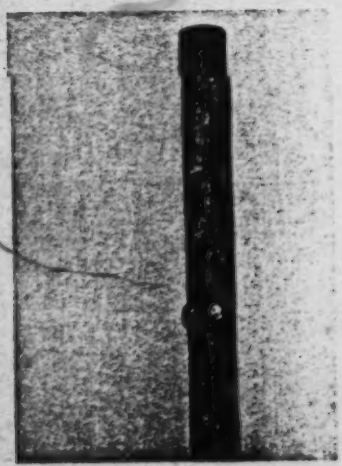

d

a, Conoidal staff from cache on slopes of Irazú volcano, Central Pacuare. b, Conoidal staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Orán Jiménez L.). c, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bones, and beads on wood cell cell (property of Don Julio Collajas T.). d, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beads alpha.

[END PLATE 11]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

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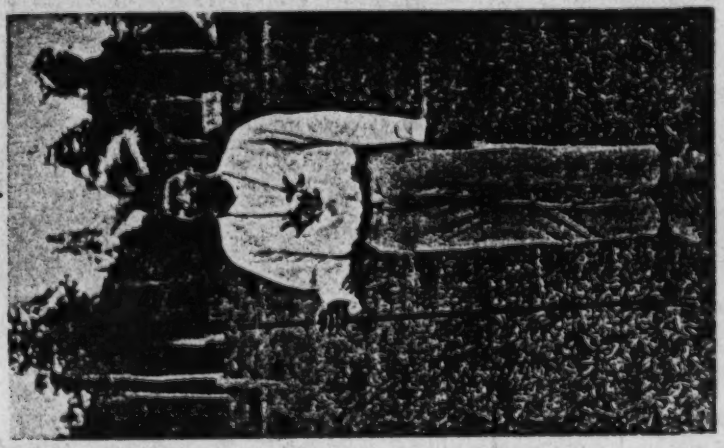
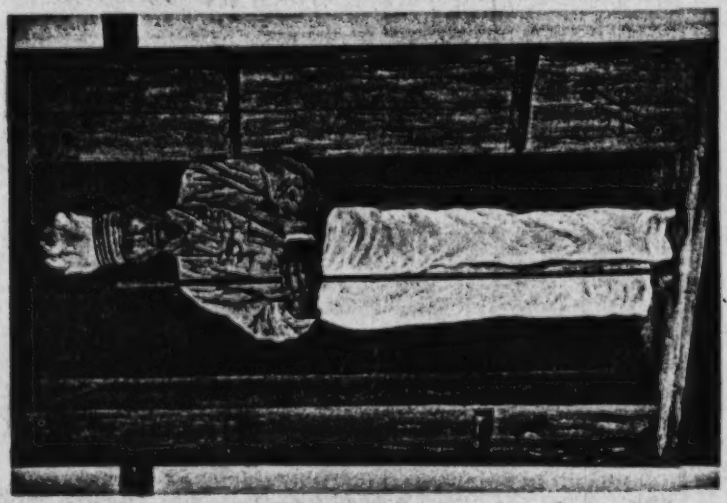


b



a

a, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
b, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (*from* Fernández Guardia, 1913).

[END PLATE 13]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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302

a

b

c

d

Bribri children from the Pacific slope at the school in Salitre. (Photographs courtesy of Ing. José Fabio Góngora.)

[END PLATE 14]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribis, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bris. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell. 165 [163] 582

Physically, the people of all the tribes bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are of short stature, broad shouldered, heavily built, full in the chest, with well-formed limbs, and well muscled throughout. Their color is similar to that of the North American Indians, or, if anything different, perhaps a little lighter. There seems to be but little, if any admixture of foreign blood among them. Their history would hardly lead us to expect it. They have lived very exclusively, and it has hardly been half a century since they have ceased to live in a state of open war with all intruders from the coast side. The Spanish occupation closed so disastrously over a century and a half ago, was of too short duration, and and the whites were too few, to make a permanent impression on a then populous country. 142 144

The following measurements taken from my servant, a full grown man, who is not more than an inch, if so much, under the average height, will give a fair idea of their build. He measures in height, 5 ft. 1½ in., circumference of chest, under the arms 35¾ inches; of hips 34 inches, of waist 33½ inches, length from axilla to tips of the fingers, 24½ inches; leg, from the groin to the ground, 29 inches. Both sexes are marked by an almost perfect absence of hair from all parts of the person except the head; where there is a dense growth of coarse, straight black hair. This the women plait with considerable taste. The men wear theirs cut moderately long and of an even length all round; or a few retaining an older fashion, have it a little over a foot long, apparently its entire natural length, and either let it stream loosely over the shoulders, gather it into two plaits, or twist it into a roll, bound with a strip of mastate, and coiled at the back of the head in a round flat mass. 141 142 302

The breasts of the women are not conical, as occurs with many, if not most of the Indian races; but are fully as globular as those of the European or African. Nor are they directed laterally. They are not generally large, though some marked exceptions occur to this rule. But they have one strongly marked peculiarity. The entire areolar area is developed into a globular protuberance, completely enveloping and hiding the nipple. The development of this part begins with, almost 142

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

291 mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men [177] have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly the hair 302 was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright-colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat.

291 The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of mastate. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo-blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe and wound round the waist by the midribs. With nothing above nor below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partially conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty dress, I must do these 291 people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both 834 men and women. In a year and a half of life in their country, traveling constantly with a body of them, bathing, fording rivers, living in their houses, and seeing more than strangers generally do of the intimate domestic life of the people they are among, I can only recall a single instance of carelessness, and not one of a wanton exposure of those parts of the person, that their ideas of modesty required to be kept covered.

The dress just described is that of the Bri-bris and Cabecars. The 291 Tiribi men, where they do not wear pantaloons, always use the native cotton breech-cloth, never the mastate. The women wear a long strip of cotton cloth, made with a hole in the middle, like a poncho, and reaching before and behind, nearly to the ground. It is gathered up at the waist by a belt, and the edges are caused to overlap at the same time, so that the whole person is securely covered. I was also told that under this they wear a species of breech-cloth or drawers. They are much more retiring in their manner than their Bri-bri sisters; never speak

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *mastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their [439] hair, seldom appearing with less than two combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two 302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

TRANSPORTATION

481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The 492 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

[a] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 198.

erally put the braids up, tying them together with ribbons. The hair is kept sleek with cocoa-butter, and the skin is cleared of freckles or blemishes by using a mixture of cocoa-butter (see p. 20) and *tʃama*. Tʃama is sometimes called by the Spanish name *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.).

The men wear the regulation pants and shirt of the *ladino* and some still use the woven belt. In the beginning of this century, the men wore a typical costume, the cloth for which was woven by the men. Lehmann[23] notes that this was characteristic of the *Cotos*, whom, as we have seen, form part of the modern *Boruca*. Weaving was done by some, not all, of the men and women. In particular the older *Coto* men wove for all the other men.[24] The men used a *huipil* without sleeves which took one month to weave and reached below the knees. The stripes were narrower than those of a women's skirt, and they were more like the belts used at present by the men. Beneath this, they wore a loin cloth of *mastate*, and a woven belt which kept the loin-cloth in place. Formerly, the men cut off all their hair except a small portion in the front which stood up like unruly bangs. One old man in 1944 used the same sort of decorations which were used years ago, pelts of birds, squirrel tails, and bird egg shells as necklaces.

Most Indians go barefooted, although occasionally sandals are seen. These sandals are of hide, usually of wild peccary, with thongs of twisted hide which pass between the first and second toe and between the third and fourth toe, being fastened on the outer side by the ankle.

TRANSPORTATION

to transport essentials on his back (see fig. 7, *a*), and never to pull a cart as amongst the *ladinos*. The very few horses of the *Boruca* (see p. 23) are ridden with a halter, and old, worn, second-hand saddles.

By Water. In addition to a mountainous land, the terrain of the *Boruca* and most of their communities border on water. The Diquis River still forms an important highway for these people. Until a few years ago, the

[23] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 50.

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[294] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing
[412] agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[157] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS
OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[177] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tsʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

[p. 20-B]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyta;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thóxar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymi.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme;* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears at [illegible] thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Téjar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a, d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[476] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[231] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

142
291
301
302
[531]

a

b

[854]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. *c*, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. *d*, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

142
291
302

a

b

[516
301
854]

c

d

a, Bribri man. b, Bribri woman. c, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. Note Boruca mantle on woman. d, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

[END PLATE 9]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
302
291

a

b

142
302
291
854
231

d

c

a, Bribri boy. b, Bribri girl. c, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. d, Bribri man.

[END PLATE 12]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
291
301
302

a

b

c

d

Bribri children from the Pacific slope at the school in Salsura. (Photographs courtesy of Ing. José Fabio Góngora.)

[END PLATE 14]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
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304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
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[13] *Protium copal.*

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 648

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 648 **Land Tenure.** The *Boruca* consider the territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be [609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 311 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, 423 has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church. 794 Each individual is required to do his share of [476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on [735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which 311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own. 311

Property and Inheritance. The oldest male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people. 428

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an inheritance. The cows are seldom milked. 231 [556] [439] [556 234]

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot. 476 [342] [364]

Political Organization. Most traces of political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 625 625 623

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
[346 peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and
177] church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
[245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
● 312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming. The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] * A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most [372]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence is nearly always made with living posts, 417

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
● 312
757
[262]

In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

The Pejibaye

(*Bribri*)

* 539
824
846

sibu gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) Tobacco[200]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
276
[261]

sibu was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

Cacao (Chocolate)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
776

sibu had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiṇə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiṇə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539
824

This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

757 to apply to the traders for medicines for fever. All go to Mr. Lyon in case of snake-bite, and when taken in time, he says he has never failed to cure a case with either ammonia or iodine, as seemed to be indicated. It may be interesting to note that after obtaining no relief with one of those medicines, he has given the other, and with immediate good results. He gives the iodine in the form of alcoholic tincture in 10 to 15-drop doses, every 10 to 15 minutes. Some of them seem to believe in the incantations of the *Awas* or doctors, but foreign medicines are gradually gaining ground over sorcery. For rheumatic pains, headaches, &c., there are two remedies used. The simplest is counter-irritation by whipping with nettle leaves. The other is bleeding. The lancet is made usually from the tongue of a jew's-harp, broken off at the angle and sharpened to a point. This is set at right angles in a little stick for a handle, and is used by holding it over the affected part and striking it briskly with a finger. They never regularly open a vein and draw off a quantity of blood, but every stroke makes a separate puncture, from which only a few drops exude. At Borubeta I saw a man bled to relieve the aching of fatigue in his arms. He had been scraping *agave* leaves, to extract the fibre for hammocks. He had at least fifty punctures made over his two arms.

222 439 314 The natural products of the country are principally sarsaparilla root and india rubber. The sarsaparilla vine is green, angular, and covered with thorns. It grows very long and climbs over bushes and even trees in the more open parts of the forest. At short distances it is jointed, and if it touches the ground every joint sends out a new set of roots. The leaves are large and acuminately oval and have three longitudinal ribs, the mid-rib and two parallel ones, half way between the middle and the edge. The fruit is round and grows in a cluster something like grapes. The vine has a tap-root, and besides sends out a large number of horizontal roots near the surface of the ground, and from six to ten feet long. The sarsaparilla hunter first clears away carefully all the bushes and undergrowth with his machete. He then, with a hooked stick, digs into the ground at the base of the vine until he loosens the earth and finds where the best roots are. The tap-root is never disturbed, and it is customary to dig up only half the roots at a time, to avoid killing the vine. Having selected those that look most promising, he places his hand under one or two and gently lifting them, follows their course with his hooked stick, loosening the soil and lifting them out, following them to their ends. They are then cut off, the dirt carefully replaced around the vine, and the roots laid in the sun, or hung up to dry. A vine yields generally from four to nine pounds of green roots. When dry they are tied into cylindrical rolls a foot long and four or five inches thick, weighing about a pound.

India rubber is obtained by scoring the bark of the trees obliquely. Several cuts are placed one above another and in pairs converging downwards; the sap being directed in its flow by a leaf placed at the bottom, which serves as a spout, to direct it into the vessel placed to receive it.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to coagulate and turn black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 222 314 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes, axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot, and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell net-bags and hammocks to the Tiribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cocoa, of which they might have enough and to spare for the mere trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race. 439 438

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadelphia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students. 114

Vol I. Chapter VII. p. 684, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 684 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Vallentes, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Ramas, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. ● 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1910, pp. 66–67.

323 reverting to make their clay cooking pots as
[177] before. There are several common pottery shapes. One kind is a large vessel with a pointed base which is slightly rounded, and a projection near the base, the neck indented, and a projecting rim. This type is called *kvare'* in Boruca, and resembles the Spanish *tinaja*. Other forms consist of smaller vessels with rounded base and a flat protruding rim, at times with a projecting nubbin, as if an attempt to portray a head, tail, and wings, such as is encountered on the pots found in ancient graves; and sometimes the *comal* or indented clay dish which is used for frying. Plain rounded vessels, often with a thumb-nail design on the border or rim, are common for cooking.

[462] Women are the potters. The usual way of making a vessel is to mash the clay, if soft, with the hands, and if hard, with a stick, until it is fine. Then a coil is made of this clay, and the coil doubled over to give more strength to the whole. The base is started with these coils in the manner of a large tortilla, or corn cake. A rounded wooden mold is used only for the base. The clay tortilla is put in the mold and shaped to the sides. Then coils of clay are added, and the vessel grows above the mold. Smoothing and evening are done with the hands. Once completed, the pot is left from fifteen days to one month within the house to dry. The excess clay is then removed with a knife, and the vessel is polished by rubbing it all over with a seed which comes from a vine called in Spanish *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna urens* [L.] DC.). A bed of firewood is made outside the house, and the vessel is placed in the center. Firewood is stacked around the pot until it is covered. Fire is set, and the wood burns away leaving the vessel intact. When a particularly strong pot is desired, a *masa* is added. This *masa* is ground corn mixed with water to form a paste. It is put both inside and outside of the vessel at the moment it is removed from the fire, and while it is still red from the heat. After the pot is cold, the *masa* is removed.

383 **Rubber.** The use of rubber does not seem
314 to be very ancient with the *Boruca*. The gum from the wild rubber tree which abounds in the vicinity (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) is

[p. 19-B]
occasionally used on the day-cut canes.

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet ● [314] stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *shamokal* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

● 314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Fur- [412] nishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [415] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [252] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

Pittier[38] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*. 438 175

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*-2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral. 438 648 [817 263]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of 796

[38] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame, with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made [482]
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the field to the house.

The people of Tiribi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Valientes, living beyond the Tiribis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Valiente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

savage Indians do not possess it. The drum is their greatest favorite. 534
It is from twenty inches to two feet long, cylindrical for half its length, with a diameter of six or seven inches; it then tapers convexly to near the other end and then widens out a little. The pattern is always the same, and the size varies but a few inches. The larger end is tightly covered with the skin from the belly of the iguana lizard. It is glued on by fresh blood, being held in place with string until dry. A cord tied around each end suspends it loosely from the left shoulder, and it is held under the left arm, being beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. It is used principally to accompany and keep time to singing and is an indispensable part of every feast or gathering of whatever kind. To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the [321] end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tirbi made of a deer's bone. The priests use in their songs a rattle, made of a small pear-shaped tree calabash, lashed to a bone at the small end. This contains a few seeds of the "shot plant," or Canna. It is held upright and solemnly shaken in time with the song until the end of the stanza, when, as a signal for the chorus to strike in, it is given a dexterous twirl, throwing the seeds rapidly around inside. On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above-mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it.

Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization 291
approaches. Formerly the dress of the men consisted only of a breech-
cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven
or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the 287
inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with
a roughened stick over a log. This loosens the fibre, and renders it soft
and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is
washed out. After drying, it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and
smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held 291
against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then
wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then
falls over in front, for about a foot long, like an apron. When cotton
cloth is used, it is simply caught up in front and behind under a cotton
belt, with a similar apron in front. Sometimes, for warmth, a shirt of

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

times, though rarely, used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [321] [534]

"The men sometimes wear headdresses made of feathers. The most prized are the white down feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made of chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one headdress made from the hair of the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place." 237 301

Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

301 237 789 778 *Necklaces.*—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

301 Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

301 321

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

ground down to form discs. The boring of the teeth in this necklace is also of interest, as the holes are rimmed in from both sides, in an old aboriginal style. The small teeth at the end may be those of monkeys. Pl. xx, *b*, is an amulet of jaguar and other teeth strung with small, white-glass trade beads. 301 [321]

Several children's necklaces of monkey and raccoon teeth were observed, but the writer was not able to obtain any.

Pl. xx, *a*, represents an interesting necklace, composed of shell disc beads ground from a species of conus, and with a single heavy bead as a central piece. Beads of this heavy cylindrical type are valued highly by the Bribri. Ramón exhibited several of them, each of which he valued at the price of a cow, and one massive pink-and-white cylindrical pendant which he valued at two cows. The beads were costly, he said, because they required so much labor to manufacture and the material is not easily acquired. Ramón declared that such beads were the insignia of chiefs, and were more valued by the Indians than the 301 435 [321]

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain [755] cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every-[824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

415 North America. The Indians relate a tradition that without pointed bases the jars would not fire well. Several variations in form were seen. These are nearly all very large, averaging at least three feet in height, and of a capacity of many gallons. Smaller vessels are unusual. None of the vessels observed bore the slightest ornamentation.

Wooden Utensils.—On several occasions, [322] large, round, wooden bowls, shaped like shallow basins, were observed. They were clumsy and thick, and not to be compared with the fine specimens made by many of the North American tribes.

Pl. XVI represents a very simple dish, made by folding the ends of a strip of the leaf of the platanillo and sewing them together.

412 *Mortars and Pestles.*—Fig. 8 shows a type of heavy horizontal mortar frequently seen in the Indian camps. These are made of great logs of mahogany or of other hard wood, sometimes as much as ten or twelve feet long, with the cavity for the corn hewn in one side. The wooden pestles used with

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).
[439 524]

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao.
324

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[22] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the
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[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camibar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camibar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.
[783]

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[22] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1/4] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1/4] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morki*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
● 822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

1/4 [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[4] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet [314] stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made. [531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

● 322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide [291] The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty [386] purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

323
415

EARTHENWARE JAR FOR CHICHA
(Height, 16 in.)

[facing p. 67]

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

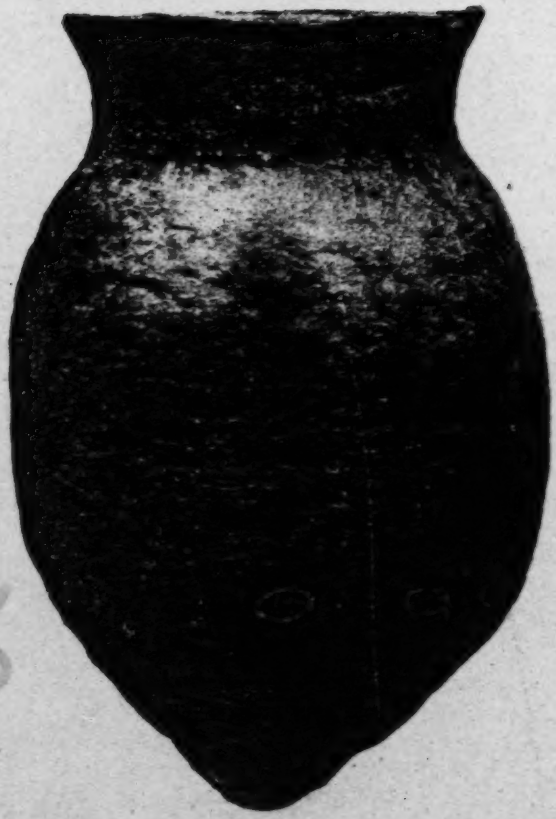
opposite sides of the break. Pl. xiv, *b*, shows another utensil, similar to the last, but shallower. These objects are used as sieves for corn flour. 415

Pottery.—Possibly the most interesting of all Bribri household articles are the huge pottery jars (pl. xv, xv, *a*) used in fermenting *chicha*, the native intoxicant. According to information given by the Indians, these vessels are made of selected clay, which is ground on a metate and mixed with crushed, burnt stone, or coarse sand. The clay is then dampened and made into rolls, and the vessels are built up, coil by coil, and the rolls smoothed. On some abandoned camp-sites, large potsherds, broken so that they plainly showed the coils as well as the tempering, were found. After being shaped and smoothed, the vessels are dried slowly in the shade for several days; then one vessel at a time is taken outdoors, wood is heaped over them, and they are fired. 323 415 [273]

In shape these vessels differ entirely from the pottery found in the graves at Las Mercedes, but resemble the pointed-base Algonkian jars of the Atlantic coast of North America 415 171

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

323
415



LARGE POTTERY JAR FOR BREWING CHICHA
(Height, 31 Inches)

facing p. 69

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

● 323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

323 reverting to make their clay cooking pots as
[77] before. There are several common pottery shapes. One kind is a large vessel with a pointed base which is slightly rounded, and a projection near the base, the neck indented, and a projecting rim. This type is called *kvure'* in Boruca, and resembles the Spanish *tinaja*. Other forms consist of smaller vessels with rounded base and a flat protruding rim, at times with a projecting nubbin, as if an attempt to portray a head, tail, and wings, such as is encountered on the pots found in ancient graves; and sometimes the *comal* or indented clay dish which is used for frying. Plain rounded vessels, often with a thumb-nail design on the border or rim, are common for cooking.

[462] Women are the potters. The usual way of making a vessel is to mash the clay, if soft, with the hands, and if hard, with a stick, until it is fine. Then a coil is made of this clay, and the coil doubled over to give more strength to the whole. The base is started with these coils in the manner of a large tortilla, or corn cake. A rounded wooden mold is used only for the base. The clay tortilla is put in the mold and shaped to the sides. Then coils of clay are added, and the vessel grows above the mold. Smoothing and evening are done with the hands. Once completed, the pot is left from fifteen days to one month within the house to dry. The excess clay is then removed with a knife, and the vessel is polished by rubbing it all over with a seed which comes from a vine called in Spanish *ojo de buey* (*Mucima urens* [L.] DC.). A bed of firewood is made outside the house, and the vessel is placed in the center. Firewood is stacked around the pot until it is covered. Fire is set, and the wood burns away leaving the vessel intact. When a particularly strong pot is desired, a *masa* is added. This *masa* is ground corn mixed with water to form a paste. It is put both inside and outside of the vessel at the moment it is removed from the fire, and while it is still red from the heat. After the pot is cold, the *masa* is removed.

383 Rubber. The use of rubber does not seem
314 to be very ancient with the *Boruca*. The gum from the wild rubber tree which abounds in the vicinity (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) is

[p. 19-B]

occasionally used on the dug-out canoes.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

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383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).
[439 524]

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been pre-
[431] sented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of choco-
late, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green
corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made
[123] friends, fared sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse any-
thing.

The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet
342 in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long
poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of
withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on
a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a
third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring,
if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not rest-
ing on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched
with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop
the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large,
squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes
made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark.
Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular
form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and
the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now
most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the
ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a
roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at
both ends. The Tribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts,
sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon
told me that formerly the Tribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses
like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness.
The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even
in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to
put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The
Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better fur-
nished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made
by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-
sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the
sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made
of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together.
In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends
of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by plac-
ing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as
they burn off. Over the fire is a harbacoa or frame, sufficiently high to
let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way
of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient
protection from the latter

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

291
342
412
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SKINNER—BRIBRI

BRIBRI DWELLING WITHOUT SIDES
A bowlder used as a metate is shown in the foreground

[facing p. 47]

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Gabb[8] speaks of three classes of shamans—the *usékara*, or "high priest"; the *tsûgur* (*tsuku*), who has charge of the ceremonies for the dead; and the *awa*, doctor or sorcerer, who cures diseases and controls the rain. He says that these latter treat diseases by making passes over the body of the patient with a sloth, opossum, alligator, or even a chicken. Their powers are based on the magic potency of calculi declared to be extracted from the viscera of animals. They bleed their patients with small lancets and give a counter irritant by beating the affected part with nettle leaves. 756 [791] [767]

Polygyny was practised in Gabb's time. The husband, he says, went to live with his father-in-law, or, if not, he bought his release with presents of live-stock in lieu of his services. 595 591

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations.—Several native types of dwellings still survive among the Bribri. The more usual variety is sideless, rectangular or oval in ground-plan, with a convex or 342

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

342 angular roof of thatched plantain leaves. These lodges vary from twenty to forty feet in length, averaging thirty feet, and from the ground to the apex of the roof-ridge they are eight to ten feet high. In general appearance they closely resemble the houses of the Florida Seminole, but usually lack the sleeping platforms of the latter (pl. 1).

Some houses are provided with floors about four feet from the ground, which generally are made of splints of palm or other wood, lashed with lianas to a framework of beams. Such floors afford an uncertain and yielding footing to a heavy person. Generally the floor covers only a portion of the ground area, an open space being left at one end to accommodate the fireplace, which is situated on the hard-beaten earth. The raised floor is reached by a short, log ladder, the steps of which are closely spaced notches.
[352] Hammocks of native make swing from post to post across the lodge above this floor. Sometimes the floor is encompassed by a loose wall of sticks, set up vertically and
[231] bound together, the intervening space be-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

342

PL. II

SKINNER—BRIBRI

A BRIBRI "KING'S HOUSE OR PALENQUE." THE FIGURE AT THE LEFT IS RAMON, THE LAST BRIBRI "KING"

[Facing p. 48]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen] while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. 342 [231]

This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept [the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle.] [Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao] lie without order on the ground. Generally in this quarter one may see also [the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano] One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces [415] [354] [415] 412

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

415
417

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

342 In the two circular houses of chiefs that
352 still remained, the arrangement of household
354 furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

both cases the fireplace was opposite the door, near the side, and not in the middle. 342 352 [354]

From the beams and the roof of the ordinary Bribri house are suspended carrying bags and baskets in which are stored calabashes and other utensils, while bows, arrows, and blowguns are held in crude racks or stuck in the thatch. Under the angle of the roof is often a rude attic, made of rough-hewn plank flooring, on which rests one or more great, cylindrical, corn receptacles, or granaries, of bark, and nearby one is likely to see a string or two of braided corn.

Sometimes a long, goblet-shaped, wooden drum, with an iguana-skin head, a number of circular pieces of iguana-skin for fresh drum-heads, or a cluster of several drums, may swing from a rafter at one side; or one may observe plumes of macaws, and the paws, flesh, or skin of jaguars and armadillos, hanging freely or tucked in a woven *chákara*, or bag, to be used as medicine. Again, but rarely, these may be accompanied with a shaman's small gourd rattle with a bone handle. Tame parrots, parra- 352 534 000

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

231 Tame parrots, parrakeets, macaws, and other birds, or mammals, such as monkeys, screech at the visitor from a safe retreat in the rafters, and there is always a host of dogs to guard against.

342 Another, now uncommon, type of lodge is oval or round, a trifle larger and flatter than the form described. Its outer wall is only about four feet high, loosely built of sticks set up vertically and tied together. This type of lodge is light inside, but its sides are not tight; it has no raised floor, and no smoke-hole. The kitchen is always some distance from the door, and though never in the center of the building, is often at the end opposite from the entrance.

352 516 [532] In all the forms of lodges observed, there are many four-legged stools, sometimes roughly carved to imitate tortoises, and very long benches. The Bribri, when at home, never squat on the bare ground like their North American relatives, but each member of the family, including the youngest child, has his own seat.

342 The last type of Bribri house to be mentioned is the most striking. It is called today a "*palenque*," or "king's house," by

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

the natives. In the spring of 1917 only two examples were to be found, and one of these had been abandoned and was falling into decay. These houses are great conical structures, about a hundred feet in circumference, consisting of thatched walls rising from the ground to a sharp point, forty or fifty feet above, which is capped by an inverted kettle to prevent leakage during inclement weather (pl. II). The doorway is high enough to admit a man without stooping, and is protected by a roofed but sideless vestibule. Inside all is dark, for no light is admitted except through the door, and the interior is thoroughly smoke-blackened. A rectangular platform, about ten feet square, made of puncheons supported by vertical beams, supports the bark granaries and some pottery vessels, together with a small supply of pounded clay for blowgun pellets. The sides are festooned with weapons and utensils, while pigs enter freely and root about among the stools and benches. Piles of palm-leaves around the sides indicate beds. We were told that

342 ●

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[513]
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2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamança SA19
Bribri

342 [592] We were told that these great houses were at one time inhabited by groups of related families.

Dr Gabb,[9] writing nearly fifty years ago, presented the following account of his observations regarding the houses of the Bribri of his time:

"The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large, squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark. Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and the door is in one of the ends."

482 The method of transporting the bundles of platanillo leaves used in house-building

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363] from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312] small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177] influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most [372] part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164] otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence 417
is nearly always made with living posts,

[p. 5-B]

276 **Narcotics.** Tobacco is used extensively by both the men and the women. It is chewed mostly by the men, but also by the women. All people, including the children, smoke cigarettes, and both sexes use wooden pipes.

When hungry and no food is available, or

[Continued on p. 11-B, first paragraph]

HOUSES

342 **Houses** are built straight from the ground, without any attempt at a foundation, the floor being of earth. Occasionally, a shallow ditch is dug around the whole as a drain, and sometimes a low base of earth is built up and kept in place by wooden poles laid horizontally and supported by short vertical poles (see fig. 5, *c*), or by several wooden planks. Houses like this have earthen steps as an entrance. The majority of the structures, however, have a single pole at the very base serving as a finish between the house and the ground, and, in a measure, as a protection against water seepage from the outside (see fig. 5, *b*). None have porches.

In the lower, warmer areas, such as Curré and Lagarto, the houses frequently have a row of stones around their base, and even a protruding terrace of stones at the front (see fig. 5, *d*). This offers better protection in wet weather, as these sites are low and subject to backwashes from the river when rains and floods are heavy.

342 824 The shape of Boruca houses is square or rectangular. They are made of wooden poles with grass roofs. The wood used is *palo de mayo* (May tree) or the María tree, *palo María* (*Calophyllum brasiliense* Camb. var. *Rekoi* Scandl.). There are two kinds of *palo de mayo*. One kind has white wood and is identified scientifically as *Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague, while the other, which is preferred and has a pinkish tinge is probably *Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.? The *palo María* also has a pinkish wood, and is used only when the tree is very small. On the coast, the wood of the *huiscoyol* palm (*Bactris minor* Jacq.) is used for roof rafters when available. It is not used in Boruca, as this palm does not grow there.

342 **House Construction.** The poles which are the thickest are placed vertically at the corners, by the doors, and at intervals along the

[Continued p. 11-B, second paragraph]

— *Cydista pubescens* Blake, according to Dr. R. J. Seibert, Turrialba, Costa Rica.

when working and extra strength is needed, 276
the Indians chew a root from a plant called *cordoncillo* in Spanish. It is a member of the *Piper* family, and has various uses among these Indians (see pp. 20, 21, 27).

HOUSES

walls to serve as supports. The intervening 342
space is filled in by not so thick poles placed very close together, either vertically as in figures 5, *c*, *d* and 4, *c*, or horizontally as in figure 9, *c*. When they are placed horizontally, they are woven in and out of the supporting vertical poles which, of necessity, are more numerous in this type of construction. When the wall poles are vertical, thicker poles are placed horizontally in a single line on the outside at the bottom, the center, and the top, acting as a supporting band to hold the wall in shape. These bands are bound to the other poles with fiber ropes.

There are three kinds of fiber used in house 342
construction. The most popular, and practically the only kind found in Boruca houses, is 283
that known as the *bejuco de fierro* or *negro*. This is a thick vine growing in the forest (perhaps *Anthurium scandens* [Aubl.] Engler).[21] Its leaves resemble those of the bean known as *haba blanca*. From this vine, as many as eight cords are obtained, depending, of course, on the width desired. Another fiber used is called *bejuco de hombre* and is known also as *andariel*. This is really an aerial root and is found in house construction on the coast, around Palmar Norte, where the *bejuco negro* is not obtainable. The third type of fiber is made from the bark of a tree called *capulin blanco* (*Muntingia Calabura* L.). Sometimes both horizontal and vertical wall construction are found on the same house (see fig. 6, *a*). Windows are rare, 342
but when present, the framework is always made of the thicker poles. The window shutter, however, is of planks and the hinges bought at *ladino* stores. Doors also have a framework of poles. The doors themselves are made of the small vertical poles following the vertical construction of the walls and are tied with vines, no hinges being used. Frequently, the walls have a rough coating of *bajareque* both inside and out. *Bajareque* is a mixture of cow dung and mud. Strangely enough, the

342 *bajareque* is never put on the walls neatly, but is always splotchy, giving the impression of a quick hasty job. The houses of the *Boruca* who live in the lowlands, e.g., in Curré and Lagarto, by the banks of the Diquis or Térraba River as a rule do not have *bajareque* because of the heat. When it is employed, it is only to cover the side where the prevailing winds touch.

The outstanding feature of Boruca houses is the roof which, except for a few houses generally in the lowlands, is made of grass. The few exceptions have roofs of corozo palm leaves or of the *sem* palm. The roofs are made with great care, and last from forty to fifty years.

A pole is tied horizontally to the top of all the vertical supporting poles (see fig. 6, *b*). The wood used is generally *palo de mayo*, or May tree. Other poles are tied vertically to these horizontal poles. These non-supporting vertical poles are then inclined until they converge and cross at the top, where they are fastened to two horizontal thick poles, one under, and one on top of the converged poles (see fig. 6, *b*). Anywhere from two to four pole braces, depending on the size of the house, are inclined from a bottom corner toward an opposite upper corner, usually reaching the center of the roof and not the corner. At intervals, thick poles are tied as horizontal braces to the vertical and converged supports (see fig. 6, *c*).

In between these braces, smaller poles are placed horizontally following the lines of the braces (see fig. 6, *c*, *d*).

342 824 Despite the fact that the savanna is full of various grasses, the Indians take great pains to procure only three special kinds which grow in these savannas, and which are considered essential for a Boruca roof. The first of these grasses is called in the Boruca tongue, *bjak*, and in Spanish, *zacate de sabana*. It resembles *calinguero*, which in other parts of Costa Rica is planted for cattle feed. However, *bjak* does not have an odor. This grass has a little fuzz all over it which makes it in a measure impenetrable to water, and is supposed to keep all drops from entering. The second kind is called in Boruca, *ʃupʃas*, and in Spanish, *zacate de comején*, or "termite grass," as the termite likes to make nests at its roots. This grass is

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. 342 They put these rolls on an ox or on their own [492 backs and take them to the building site (see 493] fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people.

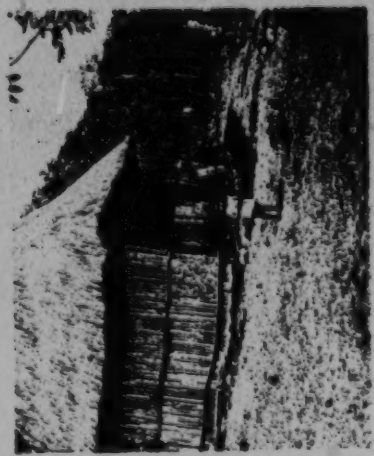
Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an 294]
inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who [542]
wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of 625
political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who 625
is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

342



412
258
291
516

a, Method of grinding corn. b, Single pole as base of house (note window on left, and yarn for chicks hanging on front wall). c, House base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). d, Front stone terrace, Curré.

[p.55]

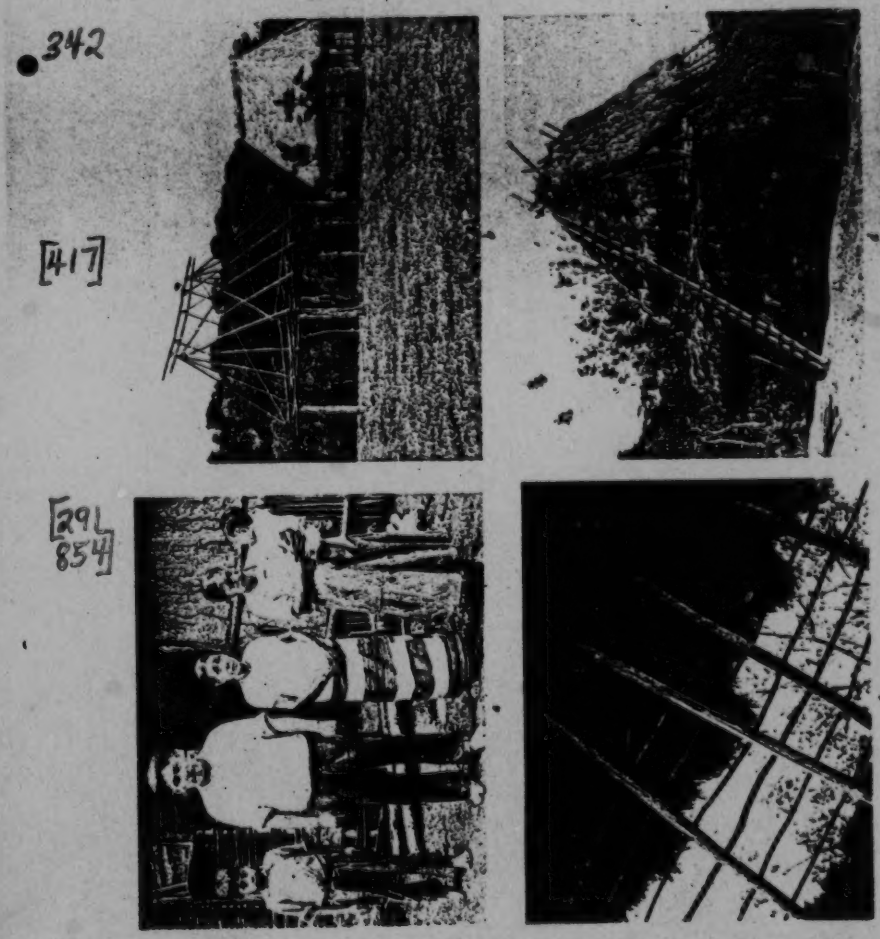
3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

342

[417]

[291
854]



A. Two types of house construction in same house. A, Bare framework of roof, Palmar Norte. c, Roof framework in more advanced stage, Boruca.
d, Partly finished roof showing framework, grass, and ladder.

[p. 56]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[71] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [72] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [184] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause [484] fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same
342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un- [361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages [192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 17(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

● 342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).
[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *bugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of
[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of
[824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *bugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubted-
[177] ly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinealy to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caurka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
[824] oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.
[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--QUALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca culture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-QUALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

582 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kəmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

585 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171]

[206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.71(B)] 5A19 Talamanca 5A19
Bribri

(21) *duLeto*[212]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
533

Old timers, let's go;
Let's dance.
Now let's walk forward;
There's a place to see, old timers;
There's no place to see.
masLakésLa, the mountain, touches the river.
Let's go.

(22) Song for Cutting Wood for a House[213]

(*Bribri*)

We are going to tear down the house of *itsó*
where we went to hide
and when we reach our house with it
then we shall sing.

(23) Sister[214]

(*Bribri*)

Where sister, little ugly sister,
Where are you standing?
In what place are you coming on a raft?
Or in what place are you going.

(24) Lullaby,[215] Version 1

(*Bribri*)

Hush little one.
Don't you cry dear child
Sleep quietly
Why cry little one, baby.
Sleep, sleep, quietly sleep
Mother has gone to bring you a flower
Little ugly one, sleep quietly.

Lullaby, Version 2

(*Bribri*)

Little child, don't you cry, don't cry
While your mother goes to bring plantains.
Don't cry while your mother goes to plant
cuttings.

[776]
[342]

[212] *itsó* is a spirit who doesn't die so they sing this in the belief that the house will last a long time. *See* Linguistic Texts: *itsó*.
[213] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sõ̃e*. This song is sung frequently by women when working.
[215] *See* Linguistic Texts: *aLaLa bée*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 100(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[a]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	Use
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuł-kLo	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kóLi	*Costus* sp.	for fever--mash stem and boil
• [342] tsáchica	*Menispermacen Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] tsbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
dułskLo	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

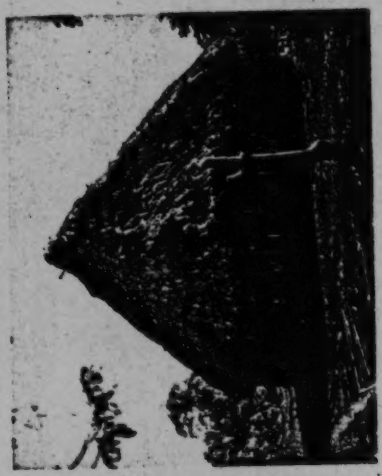
824
278

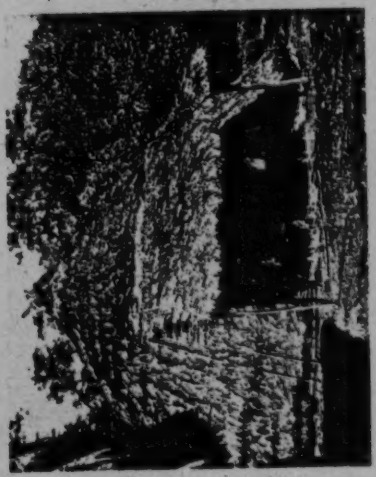
	Latin	Use
harbo	*Phyllantus* sp. *Piziezi*	fish poison
chato	*Serjania* sp. *Potbomorphe piperaceae*	fish poison; boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] bonuLá	*Euforbia sapium*	glue
chicarré	*Bocconia frutescens*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--analyst]

[a] English: Peach Palm.

342





a. Bribri round house, lower Talamanca. Note vessel on roof peak.
b. Bribri round house with "modern" annex, Alta Talamanca.
c. Cabécar round house, upper Coen. d. Bribri round house, Talamanca Plain.

[END PLATE 1]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

342
291
285

a

b

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516
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415
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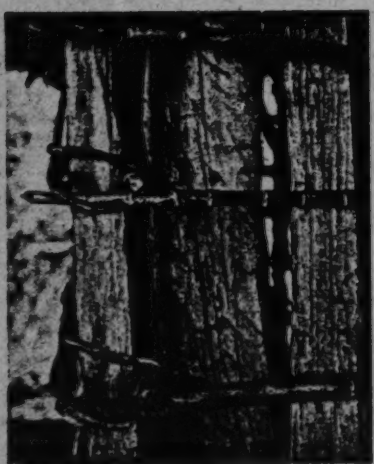

c

d

a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
cabecar
bribri

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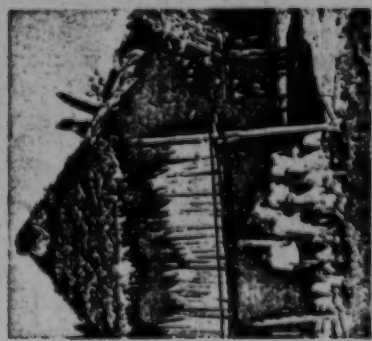

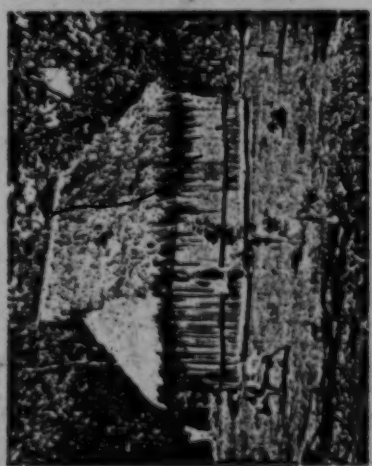

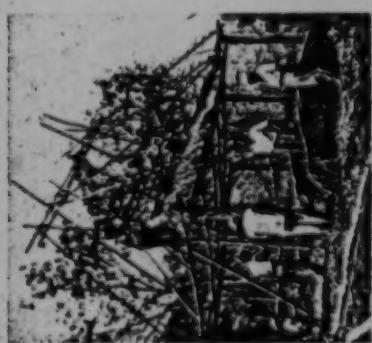

a, Cabécar combined rectangular and round house, Ujarrás. Note the grass and palm roofing. b, Cabécar round house, Ujarrás. c, Conversing a Bribri rectangular house, Cabécar. d, Bribri raised rectangular house.

[END PLATE 6]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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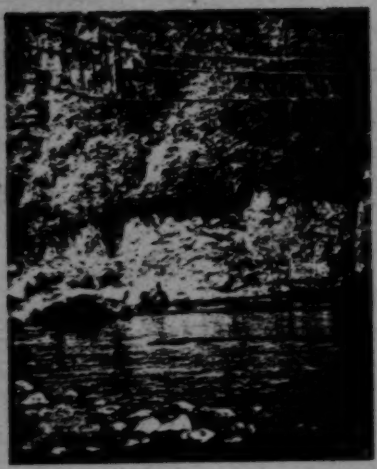
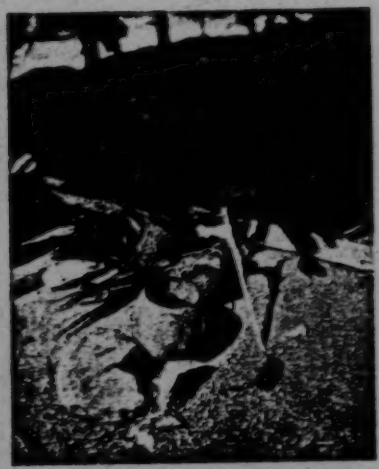
491
415
764



a



b

291
342
756
778

c

d

a, Vine bridge, Alto Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). b, Amulet to accompany the dead or first buried, Cabécar, Alto Coen. c, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. d, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that
827 which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the
843 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods
[343] and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *bu-ku-ru'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *awa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

is shown in pl. III, from a photograph kindly furnished by Prof. M. H. Saville. 482

Drying platforms for cacao, and outside granaries, built close to the houses, are found everywhere. 343

Gardens.—Many Bribri lodges are surrounded by yards enclosed with small bough fences, within which nothing is grown; but every home has its small banana or plantain plantation and its grove of cacao trees, sometimes very large and old, with occasional lime trees or yampi plants. These trees usually grow close to the dwelling, and often surround it. Corn fields are commonly seen, and calabash trees are always in evidence. Cotton plants, growing either singly or in small clumps, are sometimes found near the houses. 241

Household Utensils.—As above stated, every member of a family is provided with a low stool or seat, hewn from a block of wood. These seats (fig. 2) are round, square, or oblong, and the long, round, tapering legs of some examples suggest the stone metates found at Las Mercedes. There can be no doubt that the custom of 352 171

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and
[262] pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty-[262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live [illegible] [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves w[illegible] himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. [262] He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were
[775]

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

764 lasts from fifteen to twenty-two days. The family of the deceased spend all they can on the feast. Chicha and cacao are prepared in large quantities, and animals are killed. The *oko* who "owns" this function is sent for, and the *tsûku* is hired to sing, accompanied by two attendants. All three of these latter bear rattles, while various others, the number of whom is not specified, beat drums. All day long the *tsûku* and his attendants make music while the guests and mourners feast. On the last day all the guests leave, and the *oko* and the mourners remove the skeleton from its temporary grave in the woods and wrap it in a bark blanket. The bundle is carried out into the woods a short distance from the camp, where a private ceremony is held, of which details could not be gathered. After this rite the bones are taken to the dead-house, situated far off in the mountains.

● 346 764 This dead-house is made of a durable wood called *madera del campo santo*, "cemetery wood," which, even in the tropical jungles, is well-nigh imperishable. This

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

house, according to the informants, is divided into four rooms, each reserved for one of the four geographical groups of the Bribri, residing on the Lari, Tiliri, Uren, and Coen rivers—four upper tributaries of the Sixaola. The roof of the charnel house is not thatched; but it was not certain, from the description of the natives, whether it was otherwise roofed. What they said was that it is completely made of *madera del campo santo*, which may mean that the house has a puncheon roof. The bones of the dead are stored in the room appropriate to their local band, and with them are placed bows, arrows, and various utensils.

Gabb,[30] who was able to witness the Bribri mortuary ceremonies personally, gives an excellent account, not differing materially from the data furnished by the writer's informants. He states that the funeral fire was kept burning for nine days, and during that time it could not be used for any purpose. At the end of the allotted period only the *tsáku* could extinguish it, and then with a calabash of chocolate. Gabb adds that instead of sacrificing the

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and south-eastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had
[346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
[245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] * A *vara* equals 33 inches.

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
[346 177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture. Although most of the houses have no fences,
[351 417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
[245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming. The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] [a] A *vara* equals 33 inches.

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinealy to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caarka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
• [351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife [429] remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1896, vol. V.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
cabecar
Bribri

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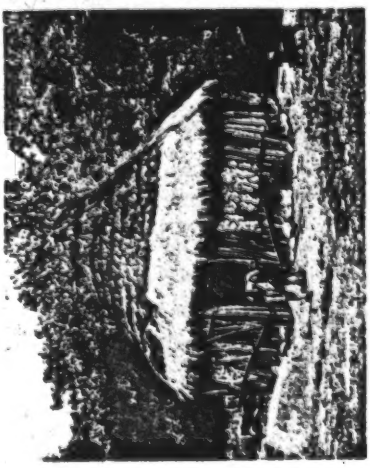

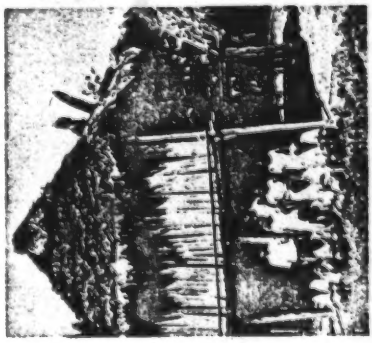

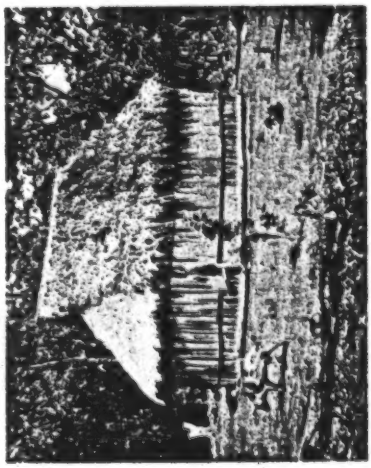

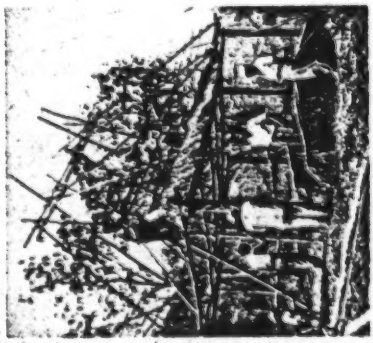

a, Cabécar combined rectangular and round house, Ujarrás. Note the grass and palm roofing. *b*, Cabécar round house, Ujarrás. *c*, Constructing a Bribri rectangular house, Cabuare. *d*, Bribri raised rectangular house.

[END PLATE 6]

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been pre-
[431] sented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of choco-
late, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green
corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made
[123] friends, fared sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse any-
thing.

342 The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large, squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark. Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at both ends. The Tiribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts, sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon told me that formerly the Tiribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness. The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better furnished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together. In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by placing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as they burn off. Over the fire is a barbacue or frame, sufficiently high to let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient
protection from the latter

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

000 352 415 [439] [263] [285] [251] 412 [439] [241] 415

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

411 [283]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

342 angular roof of thatched plantain leaves. These lodges vary from twenty to forty feet in length, averaging thirty feet, and from the ground to the apex of the roof-ridge they are eight to ten feet high. In general appearance they closely resemble the houses of the Florida Seminole, but usually lack the sleeping platforms of the latter (pl. 1).

Some houses are provided with floors about four feet from the ground, which generally are made of splints of palm or other wood, lashed with lianas to a framework of beams. Such floors afford an uncertain and yielding footing to a heavy person. Generally the floor covers only a portion of the ground area, an open space being left at one end to accommodate the fireplace, which is situated on the hard-beaten earth. The raised floor is reached by a short, log ladder, the steps of which are closely spaced notches. [352] Hammocks of native make swing from post to post across the lodge above this floor. Sometimes the floor is encompassed by a loose wall of sticks, set up vertically and [231] bound together, the intervening space be-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

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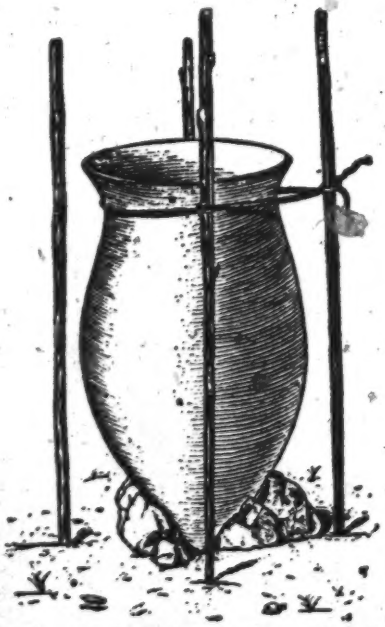

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

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352 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household
354 furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

both cases the fireplace was opposite the door, near the side, and not in the middle. 342 352 [354]

From the beams and the roof of the ordinary Bribri house are suspended carrying bags and baskets in which are stored calabashes and other utensils, while bows, arrows, and blowguns are held in crude racks or stuck in the thatch. Under the angle of the roof is often a rude attic, made of rough-hewn plank flooring, on which rests one or more great, cylindrical, corn receptacles, or granaries, of bark, and nearby one is likely to see a string or two of braided corn.

Sometimes a long, goblet-shaped, wooden drum, with an iguana-skin head, a number of circular pieces of iguana-skin for fresh drum-heads, or a cluster of several drums, may swing from a rafter at one side; or one may observe plumes of macaws, and the paws, flesh, or skin of jaguars and armadillos, hanging freely or tucked in a woven *chákara*, or bag, to be used as medicine. Again, but rarely, these may be accompanied with a shaman's small gourd rattle with a bone handle. Tame parrots, parra- 352 534 000

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Tame parrots, parra-
231 keets, macaws, and other birds, or mammals, such as monkeys, screech at the visitor from a safe retreat in the rafters, and there is always a host of dogs to guard against.

342 Another, now uncommon, type of lodge is oval or round, a trifle larger and flatter than the form described. Its outer wall is only about four feet high, loosely built of sticks set up vertically and tied together. This type of lodge is light inside, but its sides are not tight; it has no raised floor, and no smoke-hole. The kitchen is always some distance from the door, and though never in the center of the building, is often at the end opposite from the entrance.

352 516 [532] In all the forms of lodges observed, there are many four-legged stools, sometimes roughly carved to imitate tortoises, and very long benches. The Bribri, when at home, never squat on the bare ground like their North American relatives, but each member of the family, including the youngest child, has his own seat.

342 The last type of Bribri house to be mentioned is the most striking. It is called today a "*palenque*," or "king's house," by

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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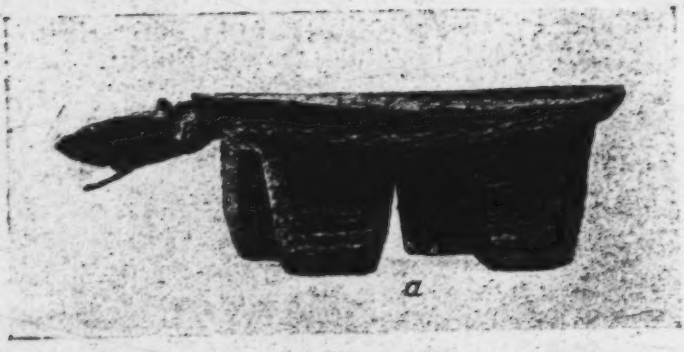

STOOLS CARVED TO REPRESENT THE TORTOISE

(Length: a, 11"; b, 12½")

[facing p. 53]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

the natives. In the spring of 1917 only two examples were to be found, and one of these had been abandoned and was falling into decay. These houses are great conical structures, about a hundred feet in circumference, consisting of thatched walls rising from the ground to a sharp point, forty or fifty feet above, which is capped by an inverted kettle to prevent leakage during inclement weather (pl. II). The doorway is high enough to admit a man without stooping, and is protected by a roofed but sideless vestibule. Inside all is dark, for no light is admitted except through the door, and the interior is thoroughly smoke-blackened. A rectangular platform, about ten feet square, made of puncheons supported by vertical beams, supports the bark granaries and some pottery vessels, together with a small supply of pounded clay for blowgun pellets. The sides are festooned with weapons and utensils, while pigs enter freely and root about among the stools and benches. Piles of palm-leaves around the sides indicate beds. We were told that

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[513]
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2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

is shown in pl. III, from a photograph kindly furnished by Prof. M. H. Saville. 482

Drying platforms for cacao, and outside granaries, built close to the houses, are found everywhere. 343

Gardens.—Many Bribri lodges are surrounded by yards enclosed with small bough fences, within which nothing is grown; but every home has its small banana or plantain plantation and its grove of cacao trees, sometimes very large and old, with occasional lime trees or yampi plants. These trees usually grow close to the dwelling, and often surround it. Corn fields are commonly seen, and calabash trees are always in evidence. Cotton plants, growing either singly or in small clumps, are sometimes found near the houses. 241

Household Utensils.—As above stated, every member of a family is provided with a low stool or seat, hewn from a block of wood. These seats (fig. 2) are round, square, or oblong, and the long, round, tapering legs of some examples suggest the stone metates found at Las Mercedes. There can be no doubt that the custom of 352 171

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

171
352

using stools is an ancient one in Costa Rica, and that these seats seem to be but degenerate survivals of elaborately carved stone stools, such as those taken from the graves at Las Mercedes and Anita Grande. They may bear some relation to the *dukos* of the West Indies.

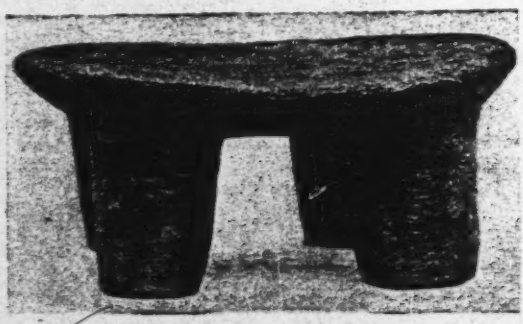

FIG. 2.—Wooden stool (length 13½ in.).

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The writer was fortunate enough to obtain some modern Bribri seats crudely hewn to represent tortoises (pl. IV), while one example had, instead of the usual legs, supports of wood carved in crudely rectangular figures (fig. 3) that recall the fine stone lattice-work found in the graves.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

The seats vary in size from diminutive forms used by children to benches six to ten feet long, narrow, with square ends and clumsy feet. Some of the children's seats have been used as toys. Pl. IV, *a*, illustrating a seat shaped like a turtle, still has about the neck a portion of the fiber string by which its little owner dragged it about;

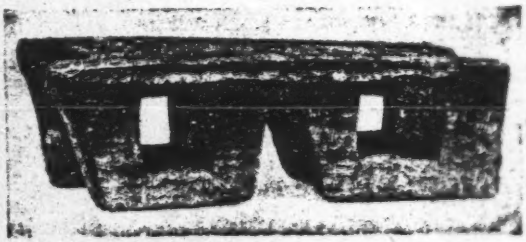

FIG 3.—Stool with unusual supports (length 13½ in.).

and, to add to the realism of its play, the child had also fitted the ill-smelling carapace of a freshly killed tortoise of the family *Chelydra* over the top of this stool.

Hammocks and Beds.—Large, handsomely netted hammocks of string made from native fibers are often used for sleeping, each member of the family having his own. They are

2:Skinner E-[illegible]17) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

352 286 made usually in two sizes, only both of which are more capacious than ours. A large example in the collection of the Museum is made in coarse diagonal net, the strands passing over two and under two.

Especially in such houses as are provided with raised floors, one finds beds in addition to hammocks, the groundwork of which is usually a coarse, plain blanket made of a [287] heavy bark cloth, or tapa, about a yard square.

Bags.—In abundant evidence in every house are the carrying bags, in varying sizes, consisting of coiled work without foundation, and manufactured of cotton or sisal fiber. These bags are made with bone [412] needles, fashioned somewhat like the bone netting-needles of the Central Algonkians, and are, as Gabb says, "meshed like our fiber nets." The bags are sometimes double, one being netted within another, and are often ornamented with a few encircling, parallel bands in black or red, or both, co-ored with native bark dyes. The bags are [482] called *chákara*. All are furnished with a head- or breast-strap, woven of one piece with the bag.

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k·a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The
Boruca distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86-87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. They put these rolls on an ox or on their own backs and take them to the building site (see fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

342 [492 482]

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanagira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

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291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [23]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

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forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
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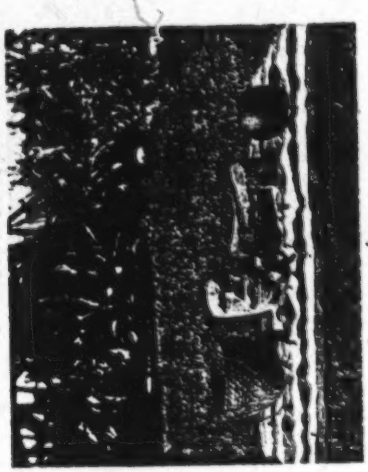

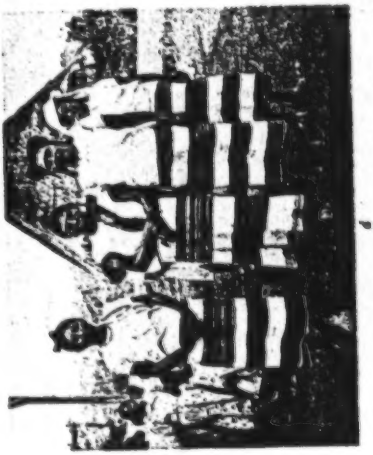

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4, Old and Indian woman bakes with grasses for a roof. *b*, Artifacts of the *Bribri*: 1, *mama* or skirt; 2, hoe; 3, doll; 4, *marraca* or rattles; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, sieve. *c*, Artifacts of the *Bribri*: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, basket; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. *d*, Women wearing the *mama*, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *bevas*[1] made by men and 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLɔ* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas*, and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.

[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
[415] hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[412] in every household although their number is
limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
women but chiefly by the men.
[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
[824] needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

● 352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration of the skirts consists of wide brown and white [531] stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or childlike drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *havas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This [787] is extremely important because without a staff [776] contact with the spirit, *duLar*, the messenger of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLar*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLar* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, [825] quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis Episcopus Diaconus* Lessom), hawk, paraquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ékéké*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *siąkure*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *siąbko*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

756 head man placed five folded carrying bags,
[352] one with a stone inside belonging to the novice; a paper package; two stones; and the basket with the feathers. These stones were not part of the *sią́* and were handed to the chief medicine man by his wife. As each object was put on the bench, every medicine man and the aspirant had to put a hand on it. The principal medicine man took the basket and put it first on the stool and then on the earthen floor of the house and announced that it was time to rest. All got up.

At this point, the first wife of the head man handed him a gourd lined with banana leaves and filled with hot chocolate (unsweetened). He took it and all left the main house, singing, and went to a smaller one where there was a kitchen. There they said to two women who were cooking by the fire, "*ịękeǯichərką*" (here many people do not fit), and "*sią́ tsurú ibaụ sią́*" (*sią́* chocolate heat for *sią́*).

[824] Then they took a pile of *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) leaves from a *tabanco* and brought it to the first house saying, "*ǯəbi* (this stands for *sią́*) *dibaLa* (chocolate hot; if *ǯəbi* were not before this word, it would mean water hot, but the name for the stones changes the meaning) *meką* (put)." This is a phrase used ceremoniously. Freely translated it signifies, "They are going to heat chocolate for *ǯəbi*."

The witnesses answered, "*ékéké*" (good).

The medicine men brought in the chocolate in an iron pot and placed it on the floor beside the bench with the stones, another bunch of leaves, and leaf-wrapped packages of white maize chicha. The *bijaguas* were to be used as cups for the chocolate. They said to those present, "Wait. We are going to serve the feast." All replied, "Good."

They brought in more leaves and a child came with water in a gourd. This was immediately taken by a medicine man and was placed on leaves on the floor beside the bench.

The first wife of the head medicine man and another woman sat on a long bench. They were to serve the feast. All women who participate in this ceremony must be old or at
[887] least middle-aged. The men sat opposite on another long bench and the chief one began to chant, "*miškadioǯək*" (let's drink this). Each medicine man, always holding his staff and

756 [787] sign and that the novice would turn out to be a good curer.

After the fanning, the group returned to the main house and once more partook of the chocolate, food, and chicha. This time the aspirant took the place of the medicine man who passed the cups and was coached by the chief man.

The head man took a piece of cotton and picked up the pebblelike stones of the aspirant and sung over them. He wrapped them in cotton and put them in a small carrying bag with the largest of the stones on top. He placed this carrying bag in a bigger one and tied it up for the novice. He took another bag and lectured over it to one of the medicine men and then put it around his own neck. The other *jawá* picked up his stones and put them in the two carrying bags from whence they had come, while the chief man did the same with the stones of the others. Finally, he hung the bag belonging to the aspirant around the latter's neck.

A medicine man, acting as assistant, brought the head man five leaves of *poró-poró* (*Cochlospermum vitifolium* [Willd.] Spreng.) who shaped one of them into a cup and put it on the small bench. He put a pinch of Honduras bark, *cáscara amarga* (*Sweetia panamensis* Benth.), on each of the other leaves piling them on top of one another. The rest of the medicine he tied up in a leaf and gave to the aspirant who put it in a carrying bag hanging on the wall. Both then moved to the entrance of the house and the novice went outside. The chief man poured water from a small special gourd into the *poró-poró* cup and the novice had to mix the bark from one of the leaves in it and wash out his mouth. This had to be repeated until the contents of each leaf was used. The medicine left in the carrying bag was to be used in the same way after four days, with the chief medicine man present. On that occasion, the new doctor must talk to the stones also.

[824]

When the mouth washing was over, the head man took the carrying bag of the novice from the wall and put it over the latter's shoulder so that it hung down his right side. He proceeded to give the young man two new low benches made of white balsa wood and a white blanket which he wrapped around

[352]

756 him. Both benches had four feet, but one had
[352] a protruding tail and head with a red spot.
[532] The two men then went outside and the chief doctor closed the door to keep others away. From within, one could hear the elder man's voice in a song which gradually became louder and louder.

According to custom, they sat on benches in front of the house and the head man sang to the novice. Two of the assistant medicine men went out to watch for the sunrise so that they could warn the chief that it was time to put the novice back in the hut.

When they came in, the aspirant took off his white blanket. The head medicine man took the feathers from the first carrying bag which was still on the low bench, some stones, a staff,
[534] a jaguar skin, a long reed flute (*kuLu*) which only the medicine men can make and put these things in the leaf room. The two new benches were not included. Then the head man entered with the aspirant to arrange the details. When he came out, he said to the novice who remained inside, "You do not have permission to sleep, not even a little."

The aspirant had to stay in the room all the following day without sleeping because to be a doctor he must show his power of self control. In fact, this endurance test was explained by a simple question: if a medicine man were to have a very sick patient and fell asleep, what would happen?

The drinks and food were now passed for the fourth time with the same ceremony as
[534] before. Then the head man blew a conch-shell horn right by the novice's wall and pushed the leaves. This was to be certain that he was not dozing. The aspirant was forbidden to talk, but he answered by blowing at times a conch-shell horn and at others a flute. Every now and then the other medicine men would poke their staffs at the wall and receive a blown attestation of his wakefulness or a knock. This continued throughout the day.

At night the ordeal ended and the novice could leave his leaf compartment and take his stones. However, he had to wait four days before he could finish the mouth-washing ceremony and become in truth a *jawá*.

758 **Sickness.** On the Caribbean side, but less often on the Pacific, a lean-to for a sick person is made of *pejibaye* leaves at one end of the

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by men and 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

● 353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets— ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[231] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* remedies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
[415] leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *hekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
low stool is always present but a chair and a
[352] table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
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[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

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[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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252
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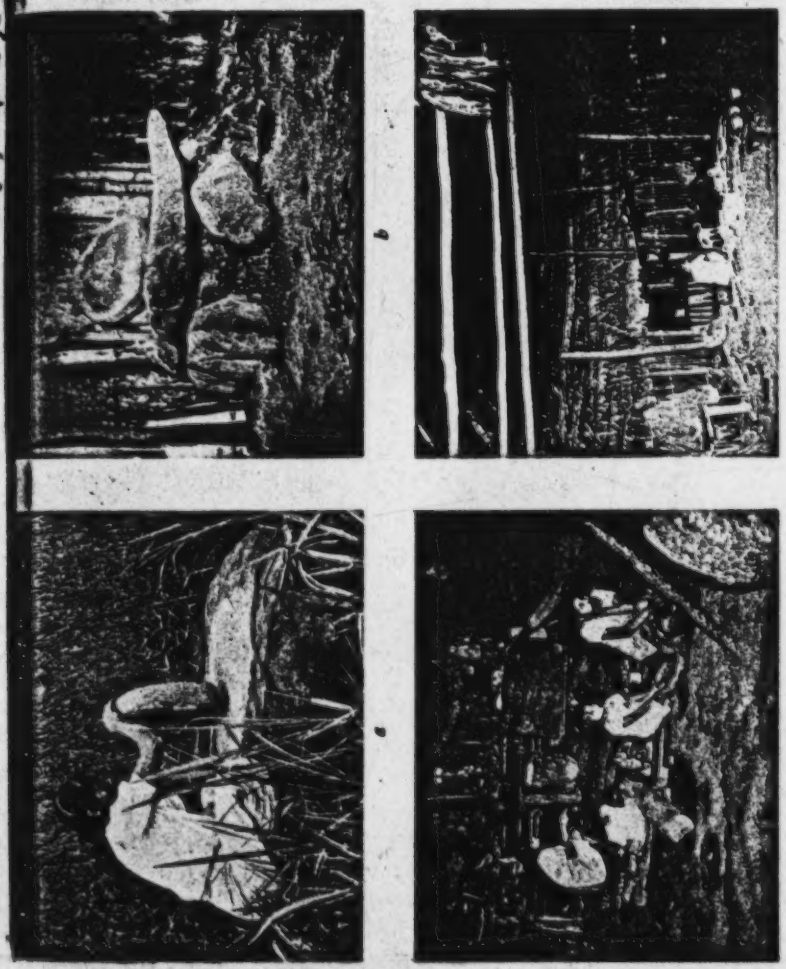


a, Natural smoothing stone in a savanna. *b*, Natural smoothing stone in a house. *c*, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. *d*, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

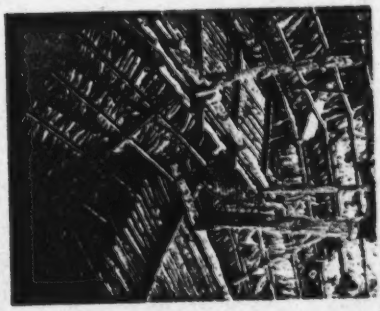
353

b

d

[142]

a



c

a–c, Details of interior roof walls in a Bribri house, Talamanca. *d*, Detail of wall construction, Cabécar house, Ujarrás.

[END PLATE 7]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been pre-
[431] sented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of choco-
late, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green
corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made
[123] friends, fared sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse any-
thing.

The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet
342 in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long
poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of
withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on
a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a
third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring,
if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not rest-
ing on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched
with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop
the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large,
squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes
made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark.
Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular
form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and
the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now
most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the
ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a
roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at
both ends. The Tiribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts,
sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon
told me that formerly the Tiribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses
like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness.
The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even
in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to
put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The
Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better fur-
nished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made
by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-
sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the
sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made
of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together.
In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends
of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by plac-
ing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as
they burn off. Over the fire is a barbacue or frame, sufficiently high to
let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way
of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient
protection from the latter

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen, while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. 342 [231]

This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [415] The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle. [354] Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao lie without order on the ground. [415] Generally in this quarter one may see also the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano. 412 One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

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417

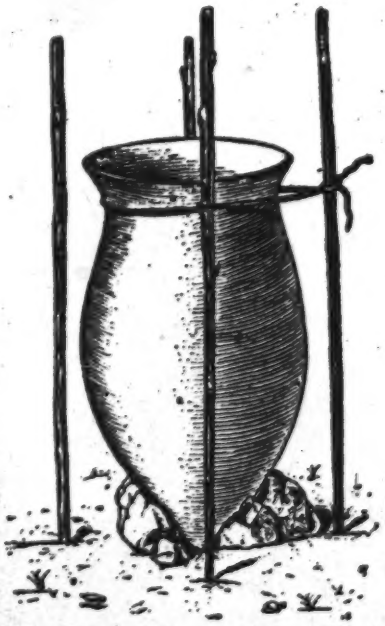

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

342
352
354 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

both cases the fireplace was opposite the door, near the side, and not in the middle. 942 352 [354]

From the beams and the roof of the ordinary Bribri house are suspended carrying bags and baskets in which are stored calabashes and other utensils, while bows, arrows, and blowguns are held in crude racks or stuck in the thatch. Under the angle of the roof is often a rude attic, made of rough-hewn plank flooring, on which rests one or more great, cylindrical, corn receptacles, or granaries, of bark, and nearby one is likely to see a string or two of braided corn.

Sometimes a long, goblet-shaped, wooden drum, with an iguana-skin head, a number of circular pieces of iguana-skin for fresh drum-heads, or a cluster of several drums, may swing from a rafter at one side; or one may observe plumes of macaws, and the paws, flesh, or skin of jaguars and armadillos, hanging freely or tucked in a woven *chákara*, or bag, to be used as medicine. Again, but rarely, these may be accompanied with a shaman's small gourd rattle with a bone handle. Tame parrots, parra- 352 534 000

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. 342 [492 482] They put these rolls on an ox or on their own backs and take them to the building site (see fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

● 354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinealy to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caarka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *bavas*,[1] made by men and 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koŋ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

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1 [is a carrying baskets– ANALYST]

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.
[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

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501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *higuerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
boiled to make soap.

756 the largest stone on the bench. Most of the songs referred to certain birds in the woodland. As the aspirant cannot touch the stones until they have been put into his hands, each medicine man took the stones from the center and placed them in the hands of the novice.

• [354] It was quite dark, so the first wife made a candle from beeswax, rolling it long, and tore a strip of cloth to wrap around it. When finished, it appeared very much like a licorice whip. She put this candle on the side of the bench so that it lit up everything on it.

The aspirant had had to fast all day within his room. Now two ears of white maize and one raw palmito (which is white) was put inside the room for later use.

At 2:45 A.M. the same ceremony with first chocolate and then chicha was held. This must be done four times during the night. The [801] number four is bound up with all semireligious acts as it is intimately connected with certain histories of *sibu* (*see* Legends). The head man put two pieces of cotton on top of a carrying bag. Then all went to the kitchen house and brought back a white chicken and a white rooster saying, "We are going to serve the feast" to each person. The witnesses answered, "Good." An iron pot containing bananas and palmito was brought in and the same statements were repeated. The first wife took another bundle of leaves from the *tabanco* and the women served rice and chicken in them. Again there followed the ceremony of the cup being changed from left to right.

At 4:00 A.M., two medicine men, including the chief one, went to the kitchen house with the novice, taking some *aik* leaves. They were followed by the first wife carrying a sick child. This was one of the important steps in the initiation because it showed the aspirant how to go about curing an ill person. The head medicine man took the novice by the hand and together they drew the leaves over the fire so as to soften but not burn them. They fanned the child with the leaves. During this process there was not a whimper from the patient. This was done four times and then the novice repeated it four times alone. The chief man stayed beside the pupil, however, and warned him not to burn the leaves. When [787] they crackled and popped as they were being drawn over the fire, it was considered a good

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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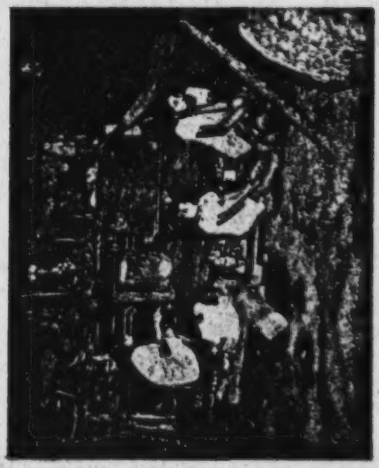
252
353
354
412
516



a, Natural mating stone in a stream. *b*, Natural mating stone in a house. *c*, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. *d*, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

342
291
285

a

b

342
284
516
291
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415
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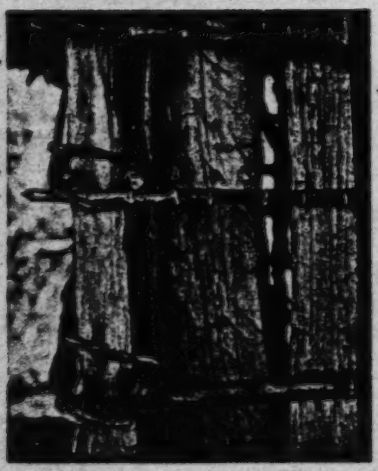

c

d

a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. *c*, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. *d*, One of four benches within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

102
103
131
133
361

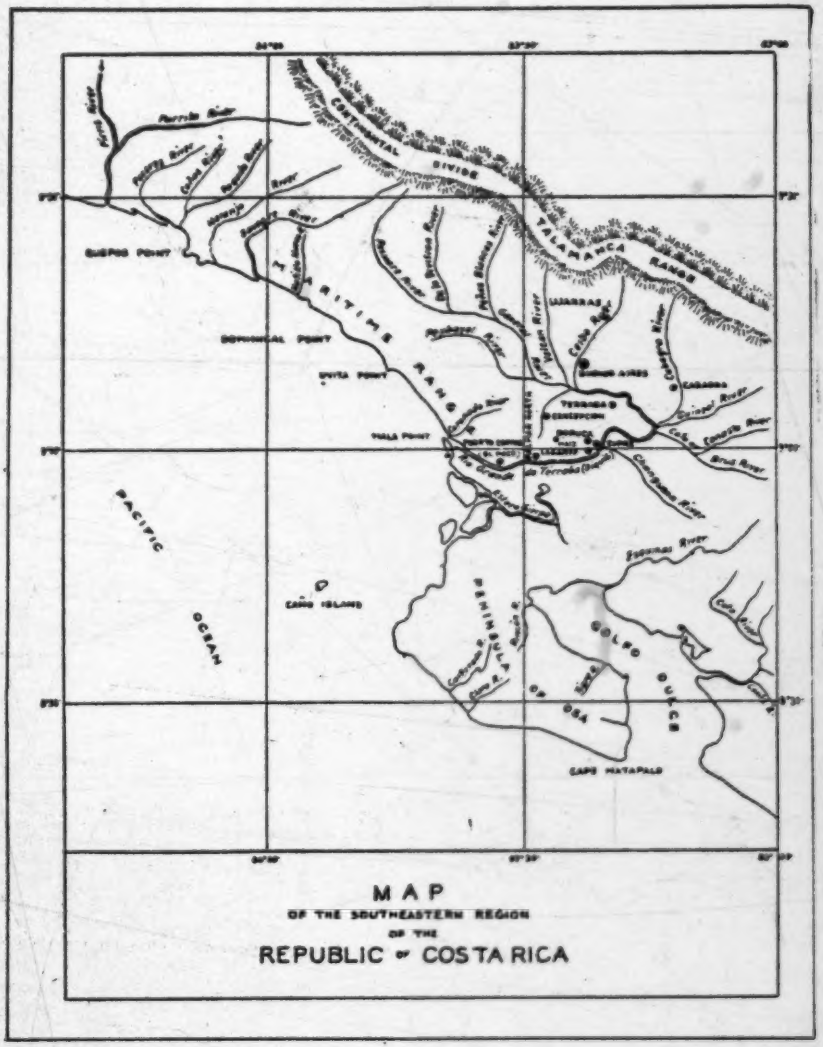

FIG. 1. Map of the southeastern region of the Republic of Costa Rica.

GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquís River. *Diquís* is the older
103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Río Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-
[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquís River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east.
162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five
361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory
175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 81, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 428.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

[77 648] Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

● 361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature [132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no [363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disappeared, [346 177] and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture. [351 417] Although most of the houses have no fences, a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* [245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or 312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] [a] A *vara* equals 33 inches.

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practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress,
even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

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Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
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River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense
forest and thickets. As a consequence, they
are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-
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mosquito ridden. These villages have even
less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca.
Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly
hidden houses to the other. There are no
churches or schools, and perhaps there is one
fence in both communities. Water is obtained
from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river
bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the
town, but unlike the other river villages, the
community itself is open and free of the bush.
Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to
lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American
sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school,
several saloons and stores, the houses all with
fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets
connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its
indigenous characteristics in the still ample
space or gardens around the houses, and, of
course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Mala-
ria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence
is nearly always made with living posts, 417

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

153
361

[249
417]

[413
284]

a, b, Distant views of Boruca village. c, Bias-cutter (actual size). d, Extraction of sugar cane juice.

[p.53]

174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamanca. For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[36] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[38] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[41] Stone, 1949.
[42] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
● 361 Cabagra [48] and Salitre (*ʒerí*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan
[614] regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of significance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-
[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Quelysr]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of
[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Quelysr

[103] [48] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz
[797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *kạ́* (*kạ́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *huǯiga* or, literally, *hu* (house) *ǯiga* (many), and town by *kạ* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11(B)--ANALYST]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 11(B)--ANALYST]

[P. 11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621
361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*), and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by ..nes and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[see category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16(B)--ANALYST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16(B)--ANALYST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [484] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . , in which are congregated all those of the same
342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un-
[361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages [192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

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VILLAGES

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[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

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[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

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VILLAGES

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Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363] from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312] small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177] influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most [342] part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164] otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE *ACTIVITIES*

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence 417
is nearly always made with living posts,

[p. 5-B]

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an 234]
inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who [342]
wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of 625
political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who is an Indian, but is appointed by the Govern- 625
ment of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 857
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was [372]
lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [784]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

l;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

[123] I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 534 535 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an observer are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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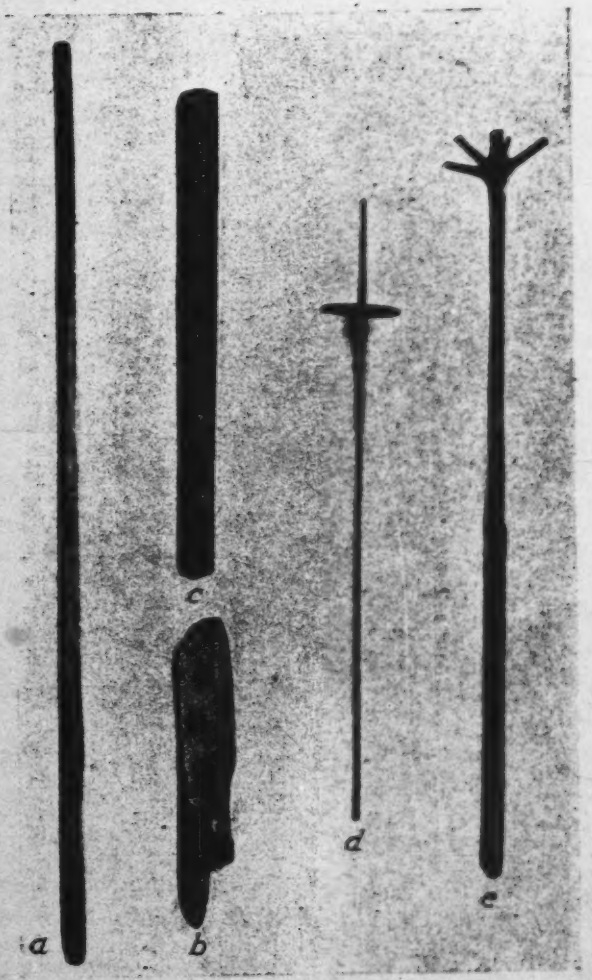

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Fire-drill; *b*, Hearth; *c*, Bark-beater; *d*, Spindle; *e*, Cacao stirring stick. (Length of *e*, 26 inches)

[facing p. 77]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

237
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HEADDRESS OF MACAW-FEATHERS AND FIRE-FAN OF HAWK-FEATHERS

[facing p. 85]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

when it is moistened and made into a large ball, which is dried and put away in some secure place, such as the granary platform or a corner under the eaves, until required. When needed, a portion is pared off with a machete on a platanillo leaf, a little water is added from a calabash, and the pellets are worked up from the damp clay with the fingers and gauged with a bone cylinder. The pellets are then sun-dried, but not baked. It was observed that the hunter usually carries a few balls in his mouth, ready for use, and these are expelled through the tube from the tip of the tongue. 411

Fire-making.—In some of the more remote Bribri camps, matches were unknown, the method of making fire being by means of a wooden hand drill (pl. XIX, *a*, *b*). The entire apparatus consists of a shaft (*a*) about three feet long, and a wooden hearth (*b*) which contains pits to receive the head of the drill. In use, the hearth is held under the foot, the Indian standing upright and twirling the drill between his palms. A bit of cotton in a plantain leaf is kept ready beside the hearth to catch the spark when 372

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

•372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

252 palms are boiled and fried. Another generally liked food is the tender leaf of the bean vine. This is prepared either with eggs or in soup.

Meat, fowl, and fish are frequently wrapped in the leaves of the *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen). Another *Calathea* known as "black *bijagua*" is used interchangeably with the first kind. The food wrapped in the leaves is roasted on the hearth stones. There are various ways, however, of preparing different meats. Armadillo is often boiled or fried. Domestic and wild pig and venison are placed on top of three or four sticks over the hearth stones and roasted. Sometimes the flesh of these animals [251] is sun-dried and salted, or is smoked for preservation. Beef is almost never eaten, as the cattle the *Boruca* possess are not numerous and are in the hands of a very few; besides, since they are used for traction, they are economically too important to eat (see p. 23). Posole is a common dish and is made of dried meat, usually wild pig. The meat is chopped fine and cooked with corn. The combination is then ground. If this is boiled every night, it keeps for many days.

Shell fish is boiled, but fish, other than shell fish, is seldom eaten fresh. When it is, however, it is put into a soup, or roasted in leaves, or fried. As a rule the fish is cut into three [251] pieces and salted to be eaten when needed. If salt is not available, the fish is smoked and saved. Smoked fish is said to be excellent for [757] diarrhea.

372 **Fire-making.** The majority of the *Boruca* use matches, although a few of the older people occasionally use two sticks to start a fire. This is accomplished by taking a stick of pejibaye and rubbing it around and around in a small hole in a stick of *guácimo* (*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.), until sparks set the *guácimo* on fire. Some of the elders still talk of the stones which were formerly rubbed together to start fire, using a piece of cotton as a wick. These are not seen today.

In the bush, or in the fields, fire, which is all important among the *Boruca* for clearing purposes, is kept in an old tree trunk from day to day. This is done by throwing ashes over and around the fire to keep the embers hot and alive, much as is done in New England fireplaces at present.

[p. 9-8]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, [171] large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).¼ These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done by pushing forward and pulling backward as [171] in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

¼ [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16(B)--Qualist]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16(B)--Qualist]

[361] [illegible] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[illegible] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
red *higuerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
824 on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

373 237 388 [296] [412] 824 [302] [75] [272] **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in every Boruca household. The women rub it in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain remedies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk. This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 802 [77] 804 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tɔʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

[P. 24(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

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476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
or in Cabécar *dí*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They
273 are held when there is need of group labor
such as building a house, clearing a field,
making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people
meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply
liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the
preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of
clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana
skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[824] the red fruit of the *butsi* tree and is then tied
with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a
half to three feet and they are played by hand.
Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a
stick. The people on the Pacific side do not
have the upright drum but use the Chiricano
caja or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with
two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick
while those of land turtles are used in a similar
manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a
musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled
with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or
wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the up-
right drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and
1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty
drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific
side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *dí* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

[p. 100(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	*Yellow Variety*
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	*Use*
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLə	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kúLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever—mash stem and boil
[342] tsíchica	*Menispermacen Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] təbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
dufskLə	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	*Use*
harbə	*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri	fish poison
chatə	*Serjania* sp. *Pothomorphe piperaceae*	fish poison; boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate, to cause perspiration
[381] botuLú	*Eufobia sapium*	glue
chicarté	*Bocconia frutescens*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--analyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

323 [177] reverting to make their clay cooking pots as before. There are several common pottery shapes. One kind is a large vessel with a pointed base which is slightly rounded, and a projection near the base, the neck indented, and a projecting rim. This type is called *kvure'* in Boruca, and resembles the Spanish *tinaja*. Other forms consist of smaller vessels with rounded base and a flat protruding rim, at times with a projecting nubbin, as if an attempt to portray a head, tail, and wings, such as is encountered on the pots found in ancient graves; and sometimes the *comal* or indented clay dish which is used for frying. Plain rounded vessels, often with a thumb-nail design on the border or rim, are common for cooking.

[462] Women are the potters. The usual way of making a vessel is to mash the clay, if soft, with the hands, and if hard, with a stick, until it is fine. Then a coil is made of this clay, and the coil doubled over to give more strength to the whole. The base is started with these coils in the manner of a large tortilla, or corn cake. A rounded wooden mold is used only for the base. The clay tortilla is put in the mold and shaped to the sides. Then coils of clay are added, and the vessel grows above the mold. Smoothing and evening are done with the hands. Once completed, the pot is left from fifteen days to one month within the house to dry. The excess clay is then removed with a knife, and the vessel is polished by rubbing it all over with a seed which comes from a vine called in Spanish *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna urens* [L.] DC.). A bed of firewood is made outside the house, and the vessel is placed in the center. Firewood is stacked around the pot until it is covered. Fire is set, and the wood burns away leaving the vessel intact. When a particularly strong pot is desired, a *masa* is added. This *masa* is ground corn mixed with water to form a paste. It is put both inside and outside of the vessel at the moment it is removed from the fire, and while it is still red from the heat. After the pot is cold, the *masa* is removed.

383 314 Rubber. The use of rubber does not seem to be very ancient with the *Boruca*. The gum from the wild rubber tree which abounds in the vicinity (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) is

[p. 19-B]

occasionally used on the day-out cones.

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old [439 524] rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is 324 for grinding corn and cacao.

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 [825] The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[22] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 [783] **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camibar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camibar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[22] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tirlibi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tribis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no [248]
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide [291] The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty [386] purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [433] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel."

286 [292] [386] ● [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri.

[531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[437] a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The
283 best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[286] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[439] generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

386 threads, the Indians lamented to the writer that they had forgotten how to make many of the beautiful colors their ancestors knew. In particular, they wanted to know how to obtain a bright blue. As a consequence, the seeds [123] of the broad-leaf indigo were sent them for planting.

The colors still made by the *Boruca* are black, light yellow, pale blue, and purple. Light brown is obtained by using the natural colored cotton, as stated before. Formerly, red was made by boiling the leaves of the sangrilla tree which is called *rus kra'* in Boruca, and is abundant in the neighboring forests. At present, they do not make this dye, as they seem to think it too much trouble. A fast jet black is procured by cooking the bark of a tree called *carbonero* (*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.) in Spanish, and *grifin-kra'* in Boruca, and combing the liquid with a black clay found in the vicinity. Light blue is made from a narrow-leaf indigo (*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.) which abounds by the river. The leaves are boiled for dye. Purple is obtained on the sea coast near Punta Mala and Dominical. Here a mollusk (*Purpura patula* Gould), called *la morada*, is gathered at low tide off the rocks which jut out of the water along the shore. Formerly, the Indians swam out to the rocks with the cotton thread on top of their head 237 to collect the animal.[26] The *Boruca* have no 386 tradition of any of this. At the present time, they gather the mollusk when the tide is out from the shore, and from the rock they can reach by wading. Great pain is taken not to let the creature die. On obtaining the mollusk, they first turn over the shell so that the sea water runs out. Then they blow into the shell, holding the thread in front. The angry animal spits out a fluid on the thread, after which he is thrown back into the sea. This fluid is at first a greenish-yellow, but when dry, becomes deep purple.[27] They say that the ink is best when the moon is full, and no good when the moon is new. At other times, the color is not so strong, nor does it dye evenly. [648] This dye has long been prized not only by the

[26] See Cockburn, 1779, p. 112.

[27] According to Dr. W. J. Clench, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University, this dye is a drug used by the snail to anesthetize its victim.

[28] See Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 353–54; Cock-

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[30] Information given to the writer by Professor
[115] Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-8]

825

APPENDIX B: NAMES OF BIRDS, ANIMALS, FISH, AND REPTILES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	A	
armadillo	*cemuco; armadillo*	*Dasypus novemcinctus* Linn.
	B	
bee (wild) from Cocos Island[1]		*Apis Trigona* or *Apis Melipona?*
bee (wild)	*jicote*	*Melipona beecki* subsp. *beecki*
bushmaster	*cascabela muda*	*Lachesis mutus*
	C	
clam	*almeja*	?
crab (river)	*cangrejo del río*	*Pseudosolphous magna*
crayfish	*camarón*	?
croaker	*roncador*	?
curassow	*pavaca*	*Crax rubra* Linn.
	D	
deer	1) *cabra*	1) *Mazama sartorii* Sumichr.
	2) *venado*	2) *Odocoileus* Boddaert
	G	
guan (crested)	*pava*	*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.
gaucus	*guacuza*	*Dasyprocta* sp.
	M	
macaw (scarlet)	*lapa; guacamaya*	*Ara macao* Linn.
mollusk (large for purple dye)	*caracol; morada*	*Purpura patula* Gould
mollusk (small, for purple dye)	*caracol; molusco*	*Purpura biosquiformis* Duclos
monkey (red)	*mono colorado*	*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl
monkey (white-faced)	*carablanca*	*Cebus capucinus* Linn.
muller (fresh water)	*tepemachin*	*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.
	P	
parakeet	*perico*	*Aratinga canicularis* Linn.
parrot	*loro*	*Amazona auropalliata* Less.
perch	*mojarra*	*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.
pig (peccary)	*chancho del monte*	*Pecari angulatus* Cope
pig (wild boar?)	*cariblanco*	*Tayassu pecari* Fischer
pigeon	*paloma*	*Columba* sp.
pigeon (white wing)		
	S	
snook	*robalo*	*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey
	T	
tepezcuinte	*tepezcuinte*	*Coelogenys paca*
tinamou (chestnut-headed)	*gallina del monte*	*Tinamus major* Gmel.
toucan	*curré*	*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould

[1] The result of the analysis of the sample of Cocos Island Wild Bees Wax by the Laboratorio Químico Oficial, República de Costa Rica, was the following:

Resin	78.17%
Wax	8.65%
Substances insoluble in ether	13.18%
	100.00%
Humidity	3.12%
Ashes	3.20%
Sugars	0.20%
Gluten	0.20%

September 21, 1945

[386]

[p. 41]

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guariumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[231] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

● 386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkibaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

[P.100(B)]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apiskicha	*Gonzania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auriculatum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
krekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

824
[278]
[845]
[272]
[844]

CABÉCAR

	Latin	Use
popolí	*Precious* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bóLk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacis sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

[278]
[386]
515
278

373 237 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in every Boruca household. The women rub it in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain remedies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk. This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

● 318 [294] [412] 824 [302] [157] [272]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

802 [170] 804

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tsʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-kra*.[23] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[24] following Pit-

[23] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[24] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *higuerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
[372] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

● 388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
boiled to make soap.

505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
● 396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigana*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Cordage.** The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, *5*, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [454]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ba'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

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[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
[372] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are boiled to make soap.

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept 173
up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as 721
many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a
handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the
Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the
right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the can- [622]
didate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been
exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in
the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris.
In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children
are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress [563]
and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and
while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a con-
quered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, [582]
and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them.

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule 619
of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family
holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning 622
chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not
in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible mem-
ber of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is
passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present
chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor,
who was in turn a cousin to his.

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The
principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social
than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock
for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, cho-
colate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But
in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the [411]
long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last
decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the 622
chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him 648
with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes.
About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and [177]
San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Gov-
ernment, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of
his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future suc-
cessor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or [624]
no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed
that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exagger-
ated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held
in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moen, a little settlement on the
Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz
against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to
assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacua over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio, never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to 534 them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286
411
415
413

BAG WITH DOUBLE POCKET FOR CARRYING BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth of bag, 7½ inches)

[Facing p. 58]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286
411
415

BAG FOR BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth, 6 inches)

[facing p. 59]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 [252] shaped only by use. Cacao and maize are ground upon the surface of the metate with a muller or mano, which is another, though smaller, natural waterworn bowlder.

On abandoned sites near Teliri river some crude three-legged stone metates were found (figs. 9, *a*, *b*, drawn from fragments), pecked from hard scoria. These are inferior to the beautiful "tiger" metates of Las [179] Mercedes; nevertheless, some of the Bribri believe that these fine metates were used by their ancestors. The Mercedes and Anita Grande sites also yielded some of the plain, three-legged metates, as well as those of the more ornate variety.

•411 412 *Digging Stick or Warclub.*—Pl. XVII, *a*, represents a digging stick of narrow, paddle shape, made of "cacique" wood. While the natives said that this specimen was once used as an agricultural implement, some of them also declared that it had been employed as a warclub. They referred to the stick as a "macana," in which is recognized an implement equivalent to the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*, a warclub in which blades or spikes of obsidian were embedded.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

The late Theodoor de Booy once called the writer's attention to the fact that in certain of the West India islands planting dibbles were used as warclubs, and according to Fewkes, while every warclub among the Porto Rico Indians was not a dibble, every dibble was a warclub.[11] Our specimen bears upon its broad end the striation caused by contact with the earth, and on its side hacks and scars of sidewise blows as though it had seen use as a quarter staff. The handle shows a figure which seems to be a property mark.

411 412 [171] [422]

Gabb[12] says:

"In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting sticks. It is very heavy, and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an 'over-blow,' always holding by both hands . . . . During the wars between the Bri-bris and Tiri-bis at the beginning of this century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir."

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

293
411
412
[532]

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Planting dibble and war club, length 5'; *b*, Cacique stick, length 4' 7"; *c*, Blowgun, length 6' 10"; *d*, Bow, length 4' 10"

[Facing page 73]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Bark and Fiber Articles.—Besides the blankets of beaten bark used for beds and as wrappings for the bones of the dead, the Bribri have burden straps of the same material. These are merely plain bands of tapa. The Indians say the bark is stripped from the trees in sheets, then pounded on a log with a wooden bark-beater. 287

Twisted fiber string and ropes, from several native substances, including agave, are made in varying degrees of fineness. These are used for every purpose, from bag and hammock weaving to tying house-posts and fastening drum-heads, and as cord for their suspension. 283

Weapons.—Besides the digging-stick war-clubs above described, the Bribri declare that in their former wars they used lances, those remembered being about six feet long, of hardwood tipped with iron. Gabb reports obtaining one of these, and also a small, round shield of tapir hide—another obsolete article. 411

Pl. XVII, *d*, represents a bow, 4 ft. 10 in. in length, and, as usual, furnished with a fiber string. The arrows are compound, having a reed shaft and a hardwood fore-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

411

FIG. 10.—Bird arrow.

shaft, which in many cases is merely pointed but not barbed. The foreshaft is about the same length as the main shaft, and the two parts are bound together at their junction with twine of cotton or other fiber and gummed over at three places to prevent splitting. The butt, which has no nock, is also bound with twine.

Pl. XXIV, *d*, illustrates an arrow with a metal point, used in killing deer and other large game. The foreshaft is quadrangular in cross-section. Blunt bird-arrows are shown in pl. XXIV, *e*, and in fig. 10, but the latter has a short knob on the end.

Fig. *c* of the same plate represents a type of war arrow used in former times. The head is of pilam wood, multibarbed, and triangular in cross-section. Wounds from these, especially if in the abdomen, were much

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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dreaded, since the Indians say they could not withdraw the arrow without pulling out the victim's intestines on the barbs. 411

Pl. XXIV, *b*, shows an arrow resembling the preceding, except that the foreshaft is round in cross-section and is barbed only on one side. It is a form used in fishing. 227 411

Pl. XXIV, *a*, is also a fish arrow, for taking small species. It has a foreshaft of cane split into four prongs, which open on contact with the water and spread out to encompass the fish. Pl. XXVIII represents a party of Bribri men in semi-costume ready to shoot fish.

Blowguns.—While not nearly so common among the Bribri as bows and arrows, blowguns are still to be seen in many houses. These weapons are made by removing the core of some pithy stalk about 6 feet long. The bore is rather large, and through it are shot clay pellets (pl. XXV, *a*) instead of darts. The outer surface of the weapon is covered with a heavy black gum, the same as that used on the arrows, but thickly applied. On all complete blowguns two shell beads are set parallel, close together, 411

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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411 about six inches from the muzzle, the end farthest from the user. These are sights, explained by the Indians as "eyes, so that the gun can see where to shoot" (pl. XVII, *c*). Of course these blowguns are suitable only for securing small game.

As an accessory to the blowgun, the Bribri carry small bags intended to hold the earthen pellets used as ammunition. Pl. IX [415] shows one of these bags, which has two compartments, one for the pellets, the other for game. Attached to it is a bone gauge, used [413] to reduce the pellets to the proper caliber for use. Pl. X exhibits another small, narrow, but deep bag for blowgun pellets.

[413] Gabb speaks of a small, straight, heavy piece of bone carried by the hunters and used to drive obstructions out of the tube by its own weight, in case of stoppage. None of these were seen by the writer.

In making blowgun pellets, special clay is obtained. That seen in use among the Bribri was gray, but some balls in the possession of a Cabecar hunter were made of red earth. The clay is brought to camp and dried, then ground fine on a stone mortar,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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when it is moistened and made into a large ball, which is dried and put away in some secure place, such as the granary platform or a corner under the eaves, until required. When needed, a portion is pared off with a machete on a platanillo leaf, a little water is added from a calabash, and the pellets are worked up from the damp clay with the fingers and gauged with a bone cylinder. The pellets are then sun-dried, but not baked. It was observed that the hunter usually carries a few balls in his mouth, ready for use, and these are expelled through the tube from the tip of the tongue. 411 ●

Fire-making.—In some of the more remote Bribri camps, matches were unknown, the method of making fire being by means of a wooden hand drill (pl. XIX, *a*, *b*). The entire apparatus consists of a shaft (*a*) about three feet long, and a wooden hearth (*b*) which contains pits to receive the head of the drill. In use, the hearth is held under the foot, the Indian standing upright and twirling the drill between his palms. A bit of cotton in a plantain leaf is kept ready beside the hearth to catch the spark when 372

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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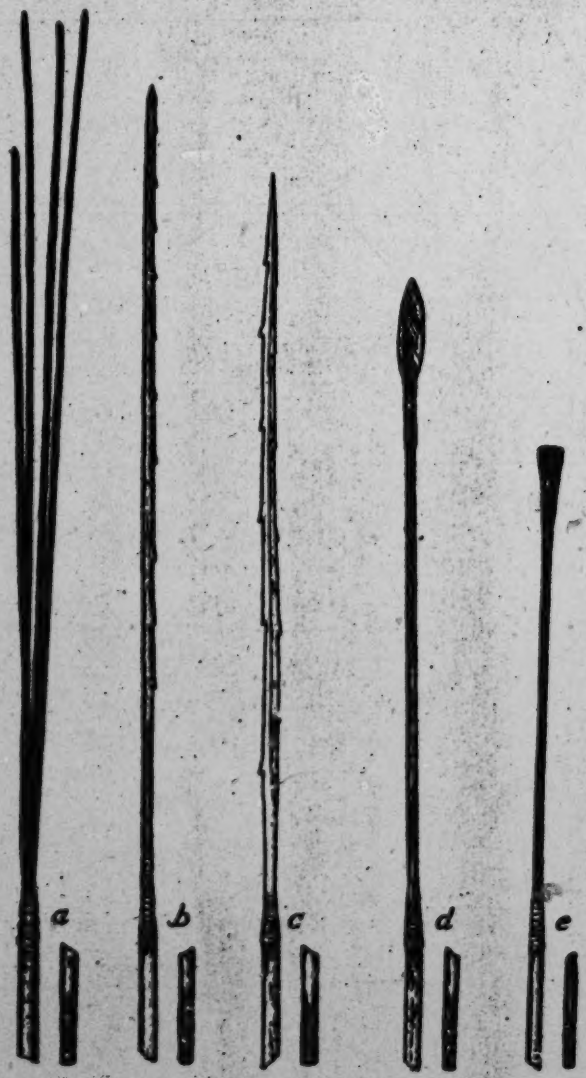

TYPES OF BRIBRI ARROWS

a, For small fish, length 6′ 1″; *b*, Typical fish arrow, length 5′ 7½″; *c*, War arrow, length 4′ 11½″; *d*, Large game arrow with metal point, length 5′ 1″; *e*, Small game arrow with blunt head, length 4′ 5″.

[Facing page 87]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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PL. XXV

BLOWGUN PELLETS OF CLAY; LEATHER POUCH; SHAMAN'S CALABASH RATTLE
(Length of the rattle, 7½ inches)

[facing p. 89]

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
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There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyta;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thóxar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymí.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
● [411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[859] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

[p. 11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*)[2] and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[2] [See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[354] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás,
[492] Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[11]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

pueden Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[11] Stone, 1956.

[12] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

[1] See entry 116 - Exp Photo 1 - Analyst]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécár *sakémogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

1 [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[4] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokal*, signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[4 See category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
[372] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
boiled to make soap.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

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Bribri
Cabecar

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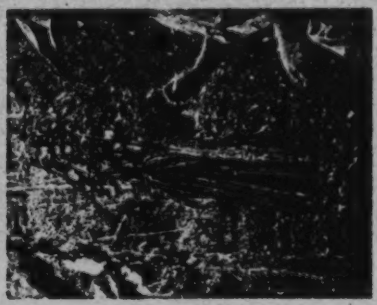
a



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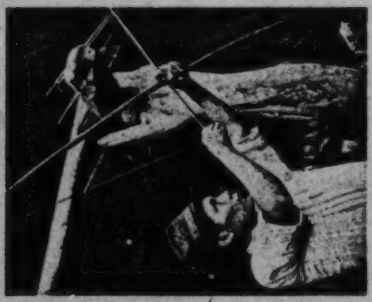

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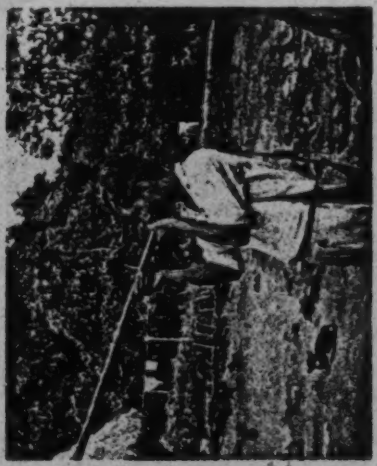

c

a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Shooting fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Shoot for chicken.

[END Plate 2]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

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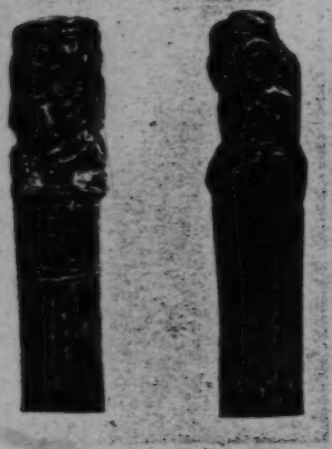

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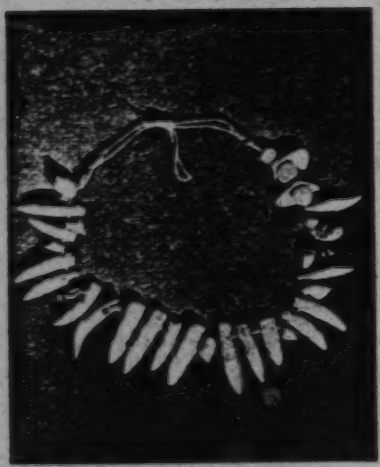

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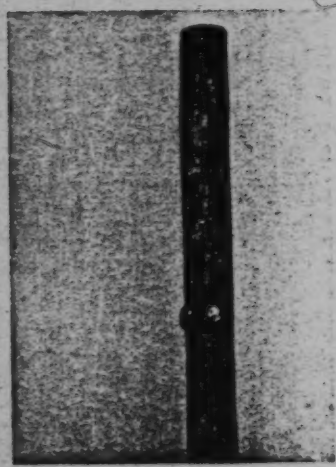

d

a, Conventional staff from snake on shaft of brush volcano, Central Plateau. *b*, Conventional staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Guido Jiménez L.). *c*, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bone, and beads on wood oil cord (property of Don Julio Collado T.). *d*, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beads alight.

[END PLATE 11]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste 252
to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *sish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn [243]
is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a [412]
stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is [462]
always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If 273
it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uren. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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SKINNER—BRIBRI

BRIBRI DWELLING WITHOUT SIDES
A bowlder used as a metate is shown in the foreground

[facing p. 47]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen,] while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. 342 [231]

This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept [the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle.] [Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao] lie without order on the ground. Generally in this quarter one may see also [the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano] One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces [415] [354] [415] 412

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412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

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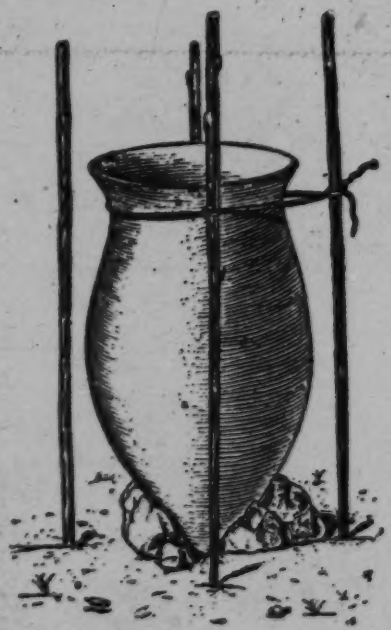

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

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354 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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made usually in two sizes, only both of which are more capacious than ours. A large example in the collection of the Museum is made in coarse diagonal net, the strands passing over two and under two.

Especially in such houses as are provided with raised floors, one finds beds in addition to hammocks, the groundwork of which is usually a coarse, plain blanket made of a heavy bark cloth, or tapa, about a yard square.

[287]

Bags.—In abundant evidence in every house are the carrying bags, in varying sizes, consisting of coiled work without foundation, and manufactured of cotton or sisal fiber. These bags are made with bone needles, fashioned somewhat like the bone netting-needles of the Central Algonkians, and are, as Gabb says, "meshed like our fiber nets." The bags are sometimes double, one being netted within another, and are often ornamented with a few encircling, parallel bands in black or red, or both, co-ored with native bark dyes. The bags are called *chákara*. All are furnished with a head- or breast-strap, woven of one piece with the bag.

[412]

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415 North America. The Indians relate a tradition that without pointed bases the jars would not fire well. Several variations in form were seen. These are nearly all very large, averaging at least three feet in height, and of a capacity of many gallons. Smaller vessels are unusual. None of the vessels observed bore the slightest ornamentation.

Wooden Utensils.—On several occasions, [322] large, round, wooden bowls, shaped like shallow basins, were observed. They were clumsy and thick, and not to be compared with the fine specimens made by many of the North American tribes.

Pl. XVI represents a very simple dish, made by folding the ends of a strip of the leaf of the platanillo and sewing them together.

412 *Mortars and Pestles.*—Fig. 8 shows a type of heavy horizontal mortar frequently seen in the Indian camps. These are made of great logs of mahogany or of other hard wood, sometimes as much as ten or twelve feet long, with the cavity for the corn hewn in one side. The wooden pestles used with

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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these mortars have double ends and a slender, central shaft, four to six feet in length. 412

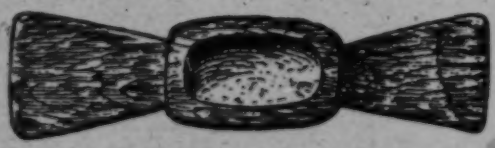

FIG. 8.—Long mortar of wood.

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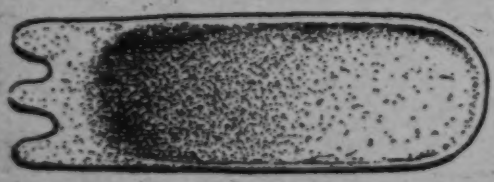

b

FIG. 9.—Metate (side and top views). (Length, 18 in.)

Metates and Manos.—At the present time the metate is simply a flat-topped river bowlder, generally of several hundredweight,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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● 412 [252] shaped only by use. Cacao and maize are ground upon the surface of the metate with a muller or mano, which is another, though smaller, natural waterworn bowlder.

On abandoned sites near Teliri river some crude three-legged stone metates were found (figs. 9, *a*, *b*, drawn from fragments), pecked from hard scoria. These are inferior to the beautiful "tiger" metates of Las [173] Mercedes; nevertheless, some of the Bribri believe that these fine metates were used by their ancestors. The Mercedes and Anita Grande sites also yielded some of the plain, three-legged metates, as well as those of the more ornate variety.

411 412 *Digging Stick or Warclub.*—Pl. XVII, *a*, represents a digging stick of narrow, paddle shape, made of "cacique" wood. While the natives said that this specimen was once used as an agricultural implement, some of them also declared that it had been employed as a warclub. They referred to the stick as a "macana," in which is recognized an implement equivalent to the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*, a warclub in which blades or spikes of obsidian were embedded.

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The late Theodoor de Booy once called the writer's attention to the fact that in certain of the West India islands planting dibbles were used as warclubs, and according to Fewkes, while every warclub among the Porto Rico Indians was not a dibble, every dibble was a warclub.[11] Our specimen bears upon its broad end the striation caused by contact with the earth, and on its side hacks and scars of sidewise blows as though it had seen use as a quarter staff. The handle shows a figure which seems to be a property mark.

411
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Gabb[12] says:

"In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting sticks. It is very heavy, and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an 'over-blow,' always holding by both hands . . . . During the wars between the Bri-bris and Tiri-bis at the beginning of this century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir."

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● 412
[532]

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Planting dibble and war club, length 5'; *b*, Cacique stick, length 4' 1"; *c*, Blowgun, length 6' 10"; *d*, Bow, length 4' 10'

[Facing page 73]

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Bribri

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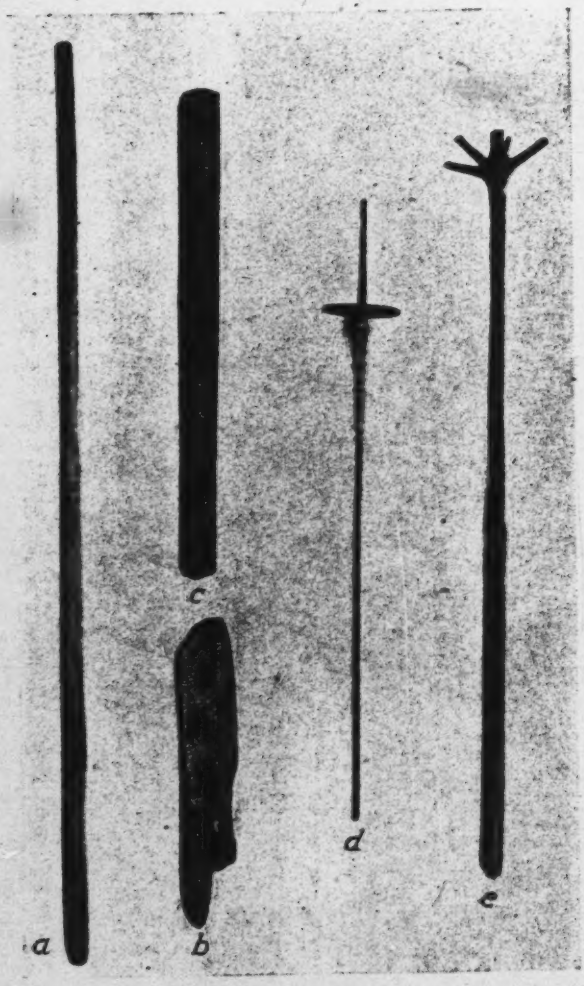

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Fire-drill; *b*, Hearth; *c*, Bark-beater; *d*, Spindle; *e*, Cacao stirring stick. (Length of *e*, 26 inches)

[facing p. 72]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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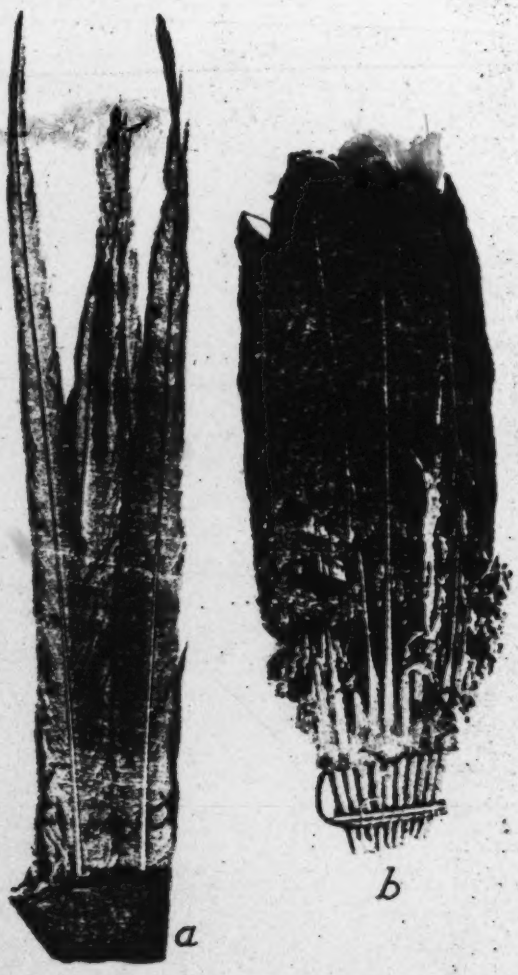

HEADDRESS OF MACAW-FEATHERS AND FIRE-FAN OF HAWK-FEATHERS

[facing p. 85]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The
various colors are secondary characteristics,
and cannot be classified as distinct speci-
mens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica,
only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and
is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning
about four or five in the afternoon. They
take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale
called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green
plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the
field is done by both men and women. The
felled trees are burned in the dry season, and
from then on, only the women, often assisted
by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas,
guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.),
Inga (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl]
Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias
purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassi-
folia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, al-
though apparently not cultivated today, may
well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed
from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad
machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly
evolved from a digging stick, and are made
with a wooden shaft or handle and a small
iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used
for digging holes or even cutting roots in the
field. Spades and an instrument called a
cuchillo, which is a long knife or machete, are
also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds
are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one
hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural [412] boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [754] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kĩ-kɔg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maíz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

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251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *babas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 26), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

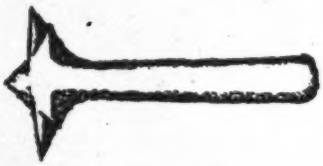

FIG. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily. [832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

[p. 10-A]

with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [231]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as ●412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture [534] (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[294] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing
[412] agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[157] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[177] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tsu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

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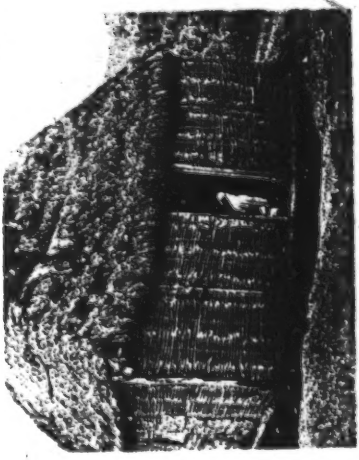

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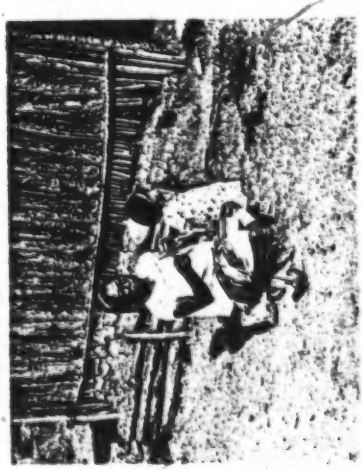

a, Method of grinding corn. *b*, Single pole as base of house (note window on left, and yeast for chicha hanging on front wall). *c*, House base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). *d*, Front stone terrace, Cerré.

[p.55]

[P. 11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621
361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity [648] of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the 412 method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, [171] large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
[192] *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for
lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
[184] manca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
[415] hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[412] in every household although their number is
limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
237 bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkibaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

●412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
boiled to make soap.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, up to twelve feet in length and supported by [273] four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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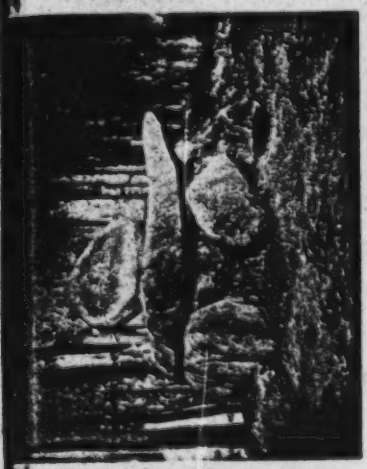

a, Natural smoking stone in a screen. *b*, Natural smoking stone in a house. *c*, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. *d*, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]

*539 (2) *sibu* said to the large worm, "Why don't we drink in[246] a young gourd?" Then *sibu* thought of this so that[247] he [the worm] would get rid of us.

2. There was no cacao. There was no gourd. He [*sibu*] saw that there was. He broke it.[248] He heated it.[249] They drank. *sibu* made as if he drank, but he did not drink.

3. Then the large worm vomited. There he got rid of us with the basket. Then *sibu* dried us in the sun. He said this, "I am keeping my seed."

6. I am going to tell about the eagle (*Cabécar*)

1. The *túgwa*[250] say the large eagle ate the Indian people. [In] Cabécar, the eagle is called *Logap'u*. [On a] large mountain, *suLášibí*,[251] [like] a great house, there lives the large eagle. He carried people [for his] young ones to eat. The people [did] not return.

2. [A person] made a *chonta*[252] cage. A person entered. The eagle carried the person in his claws. [The person] brought a pejibaye[253] rod to kill him.

3. The eagle raised him to *suLášibí*. He carried the person high in the air. He saw the sea. He carried the person. He put him [on] *suLášibí*.

"jirowągLə ká-séte[254] tsirú báL šə mé duLuná ną?" jéra je bigətsa sibote ró sejé təwəgLəcąiwą.

2. ká tsirú-ta ká mé-ta. išie teisuą tsó jeiró. butsáite. bawąite. šaite sibə jek šauateišogé nębi, atára kate išeguna.

3. ąerá[255] tsitLá kegLə chuLtuajqmi. jéska sejé tuaktsajte kokobLó-ra jegəpa sibote só páktsiwąne kóLbaga. teišá jerá, "s-ditsó bLogę."

6. šís mą išə Logap'u[256]

1. twa išə Logap'u taj sąkówak šugúta. sąkąská,[257] Logap'u kié Logap'u. kábota[258] taj, ju ikəbi, suLášibí, eska isęrgę Logap'u taj. pé migęiwą išibaLá šakə šə, kai doté sertsó.

2. wąite dikatəgLə kaLgLə.[259] sertsó jie-jekpatkaua. Logap'u sertsó clemira. ketkə datewa eiktugLuwąwá.

3. Logap'u butsagaj-te suLášibí. sertsó menéwą siwą kəbi.[260] dəše suai-te. sertsó menéiwą. magąi-te suLášibí.

[246] Literally, "with."
[247] Literally, "in."
[248] Le., broke the gourd off.
[249] Le., the cacao.
[250] This is one of the clans the medicine men come from. *See* Social Organization.
[251] Name of a high forest land at the source of the Tiliri River.
[252] A stilt palm (*Iriartea* sp.).
[253] The Cabécares say that a *chonta* or *pejibaye* knife is understood as that is all they had in those days
[254] *-ste* is akin to a double negative.
[255] There is no reason except sound for the varied forms of "then."

[412]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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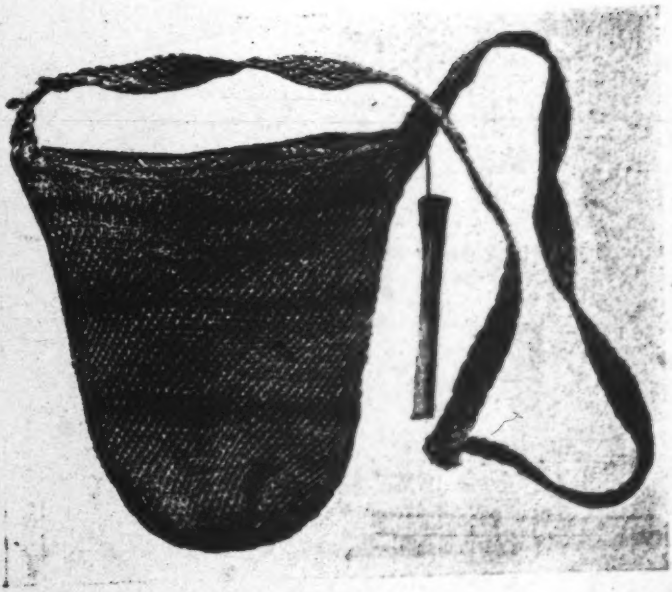

BAG WITH DOUBLE POCKET FOR CARRYING BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth of bag, 7½ inches)

[facing p. 58]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

411 about six inches from the muzzle, the end farthest from the user. These are sights, explained by the Indians as "eyes, so that the gun can see where to shoot" (pl. XVII, *c*). Of course these blowguns are suitable only for securing small game.

As an accessory to the blowgun, the Bribri carry small bags intended to hold the earthen pellets used as ammunition. Pl. IX [415] shows one of these bags, which has two compartments, one for the pellets, the other for game. Attached to it is a bone gauge, used ● [413] to reduce the pellets to the proper caliber for use. Pl. X exhibits another small, narrow, but deep bag for blowgun pellets.

[413] Gabb speaks of a small, straight, heavy piece of bone carried by the hunters and used to drive obstructions out of the tube by its own weight, in case of stoppage. None of these were seen by the writer.

In making blowgun pellets, special clay is obtained. That seen in use among the Bribri was gray, but some balls in the possession of a Cabecar hunter were made of red earth. The clay is brought to camp and dried, then ground fine on a stone mortar,

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
● 413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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417]

[413
284]

a, b, Distant views of Boruca village. c, Rice-cutter (actual size). d, Extraction of sugar cane juice.

[p. 53]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty [386] purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen] while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. 342 [231]

This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept [the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle.] [Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao] lie without order on the ground. Generally in this quarter one may see also [the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano] One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces [415] [354] [415] 412

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

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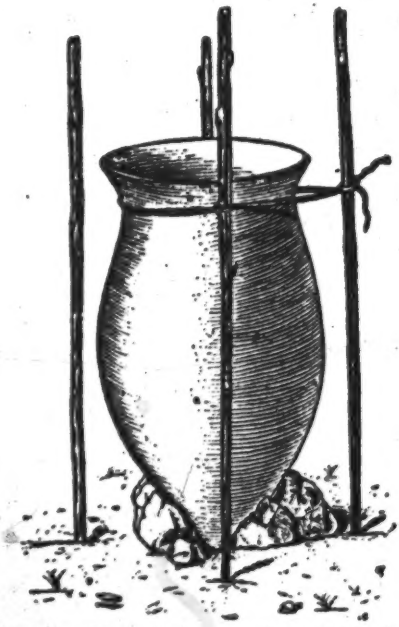

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

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354 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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LARGE CARRYING BAG
(Depth, 24 inches)

[facing p. 54]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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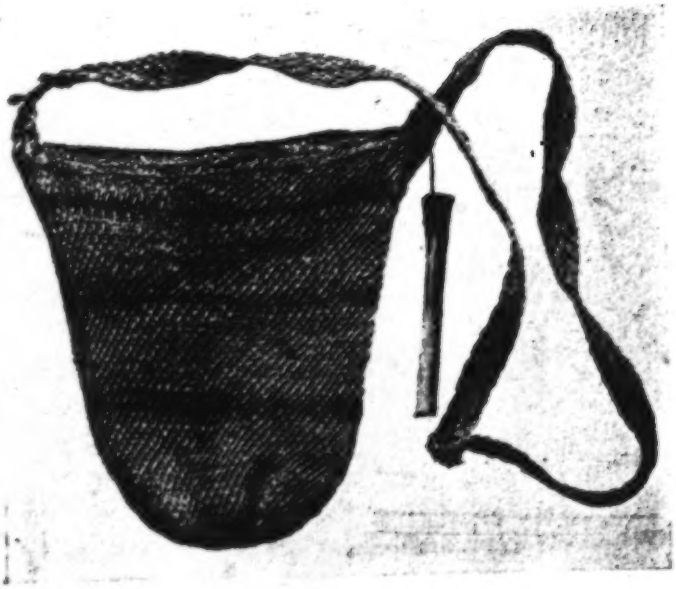

BAG WITH DOUBLE POCKET FOR CARRYING BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth of bag, 7½ inches)

[Facing p. 58]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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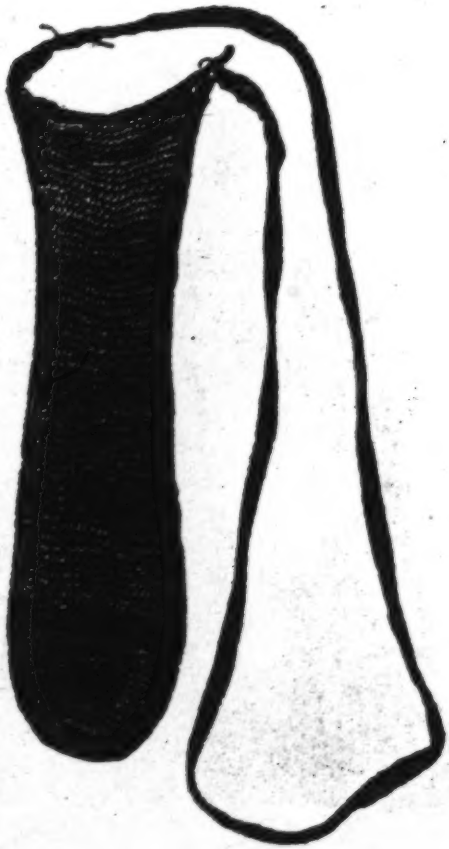

BAG FOR BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth, 6 inches)

[facing p. 59]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

with the bag. They are by no means so handsome as the bright-colored bags made by the Valiente Indians nearer the coast, and the Bribri complain that their manufacture will soon be a lost art, except among those dwelling in the remote forest fastnesses, whence the greater supply now comes. Nevertheless, at present the bags are plentiful, and abundant specimens of numerous weaves were secured, ranging in size from tiny pockets, intended to contain clay blowgun pellets, to large receptacles for transporting plantains.

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Pl. v represents a large carrying bag, the ground color of which is white, traversed by two transverse horizontal bands in brown. It is of the same technique as the specimen shown in Mason's work,[10] which the author describes as "a coiled carrying bag from Chiriqui, Colombia, and is a type of an enormous amount of ware to be found in Middle America . . . . and is called in this monograph coiled work without foundation . . . . the twine constituting the fabric interlocks with the stitch underneath and makes a complete revolu-

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[171]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

The edge is similar to that shown in pl. VI, except that it is a single row. The strap for carrying is only an 18-strand net. 286

Pl. VIII shows the detail of a small bag, woven like the last, except that each loop connects singly with its neighbor, and does not take in groups of two, as in pl. VII.

Pl. IX represents a small, double-pocket bag woven like that shown in pl. VI. The bag is intended for carrying clay blowgun pellets, with a division reserved for small game. A bone pellet gauge is attached to the edge. The edge differs from the others in that it is made up of two strands, and the strap for carrying is 20-ply. 286 415

Pl. X shows a small, elongate receptacle, designed for carrying blowgun pellets. The carrying strap is made similarly to all the others, but is of two-strand net. The bag is of coil without foundation work.

The bag of which a detail is illustrated in pl. XI is based on the coil without foundation process, except that, instead of alternating the pairs of loops, they are directly opposite throughout. The cord of which the 286

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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BRIBRI FAMILY TRAVELING, SHOWING BURDEN BASKET IN USE, ALSO THE METHOD OF CARRYING A CHILD.

[facing p. 62]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [854] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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[854]

also the method of carrying a child on the back of a Bribri woman when traveling.

A specimen of a handsome type of basket, made of split palm-leaves or of cane, fashioned in a diagonal twilled technique like some of the baskets of the Alibamu, Choc-

FIG. 4. Basket for holding trinkets (diam. 9½ in.).

taw, and other Indians of our Gulf states, is illustrated in fig. 4. Such baskets are used for holding trinkets, and are not common.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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Calabashes.—No utensils are more common among the Bribri than vessels made of calabashes. Gourds nearly globular in shape, with a small, round hole cut in the apex (fig. 5, *a*), serve for water bottles, while the simplest form of dish or cup is a

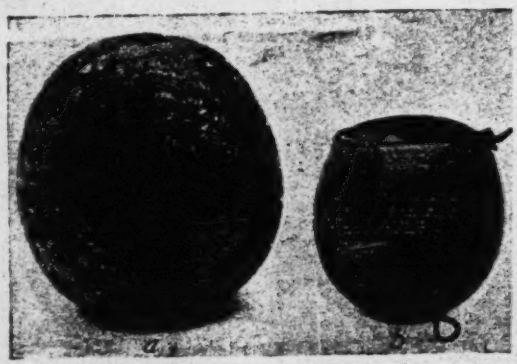

FIG. 5.—Calabashes used as receptacles.

half gourd without decoration. These, or coconut-shells, are sometimes pierced at opposite sides and are furnished with a fiber cord for suspension or carrying (fig. 5, *b*). Thus equipped, they are used as salt dishes.

[531] These gourd receptacles are frequently ornamented with rudely incised designs.

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SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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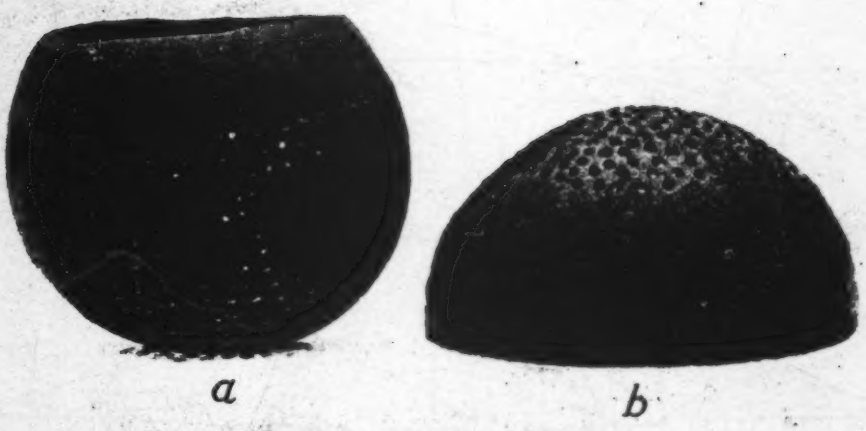
[Pacing p. 65]



CALABASH SIEVES
(Diameter of rim: *a*, 5½ in.; *b*, 8 in.)

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Fig. 6, *b*, represents a bowl or cup marked with four T and Y shaped figures, while *a* of the same illustration shows a stellar design with a divided triangle on one side and a T figure on the other. 531 415

Fig. 7 is the most elaborately ornamented calabash bowl collected; it is decorated with [532]

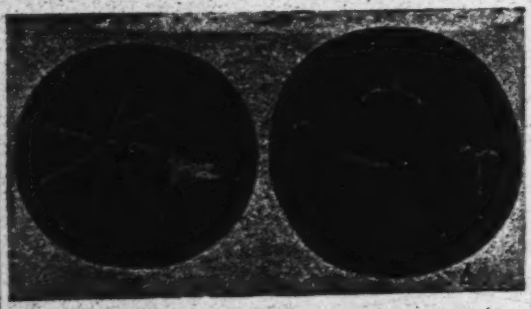


FIG. 6.—Decorated calabashes.

the figure of a steamship, anchored at both ends, and furnished with two nondescript flags, several fairly complicated geometrical figures, the date *1 Mayo*, and the initials *R. M.* Although not obtained from him, it is possible that this vessel may have been made by Ramon, the "king."

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

415 Another type of vessel is a sieve, or colander, made from the shell of a calabash, shown in pl. XIV, *a*. The rim is left intact, but the rest of the utensil is riddled with holes, though a suggestion of a pattern is

[531]
[532]

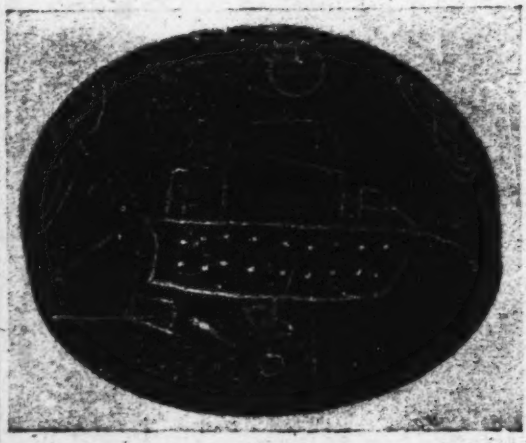

FIG. 7.—Decorated calabash receptacle.

left untouched. The rim bears some crude, etched figures, including one resembling a conventionalized butterfly. The calabash, where cracked, is laced together with fiber string passed through two holes bored in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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EARTHENWARE JAR FOR CHICHA
(Height, 16 in.)

[facing p. 67]

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

opposite sides of the break. Pl. xiv, *b*, shows another utensil, similar to the last, but shallower. These objects are used as sieves for corn flour. 415

Pottery.—Possibly the most interesting of all Bribri household articles are the huge pottery jars (pl. xv, xv, *a*) used in fermenting *chicha*, the native intoxicant. According to information given by the Indians, these vessels are made of selected clay, which is ground on a metate and mixed with crushed, burnt stone, or coarse sand. The clay is then dampened and made into rolls, and the vessels are built up, coil by coil, and the rolls smoothed. On some abandoned camp-sites, large potsherds, broken so that they plainly showed the coils as well as the tempering, were found. After being shaped and smoothed, the vessels are dried slowly in the shade for several days; then one vessel at a time is taken outdoors, wood is heaped over them, and they are fired. 323 415 [273]

In shape these vessels differ entirely from the pottery found in the graves at Las Mercedes, but resemble the pointed-base Algonkian jars of the Atlantic coast of North America 415 171

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

415 North America. The Indians relate a tradition that without pointed bases the jars would not fire well. Several variations in form were seen. These are nearly all very large, averaging at least three feet in height, and of a capacity of many gallons. Smaller vessels are unusual. None of the vessels observed bore the slightest ornamentation.

Wooden Utensils.—On several occasions, [322] large, round, wooden bowls, shaped like shallow basins, were observed. They were clumsy and thick, and not to be compared with the fine specimens made by many of the North American tribes.

Pl. XVI represents a very simple dish, made by folding the ends of a strip of the leaf of the platanillo and sewing them together.

Mortars and Pestles.—Fig. 8 shows a type 412 of heavy horizontal mortar frequently seen in the Indian camps. These are made of great logs of mahogany or of other hard wood, sometimes as much as ten or twelve feet long, with the cavity for the corn hewn in one side. The wooden pestles used with

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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LARGE POTTERY JAR FOR BREWING CHICHA
(Height, 31 inches)

facing p. 69

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

PL. XVI

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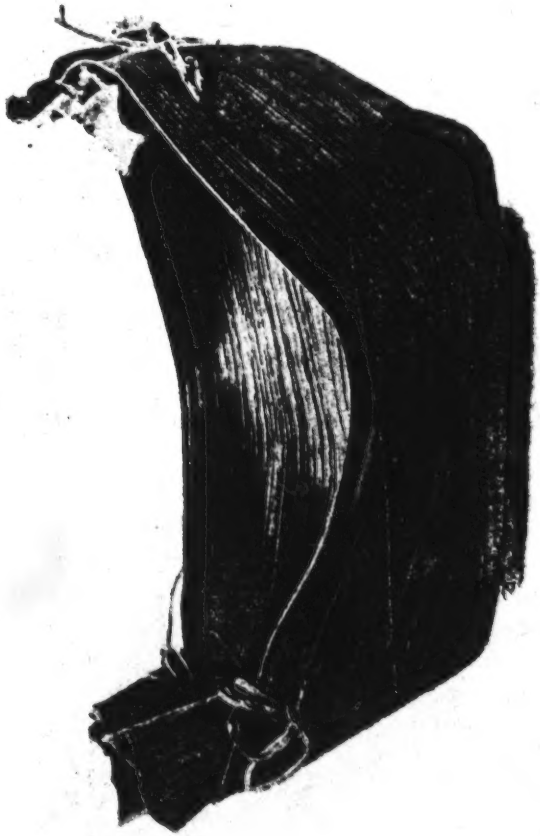

DISH MADE OF A PLATANILLO LEAF

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 71]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

411 about six inches from the muzzle, the end farthest from the user. These are sights, explained by the Indians as "eyes, so that the gun can see where to shoot" (pl. XVII, *c*). Of course these blowguns are suitable only for securing small game.

As an accessory to the blowgun, the Bribri carry small bags intended to hold the earthen pellets used as ammunition. Pl. IX [415] shows one of these bags, which has two compartments, one for the pellets, the other for game. Attached to it is a bone gauge, used [413] to reduce the pellets to the proper caliber for use. Pl. X exhibits another small, narrow, but deep bag for blowgun pellets.

Gabb speaks of a small, straight, heavy [413] piece of bone carried by the hunters and used to drive obstructions out of the tube by its own weight, in case of stoppage. None of these were seen by the writer.

In making blowgun pellets, special clay is obtained. That seen in use among the Bribri was gray, but some balls in the possession of a Cabecar hunter were made of red earth. The clay is brought to camp and dried, then ground fine on a stone mortar,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 ● 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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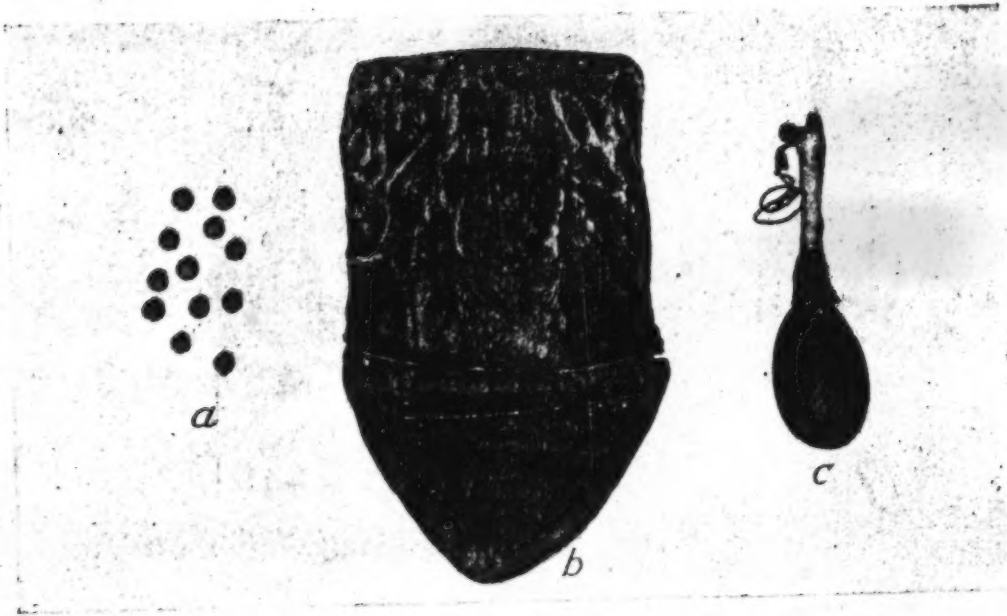

BLOWGUN PELLETS OF CLAY: LEATHER POUCH: SHAMAN'S CALABASH RATTLE
(Length of the rattle, 7¼ inches)

[facing p. 59]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
● 415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca*
[415] is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural
[412] boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 When food is not taken by hand from the
415 vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 One of the most important elements of food
[263 of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the
484] famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-kra'* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquianos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa [439] Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c–4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain [155] cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

● 415 [824] **Gourds.** One of the most important everyday artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[21] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture [534] (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 Glues. Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 Pottery. Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[21] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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6, Ox and Indian woman laden with grasses for a roof. *b*, Artifacts of the *Boruca*: 1, mantle or skirt; 2, hole; 3, doll; 4, *maraca* or rattles; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, sieve. *c*, Artifacts of the *Boruca*: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, basket; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. *d*, Woman wearing the mantle, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

415
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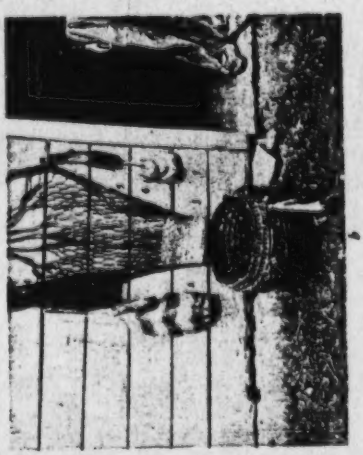

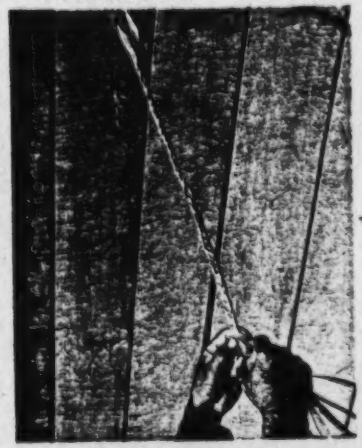

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a, Girls bakes with oranges in bakes in front of school house. *b*, Carriage artifacts used by the Bocuas; 1, bakes; 2, 4, 7, string bags made by the Talamanca peoples; 3, bakes; 5, string bag made by the Bocuas; 6, hammock made by the Bocuas. *c*, Maguey ready for use. *d*, Sample of rope technique.

[p. 58]

[P.11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the ● [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting [857] birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokəL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[2] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or [415] cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*havas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[2] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

[P. 16(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16(B)--GNALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16(B)--GNALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This
[252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these
251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black
[824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening,
231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh
● 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by women from the vine called *kugaca* in C
824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging
352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely
177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Tala-
[192] manca there is no word to designate these shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves-
[272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

[1] [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *hekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.
[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
low stool is always present but a chair and a
[352] table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are [462] three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made [824] in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild [415] rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
●415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
[824] needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[231] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

● 415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made. The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [281] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to [767] resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namú* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namú*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [188]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namú*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namú* and his uncle, *aroromsa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because [521] when *aroromsa* smokes cigars there is a breeze.

as five or eight men together.

[188] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

[776]
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[82]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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285

a

b

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516
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354
415
231

c

d

a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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491
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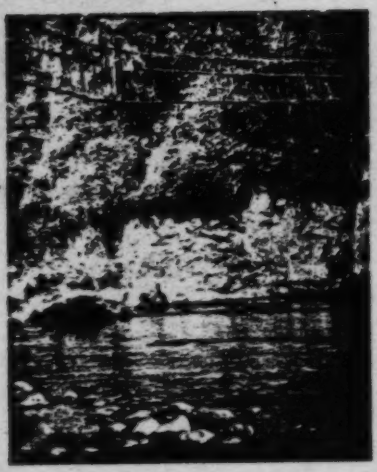
764



a

b

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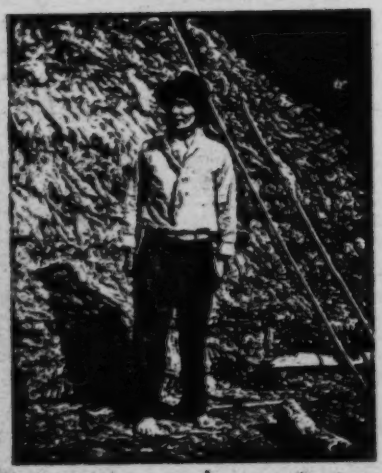
756
778

c



d

a, Vine bridge, Alto Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). b, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alto Coen. c, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. d, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

415
417

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

342 In the two circular houses of chiefs that
352 still remained, the arrangement of household
354 furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

[77 648 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature [132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no [363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and south-eastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap- [346 177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture. [351 417] Although most of the houses have no fences, a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* [245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or 312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming. The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] * A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress,
even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are
located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis
River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense
forest and thickets. As a consequence, they
are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-
in, and, for many months of the year,
mosquito ridden. These villages have even
less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca.
Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly
hidden houses to the other. There are no
churches or schools, and perhaps there is one
fence in both communities. Water is obtained
from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river
bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the
town, but unlike the other river villages, the
community itself is open and free of the bush.
Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to
lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American
sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school,
several saloons and stores, the houses all with
fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets
connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its
indigenous characteristics in the still ample
space or gardens around the houses, and, of
course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE
ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence
is nearly always made with living posts, 417

417 usually from the *poro-poro* tree[16] (*Cochlospermum bibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco*
[324] *de fuego*, or *brutʃ-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced.
241 One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *ímbah*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

243 The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black[18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum bibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

[p. 6-A]

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanazira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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[249
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[413
284]

a, b, Dance views of Boruca village. c, Rice-cover (actual size). d, Extraction of sugar cane juice.

[p. 53]

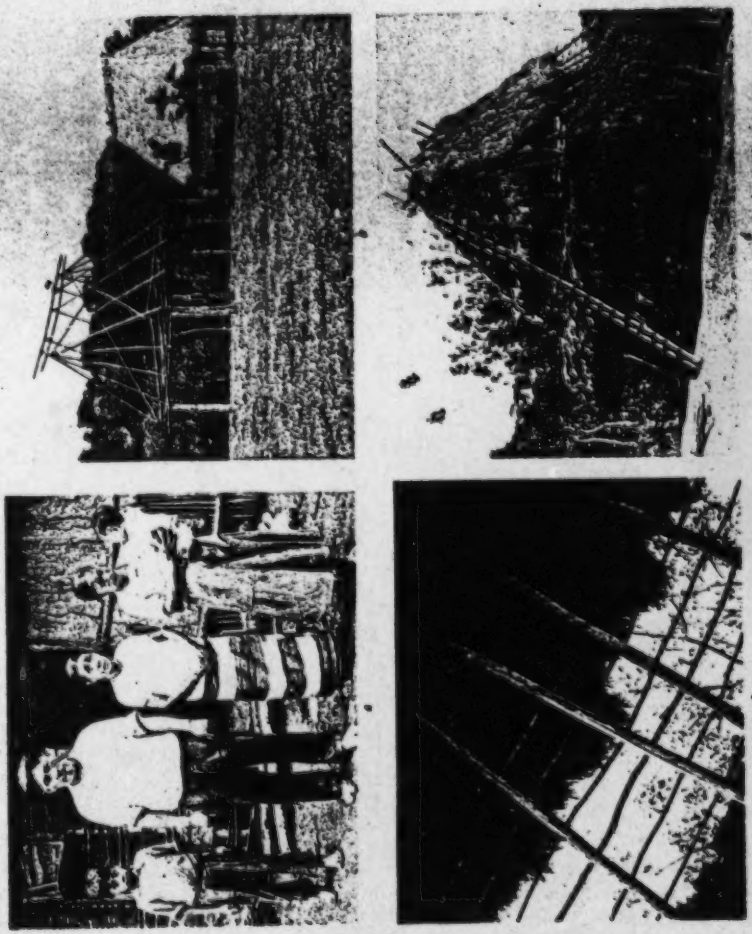
3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

342

[417]

[291
854]



6. Two types of house construction in same house. A, Bare framework of roof, Palmar Norte. B, Roof framework in more advanced stage, Boruca.
2, Partly finished roof showing framework, grass, and ladder.

[p. 56]

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of • [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ¼ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hierbas molidas, y en muy pocas

¼ [See category 116, End Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
[192] *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for
lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
[184] manca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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226
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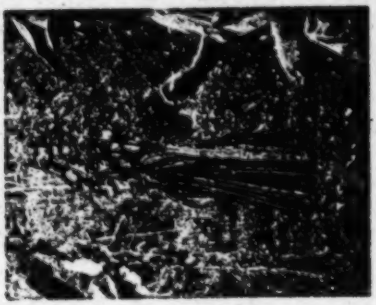
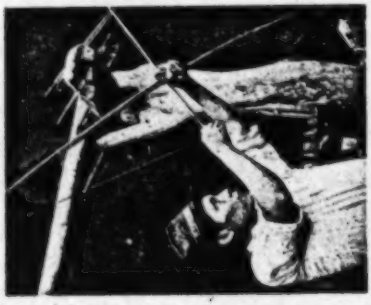
b



d



a

c

a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. *b*, Shooting fish. *c*, Using a blow gun. *d*, Shelter for chickens.

[END Plate 2]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [251] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

The late Theodoor de Booy once called the writer's attention to the fact that in certain of the West India islands planting dibbles were used as warclubs, and according to Fewkes, while every warclub among the Porto Rico Indians was not a dibble, every dibble was a warclub.[11] Our specimen bears upon its broad end the striation caused by contact with the earth, and on its side hacks and scars of sidewise blows as though it had seen use as a quarter staff. The handle shows a figure which seems to be a property mark.

411
412
[171]
[422]

Gabb[12] says:

"In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting sticks. It is very heavy, and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an 'over-blow,' always holding by both hands . . . . During the wars between the Bri-bris and Tiri-bis at the beginning of this century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir."

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[442] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/4]
794 In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
231 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
422 the patron of the community, roam the savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca ricinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[627] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[692] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[681] usual method is for the family of the culprit
[184] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[423] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
692 not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
[565] classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] [423] pertains to personal effects and the house. When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

449 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [136] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 648 **Land Tenure.** The *Boruca* consider the territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be [609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 311 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest 423 cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church. 794 Each individual is required to do his share of [476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on [735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which 311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 35(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)—Qualyst]
825

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
324 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the
[177] Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in regard to marriage is illustrated by the forma-
614 tion of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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[240] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
624 select the first and second mayordomos of the church, and the two women who are to cook for the church. These personages function during *fiestas* or the visits of the priest, and are appointed yearly. If there is a change in the personnel, the former mayordomo has to hand over all the religious symbols and whatever money there may be to the new one.

437 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.** The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the
426 habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of
175 trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Texabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things."

[continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

" See Informe, 1697.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

764 768 The custom of burying or otherwise placing with the dead all of his valuables, evidently existed at one time with these people. The Tiribis, who bury their dead, did so, up to within the memory of persons still living, and all matters that could not be buried, like live stock, fruit trees, &c., were ruthlessly destroyed. A more practical method has grown up [428] with the present generation, and they now divide the property of the defunct among the heirs, with as much avidity as in more enlightened communities. So do the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but these compound with their consciences. Whether the Teribis have a similar custom, I am not prepared to say, not having seen a funeral, and having no information that I consider sufficiently trustworthy.

766 The next step after lighting the fire, was for the master of ceremonies, appointed by mutual consent, to cause to be collected some small scrapings of a peculiar wood, called Palo Cacique by the Spaniards. It is a wood used only for walking sticks, and will be again referred to in that connection. He also obtained a large lump of cotton wool, some seeds of a species of pumpkin, and a small root of sweet yucca. All the male friends of the deceased present, seated themselves on low benches in a double line, facing each other, with another bench between. A part of the cotton, spread out so as to make a bulk about the size of a man's hand, was placed in front of the principal person, who then began in a sing-song tone between a recitation and a chant, to relate the merits and deeds of their departed brother. As he proceeded, and mentioned for instance that he had planted much corn, he laid carefully on the cotton a piece of shaving which he said was the "planting stick" used in that operation. Another laid aside of it a piece of pumpkin seed, which represented the corn. Another taking up the song, related how he had shot fish, and another shaving was the arrow. An impromptu string a couple of inches long, twisted out of the cotton, and stained red with the powder from some annatto seeds, was a rope with which he had led a cow, bought years before in Terraba. This lasted for an hour, until every tool or weapon he had ever used was represented by a little pile of seeds and shavings on the cotton. But he was a great man and his "eagle" was not to be forgotten. A very rude imitation of it was cut out of the skin of the yucca root and placed on top of all his other property, and then the edges of the cotton were doubled over making all into a ball. This was placed on his breast, next his body, and he was thus armed and equipped with all he had used or owned in this world, ready for use in the other; and his heirs none the poorer.

The body was then enveloped in the piece of "mastate" or bark cloth that he had used as a blanket, together with the hammock in which he swung. A quantity of "platanillo" leaves, a leaf not unlike that of the plantain, but only half the size and much tougher, were placed on the ground, two or three deep. The bundle was laid on this, the edges of the leaf envelope, doubled over, and dexterously tied by strips of bark string and the whole turned out a very respectable Egyptian mummy done in

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to
nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the
property at the death of an individual. If the
male members are too young, then the oldest
female member does the dividing. Concerning
the property, we may judge the economy of
the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from
the situation in Boruca, the largest single com-
munity of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows.
These are owned by sixteen individuals, no
man having more than six. There are forty-
seven houses in the town, however, and there
is an ox for the majority of the households, at
least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens.
In addition to this, there are four bulls, each
one with a separate owner, and twenty horses
divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a me-
dium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an 234]
inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
older communal relationship are seen in the
former lack of individual farms, and today,
in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians.
When a new house is to be built, the man who [342]
wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help,
after he has collected the necessary material.
They all join together, and the construction
is ready in a short space of time, the owner
giving chicha, and often food to the helpers.
It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but
formerly by the council, the men gather to
cut the grass and to "clean" the village of
Boruca. They go systematically from house
to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This
helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary
spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of 625
political organization have disappeared. The
outstanding authority is the police agent, who
is an Indian, but is appointed by the Govern- 625
ment of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
[614] journey to the other world through song. The Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrehué*, or *sinąhrwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *sini*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənitsrwa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéhrwak* in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
184 man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

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443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

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756 term is *sią* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
778 *swa*. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves. Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to the medicine man on special occasions, or are handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan. When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish to give his own stones to a young professional, his brother or clan keeps them until a new doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without these two stones although other ones are also used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the particular animal when one hunts and it is for this reason the Indians say that medicine men never lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose a medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been pre-
[431] sented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of choco-
late, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green
corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made
[123] friends, fared sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse any-
thing.

The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet
342 in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long
poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of
withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on
a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a
third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring,
if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not rest-
ing on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched
with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop
the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large,
squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes
made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark.
Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular
form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and
the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now
most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the
ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a
roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at
both ends. The Tiribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts,
sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon
told me that formerly the Tiribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses
like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness.
The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even
in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to
put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The
Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better fur-
nished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made
by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-
sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the
sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made
of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together.
In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends
of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by plac-
ing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as
they burn off. Over the fire is a barbacue or frame, sufficiently high to
let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way
of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient
protection from the latter

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[824] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to [888] as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, presents of a piece of game are made to a ● 431 neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 484 [576] Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
● 432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

ground down to form discs. The boring of the teeth in this necklace is also of interest, as the holes are rimmed in from both sides, in an old aboriginal style. The small teeth at the end may be those of monkeys. Pl. xx, *b*, is an amulet of jaguar and other teeth strung with small, white-glass trade beads. 301 [321]

Several children's necklaces of monkey and raccoon teeth were observed, but the writer was not able to obtain any.

Pl. xx, *a*, represents an interesting necklace, composed of shell disc beads ground from a species of conus, and with a single heavy bead as a central piece. Beads of this heavy cylindrical type are valued highly by the Bribri. Ramón exhibited several of them, each of which he valued at the price of a cow, and one massive pink-and-white cylindrical pendant which he valued at two cows. The beads were costly, he said, because they required so much labor to manufacture and the material is not easily acquired. Ramón declared that such beads were the insignia of chiefs, and were more valued by the Indians than the 301 435 [321]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

301 [435] golden eagles formerly common among them, the latter being much easier to make.

Headdress.—Pl. XXI represents a man's headdress made of the tail-down of an eagle, as described by Gabb. The pure white, fluffy feathers are attached in clusters to a woven cotton head-band of white with red stripes.

Pl. XXII shows another warrior's head-gear, the foundation of which is trade cloth, upon which, in front, are gummed alternate [237] rows of blue and red feathers, with a crest of yellow.

Pl. XXIII, *a*, illustrates an old head-band consisting of a canvas fillet on which are mounted half a dozen long, draggled feathers of the red macaw.

While the Bribri wear no nose or cheek plugs, they say that this custom is still in vogue among some of the neighboring tribes. These ornaments are said to be made of tapir bone, and are three or four inches long, slender and cylindrical. When [727] taken by the Bribri from a slain enemy, they are highly valued as war trophies.

000 *Bark and Fiber Articles.*—Besides the

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 41(B)—ANALYST]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
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177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to
[484] travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 41(B)—ANALYST]

[435] [141] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[142] Usually 100 pounds.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; ~~guns~~ and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela*;[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
484 Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[143] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

[p. 40(B)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

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756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabé-
[614] car, an aspirant must belong to one of the following clans: túgwa, bLeriwa, sibawa, sonjtswa, ʒoʒawa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwík.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred
[198] songs with words in an ancient or secret
[778] language unknown to the general public. These last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri
[754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and
[436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Talamancan religion begins with the great God
778 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things
776 and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[440] Aguilar P., 1953.
[441] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Otón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

medium-sized *haba*, the strips are usually 285
around 30 inches long, while the largest are around 50 inches. The base of the *haba* is triangular with the corners and two sides rounded. The third side is kept flat to fit more steadily on a person's back. In making the basket, the strips are placed on the ground and the foot put over as many ends as possible to hold the pieces in place. The opposite ends are left free, and the weaving is done with the fingers (see fig. 9, *a*). The pattern resulting from this is a hexagon (see fig. 7, *b–1*). When the base is completed the strips are doubled upward and interwoven, particularly at the corners, and horizontal strips are added as strengthening bands at the start and finish of every hexagon, the pattern remaining the same as that of the base. At the very top, a horizontal band is overlapped by the main strips and woven into the rim. A wide ribbon of the vine is fastened around the *haba* when used for carrying. This band is suspended from the [482]
forehead of a person, and the basket hangs flat on his back (see fig. 8, *a*).

Baskets are also made from the *bejuco negro*, or, preferably, from the vine called *anda-riel* (see p. 11). These baskets are circular with a decided bulge or projection a little above the base. They vary in size from short baskets with handles to very tall ones (see fig. 7, *c*). The strips used for the baskets are cut narrower than those for the *haba*, and may be added to in order to increase the depth of the article. As with the *haba*, the strips are put on the ground at the start. They are crossed, however, in the center, and another strip is then tied to this center portion or base, and is woven in and out of the projecting strips by hand. Adding of strips to make the basket larger is accomplished by weaving a strip well into the basket until an end appears on the other side of the base.

Weaving. The *Boruca* are today the only 286
Indians of Costa Rica who do any weaving, in spite of the fact that they do very little. In 1945, there were only six women in the village of Boruca who wove skirts, *mantas*, and one woman who wove only men's belts. Almost 283
all the women and many of the girls, however, 286
knew how to make thread. A common practice was to make thread and give it to one of 437

* Barrett, 1925, pt. II, pp. 252, 258.

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[437 a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The
283 best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[286] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[139] generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
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> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Terabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things.*

[continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

* See Informe, 1697.

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife [429] remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[149]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[149] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[457] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary
[231] to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side, 464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 41(B)—QUALYST]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 41(B)—QUALYST]

[435] [140] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[140] Usually 100 pounds.

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardily 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tirlid procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tiribis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no [248]
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it,

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a litle more than a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Be- [386] sides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to coagulate and turn black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 222 314 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes, axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot, and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell net-bags and hammocks to the Tiribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsaparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cows, of which they might have enough and to spare for the mere trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race. 439 438

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadelphia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students. 114

Vol I, Chapter VII. p. 694, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 687 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Vallentes, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Ilamas, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

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[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
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[continued top of page 24-B]

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[continued bottom of page 24-B]

* See Infierno, 1697.

Pittier[30] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*. 438 175

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*–2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral. 438 648 [317 263]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of 796

[30] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

[p. 24-B]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 648

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hevas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is
[137] among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
[438] times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into
[462] thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[46] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made [227] from the same material and in the same technique.

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [431] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have
[177] attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[Text continues top of P. 41(B)—Quality]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawi* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[Text continues bottom of P. 41(B)—Quality]

[435] [145] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[146] Usually 100 pounds.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejibalis* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilik*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

757 to apply to the traders for medicines for fever. All go to Mr. Lyon in case of snake-bite, and when taken in time, he says he has never failed to cure a case with either ammonia or iodine, as seemed to be indicated. It may be interesting to note that after obtaining no relief with one of those medicines, he has given the other, and with immediate good results. He gives the iodine in the form of alcoholic tincture in 10 to 15-drop doses, every 10 to 15 minutes. Some of them seem to believe in the incantations of the *Asas* or doctors, but foreign medicines are gradually gaining ground over sorcery. For rheumatic pains, headaches, &c., there are two remedies used. The simplest is counter-irritation by whipping with nettle leaves. The other is bleeding. The lancet is made usually from the tongue of a jew's-harp, broken off at the angle and sharpened to a point. This is set at right angles in a little stick for a handle, and is used by holding it over the affected part and striking it briskly with a finger. They never regularly open a vein and draw off a quantity of blood, but every stroke makes a separate puncture, from which only a few drops exude. At Horubeta I saw a man bled to relieve the aching of fatigue in his arms. He had been scraping *agave* leaves, to extract the fibre for hammocks. He had at least fifty punctures made over his two arms.

The natural products of the country are principally sarsaparilla root and india rubber. The sarsaparilla vine is green, angular, and covered with thorns. It grows very long and climbs over bushes and even trees in the more open parts of the forest. At short distances it is jointed, and if it touches the ground every joint sends out a new set of roots. The leaves are large and acuminately oval and have three longitudinal ribs, the midrib and two parallel ones, half way between the middle and the edge. The fruit is round and grows in a cluster something like grapes. The vine has a tap-root, and besides sends out a large number of horizontal roots near the surface of the ground, and from six to ten feet long. The sarsaparilla hunter first clears away carefully all the bushes and undergrowth with his machete. He then, with a hooked stick, digs into the ground at the base of the vine until he loosens the earth and finds where the best roots are. The tap-root is never disturbed, and it is customary to dig up only half the roots at a time, to avoid killing the vine. Having selected those that look most promising, he places his hand under one or two and gently lifting them, follows their course with his hooked stick, loosening the soil and lifting them out, following them to their ends. They are then cut off, the dirt carefully replaced around the vine, and the roots laid in the sun, or hung up to dry. A vine yields generally from four to nine pounds of green roots. When dry they are tied into cylindrical rolls a foot long and four or five inches thick, weighing about a pound.

222
439
314

India rubber is obtained by scoring the bark of the trees obliquely. Several cuts are placed one above another and in pairs converging downwards; the sap being directed in its flow by a leaf placed at the bottom, which serves as a spout, to direct it into the vessel placed to receive it.

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to coagulate and turn black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 222 314 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes, axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot, and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell net-bags and hammocks to the Tribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsaparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cocao, of which they might have enough and to spare for the mere trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race. 439 438

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadelphia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students. 114

Vol I. Chapter VII. p. 684, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 684 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Vallentos, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Ramas, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel."

286 [292] [386] [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri.

[531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanagira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *mastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their hair, seldom appearing with less than two [139] combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two 302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

TRANSPORTATION

481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The 482 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

[139] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 198.

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[457] a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than
283 the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving
[236] instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the
[248] seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[439] generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

[p. 16-B]

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-kra'* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquíanos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* [439] towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c–4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8). [439 524]

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao. 324

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 [825] The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[82] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 [783] **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camíbar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camíbar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[82] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to
nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the
property at the death of an individual. If the
male members are too young, then the oldest
female member does the dividing. Concerning
the property, we may judge the economy of
the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from
the situation in Boruca, the largest single com-
munity of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows.
These are owned by sixteen individuals, no
man having more than six. There are forty-
seven houses in the town, however, and there
is an ox for the majority of the households, at
least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens.
In addition to this, there are four bulls, each
one with a separate owner, and twenty horses
divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a me-
dium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an 234]
inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
older communal relationship are seen in the
former lack of individual farms, and today,
in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians.
When a new house is to be built, the man who [542]
wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help,
after he has collected the necessary material.
They all join together, and the construction
is ready in a short space of time, the owner
giving chicha, and often food to the helpers.
It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but
formerly by the council, the men gather to
cut the grass and to "clean" the village of
Boruca. They go systematically from house
to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This
helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary
spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of 625
political organization have disappeared. The
outstanding authority is the police agent, who
is an Indian, but is appointed by the Govern- 625
ment of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
[245] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
[272] sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated
[439] and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
[273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*,
[231] and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
[175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[66] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[29] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* remedies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
[415] leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegĽə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
low stool is always present but a chair and a
[352] table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
[824] in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
[353] remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's nests made of vine baskets or *bavas*, a wild plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[477] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[497] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have
[177] attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
● 439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 41(B)—ANALYST]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 41(B)—ANALYST]

[435] [141] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[142] Usually 100 pounds.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
484 Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[140] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the
648 government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into his own hands. On more than one occasion,
[439] he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria,
644 the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

● 443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but not in all. They are enclosed at night in small [417] houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ¼ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

¼ [see category 116, End Plate 2 - Analyst.]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás,
[492] Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/4]
794 In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
231 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
422 the patron of the community, roam the savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are
[211] accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

[461] The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
146 dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
262 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase without care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

123 acquired the title of *Asa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-su'-ku-ru* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *bu-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is an individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *bu-ku-ru'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461 the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273 man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-ar'-ku-ru* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *ba-ka-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *ba-ka-ru'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

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it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made [482]
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the field to the house.

The people of Tribl procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tribla, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin

it.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty [386] purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste 252
to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *mish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn [243]
is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. [412]
In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is [462]
always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If 273
it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uren. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 *Weaving.*—Two women's blanket skirts of woven cotton were obtained after considerable search, one of which is shown in pl. XVIII, *b*. As the manufacture of cotton cloth is now said to be a lost art, we must turn again to Gabb[14] for his observations.

"Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with
248 no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The
● [462] women collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it. The loom
286 is a simple frame of four sticks; the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow
[462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two or three inches wide and four or five feet long. Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a
292 little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the
286 dead and the women's petticoats are wider and

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The
various colors are secondary characteristics,
and cannot be classified as distinct speci-
mens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica,
only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and
is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning
about four or five in the afternoon. They
take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale
called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green
plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
primary clearing of the forest to make the
[462] field is done by both men and women. The
felled trees are burned in the dry season, and
from then on, only the women, often assisted
by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas,
guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.),
Inga (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl]
Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias
purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassi-
folia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, al-
though apparently not cultivated today, may
well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed
from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad
machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly
evolved from a digging stick, and are made
with a wooden shaft or handle and a small
iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used
for digging holes or even cutting roots in the
field. Spades and an instrument called a
cuchillo, which is a long knife or machete, are
also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds
are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one
hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men.
For this purpose, an implement made of cow
horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is
sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between
the index and the third finger. The string
goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been
borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the
people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly
had homesteaded much of this area), and who
use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca*
inspiration. The cutters are frequently
decorated with lineal designs and initials (see
fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with
the right hand, the left being used to hold the
plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice
in from the fields, piling it in large baskets
called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion
(see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked,
and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or
so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed
erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank,
slightly indented in the center, is rested in the
fork with the other end against the live tree.
A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and
a banana leaf is placed between the plank and
the fork. Cane is put between the pole and
the plank. One person holds and pushes one
end of the cane and another pulls and receives
it, while a third pumps the pole up and down.
The cane is twisted to extract more juice as
it is pulled through the presser. The juice
runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a
canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed
on the ground. When the pressing is over, the
juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family
possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox.
The only one of these creatures which are
given any semblance of shelter are the
chickens, which, at night, are put in small
houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In
some households, there are dogs, which are
used for hunting, and occasionally cats and
birds. The birds are generally kept as pets,
although at times they are raised for food.

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, 5, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [854]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ha'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[30] Information given to the writer by Professor
[115] Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-B]

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-kra'* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquíanos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* [439] towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c–4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

323 reverting to make their clay cooking pots as
[177] before. There are several common pottery shapes. One kind is a large vessel with a pointed base which is slightly rounded, and a projection near the base, the neck indented, and a projecting rim. This type is called *kvure'* in Boruca, and resembles the Spanish *tinaja*. Other forms consist of smaller vessels with rounded base and a flat protruding rim, at times with a projecting nubbin, as if an attempt to portray a head, tail, and wings, such as is encountered on the pots found in ancient graves; and sometimes the *comal* or indented clay dish which is used for frying. Plain rounded vessels, often with a thumb-nail design on the border or rim, are common for cooking.

[462] Women are the potters. The usual way of making a vessel is to mash the clay, if soft, with the hands, and if hard, with a stick, until it is fine. Then a coil is made of this clay, and the coil doubled over to give more strength to the whole. The base is started with these coils in the manner of a large tortilla, or corn cake. A rounded wooden mold is used only for the base. The clay tortilla is put in the mold and shaped to the sides. Then coils of clay are added, and the vessel grows above the mold. Smoothing and evening are done with the hands. Once completed, the pot is left from fifteen days to one month within the house to dry. The excess clay is then removed with a knife, and the vessel is polished by rubbing it all over with a seed which comes from a vine called in Spanish *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna urens* [L.] DC.). A bed of firewood is made outside the house, and the vessel is placed in the center. Firewood is stacked around the pot until it is covered. Fire is set, and the wood burns away leaving the vessel intact. When a particularly strong pot is desired, a *masa* is added. This *masa* is ground corn mixed with water to form a paste. It is put both inside and outside of the vessel at the moment it is removed from the fire, and while it is still red from the heat. After the pot is cold, the *masa* is removed.

383 Rubber. The use of rubber does not seem
314 to be very ancient with the *Boruca*. The gum from the wild rubber tree which abounds in the vicinity (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) is

[p. 19-B]
occasionally used on the dug-out canoes.

241 Women formerly felled trees and did as
462 much field labor as the men. Today, however,
[178] *women do not clear the forest although they* do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these
241 peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye,* cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The
[137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).
245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are
262 in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63]
[137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 This basic diet is supplemented with several
241 varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American food-
[177] stuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [178] from the police agent in Talamanca and the [625] organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [278] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called [824] *wiwəkri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
[415] hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[412] in every household although their number is
limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Havas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
[137] ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
[438] times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[193] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both
● [462] men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[49] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the
● [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico*
[482] (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala-
[227] manca to make conical fishing nets which closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí
[171] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets
[482] are made from it.

A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or
[824] *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *caburya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P 36(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar
614
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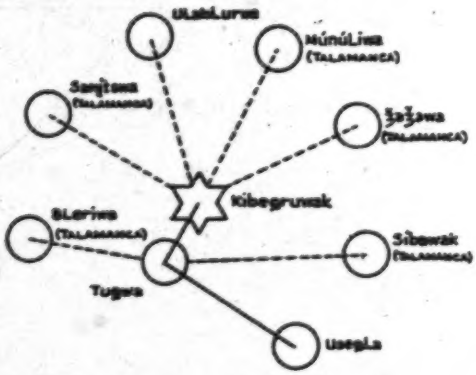

a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[Text continues middle of P. 36(B)--CMA/1/58]

manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

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177

Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing[117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

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463
[565]

262
614
[643]

[117] The *saLwak* and *tsirruriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupowak*.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; 464
but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame
with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tribi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Valientes, living beyond the Tribis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Valiente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin [283]
it.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[497] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 41(B)—QUALYST]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[749] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 41(B)—QUALYST]

[436] [illegible] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[illegible] Usually 120 pounds.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

● 464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from
484 the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[140] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *havas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty-[262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) [262] and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were
[775]

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[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

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RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-ar'-ku-ru* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *bu-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *bu-ku-ru'*.

● 474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461] the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273] man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 Land Tenure. The *Boruca* consider the
648 territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be
[609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3
311 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest
423 cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church.
794 Each individual is required to do his share of
[476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on
[735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which
311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

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savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own. 311

Property and Inheritance. The oldest male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people. 428

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an inheritance. The cows are seldom milked. 231 [556] [439] [556 234]

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot. 476 [342] [364]

Political Organization. Most traces of political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 625 625 623

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

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[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
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[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
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TRANSPORTATION

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825 the morning and in the afternoon.
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(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

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517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsɛn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəɲɛ́* which is a very strong term.

● 476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-ʒɔ (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[824] the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
[534] accompaniment is formed by an accordion, guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

*** Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *As* in Tiribi, *AsA* in Terraba, and *Ka-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bri-bris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these inhabit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are 776 778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who [753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Urcu, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-jums*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *ba-ka-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to 776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Asas* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck, breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who [226] were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak 324 further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent [298] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the [181]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

784 natives will admit. This penalty may be avoided, however, by calling in the services of the nearest shaman, who removes the taboo, or *búkuru*, by blowing upon the object and singing certain songs to the accompaniment of his medicine rattle. The following day it may be handled and disposed of with impunity.

226 *Fish Traps.*—Fish are taken by blocking small tributaries of a river and stranding them, by shooting with arrows or catching them in traps. Unfortunately none of these processes was observed, but pl. XXIX reproduces a photograph of a tributary of Coen river across which a temporary dam had been made to divert the course of the stream and leave the fish high and dry.

481 At this point we may mention the Bribri method of crossing swollen streams by means of the ingenious device of weighting themselves with heavy stones borne on the shoulders (pl. XXX). The writer did not have the good fortune to witness this performance, but we are enabled to introduce the accompanying illustration through the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

courtesy of Professor Saville, from whose collection of prints it came. 481 ●

Food.—Plantains are extensively used, and, eaten boiled, seem to form the staple diet of the Bribri. Bananas are also extensively eaten. According to Gabb,[19] the Indians roast green plantains as a substitute for bread, but when ripe they are roasted and eaten with chocolate, in order to sweeten the latter. They are also boiled green to eat with meat or corn. Ripe plantains are boiled, mashed, and mixed with equal quantities of corn-meal paste for cakes or chicha; sometimes this paste is diluted with water and made into a gruel. 262 252

Corn in a variety of colors is cultivated—red, white, blue, yellow, black, and purple. It is eaten when fresh, boiled in the ear; but it is generally dried, hulled, and ground to flour on a stone metate with a mano, or, as Gabb relates, on a flat slab from one of the buttresses of a ceiba tree, dressed smooth. The dry corn is soaked over night to soften it; it is then spread on the metate and crushed with the convex stone muller, which is rocked over it. The paste is then boiled,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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481

PL. XXX

BRIBRI METHOD OF CROSSING A STREAM

SKINNER—BRIBRI

facing p. 99

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *mastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their [439] hair, seldom appearing with less than two combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two 302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

TRANSPORTATION

●481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The 492 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

[a] Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 198.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

539 Brunka to his presence, and told him he could go, and to be careful not to wound hogs again without killing them. He also marked in his presence all the hogs he would be at liberty to kill. And the man went away through the woods, until he got to Krámra-ua,[1] where he met with a few of his kinsmen who were hunting hogs. When they saw the man who used to cure them, the hogs always ran to him, and never would go away, so that he could easily kill all those which had been marked for him. And he always advised his companions never to wound animals, but to kill them right away.

VII. DON PEDRO CASCANTE.

(Legend of the hollow trail of El Pito.[2])

487 In very remote times, when the Spaniards had not yet arrived in
773 these countries, the Indians only could climb up from the coast of Quepos to the high mountains of Dota by following the long and
[481] tiresome ridge of El Pito, bound together by means of the royal vine into files of ten to twenty, and pulled by witchcraft without any effort from their side. But, also, on each journey one man disappeared without the others being aware when or how, and that was the toll they paid for the dreaded ascent.

539 This great calamity had lasted for numberless years, and the trail to El Pito became deeper and narrower from day to day, on account of the way they had to go over it, bound together in long files, when a very holy missionary father left Cartago, riding a strong white mule, to go and win over the Indians. And as he was going down to the coast through the fearful road of El Pito, he met the "Encanto" which had taken the form of a big turkey, and would not get out of the road to let the holy man pass. Then the father became very angry; he alighted from his mule, bound the turkey with a blessed string, and dragged him down hill until they got to the place called "Alto de los Cotos." There he tied him to a large tree which he blessed, and told him that he would stay there up to the day of the final doom. And from that day hence, the "Encanto" never again annoyed the passers-by.

Only a certain Pedro Cascante, who had a large breeding-farm of mules and cattle, down on the plain of "El Calicanto," allowed himself to become a prey to his avarice, and on account of it, he lost his soul.

Cascante had become very rich by carrying out to San Marcos the

[103]

[1] Krámra-ua, name of a place on the lower Diquis.

[2] This trail, so deeply cut into the ridge of El Pito as to be tunnel-like at a few places, leads from San Marcos, once one of the principal residences of the Quepos Indians, down to the coastal plains of the Pacific.

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a, d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 20(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
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TRANSPORTATION

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[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

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RECREATION

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296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
● [481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béus*	*bəmitsęn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəŋé* which is a very strong term.

496 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
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[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipo* (coyeo).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame
with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tirlibi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Valientes, living beyond the Tiribis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Valiente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of [248]
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin it.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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192x needle	kuah di-ka'	Thorn.
negro	tsot-tso'+wak	*Tsot-tso*, dark; *wak*, man.
nest	du'+hu	*Du*, bird; *Au*, house.
new	ju'-ni	
night	nō-nye'-wi	
nipple	tsu+wo'+bō-ta	*Tsu-wo*, breast; *bō-ta'*, point.
no	au ke	Negation. Not.
nobody	ke'+ji	*Ke*, not; *ji*, who.
noise	ha-lar'	
noon	di'+bō-ta	See *midday*.
nose	ji'-kut	
not	ke kam	*A* as in father. Used only as follows—"*kam je bewo' betse'*" (not I fire prepared). "I have not kindled the fire."
nothing	ke'+ku shun'-tai	*Ke*, not; *ku*, more. Nothing whatever. Only used for "absolutely nothing."
now	i'-ya	See *here*, and *to-day*.
[482] [147] nuchal lump	ku-ii'+duk-wo	*Ku-ii*, see neck. The enlarged nuchal ligament caused by carrying heavy loads suspended from the forehead.
numerals		
192x 1	et	
802 2	but bul bui bo	Impersonal. Personal. Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
3	m-nyat' m-nyal' m-nyar' m-nyou'	Impersonal. Personal. Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
4	keil keng ka	Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
5	akang akan	Counting days, past.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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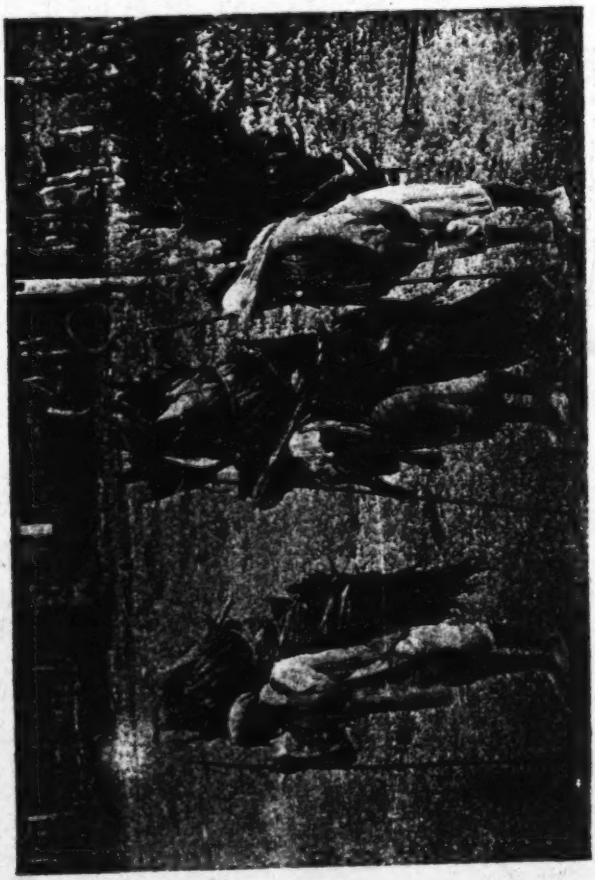
PL. III



CARRYING PALM-LEAVES BY MEANS OF THE BURDEN STRAP

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 51]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamança SA19
Bribri

We were told that
342 [592] these great houses were at one time inhabited by groups of related families.

Dr Gabb,[9] writing nearly fifty years ago, presented the following account of his observations regarding the houses of the Bribri of his time:

"The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large, squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark. Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and the door is in one of the ends."

• 482 The method of transporting the bundles of platanillo leaves used in house-building

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

is shown in pl. III, from a photograph kindly 482 ●
furnished by Prof. M. H. Saville.

Drying platforms for cacao, and outside 343
granaries, built close to the houses, are found everywhere.

Gardens.—Many Bribri lodges are sur- 241
rounded by yards enclosed with small bough fences, within which nothing is grown; but every home has its small banana or plantain plantation and its grove of cacao trees, sometimes very large and old, with occasional lime trees or yampi plants. These trees usually grow close to the dwelling, and often surround it. Corn fields are commonly seen, and calabash trees are always in evidence. Cotton plants, growing either singly or in small clumps, are sometimes found near the houses.

Household Utensils.—As above stated, 352
every member of a family is provided with 171
a low stool or seat, hewn from a block of wood. These seats (fig. 2) are round, square, or oblong, and the long, round, tapering legs of some examples suggest the stone metates found at Las Mercedes. There can be no doubt that the custom of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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made usually in two sizes, only both of which are more capacious than ours. A large example in the collection of the Museum is made in coarse diagonal net, the strands passing over two and under two.

Especially in such houses as are provided with raised floors, one finds beds in addition to hammocks, the groundwork of which is usually a coarse, plain blanket made of a heavy bark cloth, or tapa, about a yard square.

[287]

Bags.—In abundant evidence in every house are the carrying bags, in varying sizes, consisting of coiled work without foundation, and manufactured of cotton or sisal fiber. These bags are made with bone needles, fashioned somewhat like the bone netting-needles of the Central Algonkians, and are, as Gabb says, "meshed like our fiber nets." The bags are sometimes double, one being netted within another, and are often ornamented with a few encircling, parallel bands in black or red, or both, co-ored with native bark dyes. The bags are called *chákara*. All are furnished with a head- or breast-strap, woven of one piece with the bag.

[412]

● [482]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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BRIBRI FAMILY TRAVELING, SHOWING BURDEN BASKET IN USE, ALSO THE METHOD OF CARRYING A CHILD.

[facing p. 62]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [891] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

ment is three feet or less in length, and five or six inches in diameter at the head, narrowing toward the base (pl. XXVI), being constricted about six or seven inches from the bottom, then flaring slightly. Drums are hewn from a solid piece of wood, and fitted with a tight head of iguana-skin, which is shrunken over the large end and held in place with fiber cord glued on with dried blood. The drums are also furnished with a fiber rope for suspension. 534

At a *Chichara* festival one Indian was seen standing with a drum under his left arm and its carrying strap over his left shoulder, slapping the head of the drum with the open right palm. Beside him stood another Indian with his right arm about the drummer's shoulders. They danced with a skipping sidewise step, the drummer beating his instrument while the other thumped his chest in unison with the left hand. [482] [535]

This goblet-like form of drum is antique, as there is a specimen made of pottery, from an ancient grave, in the National Museum at San José. Unfinished drums of a shorter, double-headed, barrel-shaped vari- [172]

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. 342 They put these rolls on an ox or on their own [492 backs and take them to the building site (see 482] fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, 5, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [854]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ha'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

medium-sized *haba*, the strips are usually 285
around 30 inches long, while the largest are around 50 inches. The base of the *haba* is triangular with the corners and two sides rounded. The third side is kept flat to fit more steadily on a person's back. In making the basket, the strips are placed on the ground and the foot put over as many ends as possible to hold the pieces in place. The opposite ends are left free, and the weaving is done with the fingers (see fig. 9, *a*). The pattern resulting from this is a hexagon (see fig. 7, *b–1*). When the base is completed the strips are doubled upward and interwoven, particularly at the corners, and horizontal strips are added as strengthening bands at the start and finish of every hexagon, the pattern remaining the same as that of the base. At the very top, a horizontal band is overlapped by the main strips and woven into the rim. A wide ribbon of the vine is fastened around the *haba* when used for carrying. This band is suspended from the [482] forehead of a person, and the basket hangs flat on his back (see fig. 8, *a*).

Baskets are also made from the *bejuco negro*, or, preferably, from the vine called *anda-riel* (see p. 11). These baskets are circular with a decided bulge or projection a little above the base. They vary in size from short baskets with handles to very tall ones (see fig. 7, *c*). The strips used for the baskets are cut narrower than those for the *haba*, and may be added to in order to increase the depth of the article. As with the *haba*, the strips are put on the ground at the start. They are crossed, however, in the center, and another strip is then tied to this center portion or base, and is woven in and out of the projecting strips by hand. Adding of strips to make the basket larger is accomplished by weaving a strip well into the basket until an end appears on the other side of the base.

Weaving. The *Boruca* are today the only 286
Indians of Costa Rica who do any weaving, in spite of the fact that they do very little. In 1945, there were only six women in the village of Boruca who wove skirts, *mantas*, and one woman who wove only men's belts. Almost 283
all the women and many of the girls, however, 286
knew how to make thread. A common practice was to make thread and give it to one of 437

* Barrett, 1925, pt. II, pp. 252, 258.

[p. 16-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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6. Old and Indian women bake with grease for a roof. 7. Artifacts of the Bocuca: 1, mortar or dishes; 2, baby; 3, doll; 4, mortar or ratchet; 5, match; 6, fire-lighted stick; 7, man's belt; 8, dress. 8. Artifacts of the Bocuca: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, bellows; 3, dress; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. 9. Women wearing the mantle, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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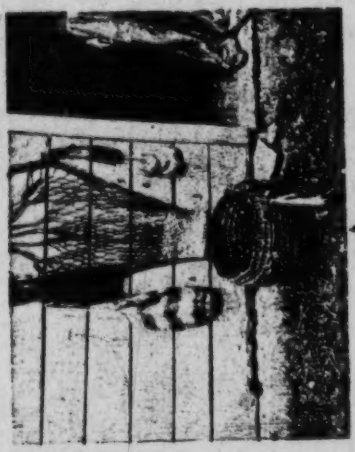

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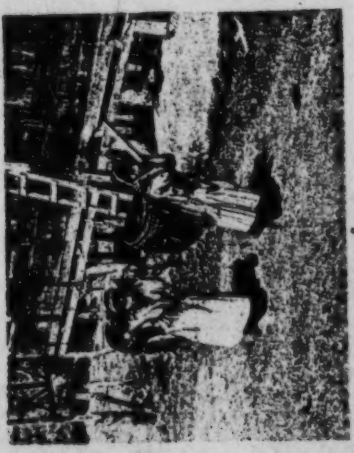


a, Girls bakes with oranges in holes in front of school house; b, Carriage artifacts used by the Boruca; c, baby; d, 2, 4, 5, string bags made by the Talamanca people; 3, baby; 7, string bag made by the Boruca; 6, hammock made by the Boruca; 8, Maguey ready for use; 9, Sample of rope technique.

[p. 58]

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, *d*).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--Analysis]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every 248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [792] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--Analysis]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hevas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
[137] ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian times when trade was common between the
[438] Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[193] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[824] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*,
[172] of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both
[462] men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[46] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into [482] rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guariano* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which [171] closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [482] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets are made from it.

[824] A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[80] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
[824] needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
● [482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[281] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[81] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[80] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [81] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[82] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

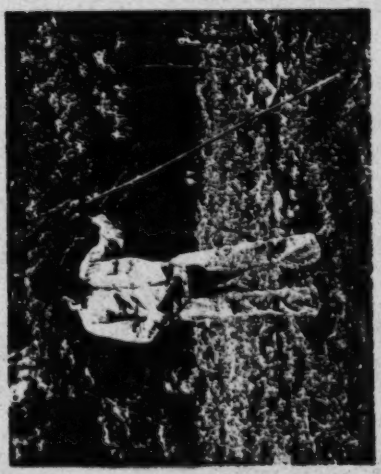
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

133
137
241
291
482
492

b

d

a



c

a-b, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. c, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. d, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Be- [386] sides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 huacas or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* [412] in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [484] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same
342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un-
[361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages
[192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
756 Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
422 *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[627] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[692] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[681] usual method is for the family of the culprit
184 to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[423] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
184 the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
422 watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[497] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have
[177] attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[Text Continues Top of P. 41(B)—Analyst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawé* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[Text Continues bottom of P. 41(B)—Analyst]

[495] [140] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[140] Usually 100 pounds.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from
● 484 the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected
757 magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites; and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[140] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small [484] [782] fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from [487] Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at *surstsapku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

sirigakí is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book.[1/2]

(1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order [776] to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[772] [163] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

1/2 [See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

*539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little [888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from one side of the range. He or rather they, as • 484 these people do not undertake a trip alone, [576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
● 484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsęn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəṇę́* which is a very strong term.

496 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

539 Brunka to his presence, and told him he could go, and to be careful not to wound hogs again without killing them. He also marked in his presence all the hogs he would be at liberty to kill. And the man went away through the woods, until he got to Krimra-ua,[1] where he met with a few of his kinsmen who were hunting hogs. When they saw the man who used to cure them, the hogs always ran to him, and never would go away, so that he could easily kill all those which had been marked for him. And he always advised his companions never to wound animals, but to kill them right away.

VII. DON PEDRO CASCANTE.

(Legend of the hollow trail of El Pito.[2])

487 773 In very remote times, when the Spaniards had not yet arrived in these countries, the Indians only could climb up from the coast of Quepos to the high mountains of Dota by following the long and [481] tiresome ridge of El Pito, bound together by means of the royal vine into files of ten to twenty, and pulled by witchcraft without any effort from their side. But, also, on each journey one man disappeared without the others being aware when or how, and that was the toll they paid for the dreaded ascent.

539 This great calamity had lasted for numberless years, and the trail to El Pito became deeper and narrower from day to day, on account of the way they had to go over it, bound together in long files, when a very holy missionary father left Cartago, riding a strong white mule, to go and win over the Indians. And as he was going down to the coast through the fearful road of El Pito, he met the "Encanto" which had taken the form of a big turkey, and would not get out of the road to let the holy man pass. Then the father became very angry; he alighted from his mule, bound the turkey with a blessed string, and dragged him down hill until they got to the place called "Alto de los Cotos." There he tied him to a large tree which he blessed, and told him that he would stay there up to the day of the final doom. And from that day hence, the "Encanto" never again annoyed the passers-by.

Only a certain Pedro Cascante, who had a large breeding-farm of mules and cattle, down on the plain of "El Calicanto," allowed himself to become a prey to his avarice, and on account of it, he lost his soul.

Cascante had become very rich by carrying out to San Marcos the

[103] [1] Krimra-ua, name of a place on the lower Diquis.

[2] This trail, so deeply cut into the ridge of El Pito as to be tunnel-like at a few places, leads from San Marcos, once one of the principal residences of the Quepos Indians, down to the coastal plains of the Pacific.

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail
487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUAIST]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[35] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUAIST]

[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] See Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3 (B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca. What is known as the valley of Talamanca is
● 487 limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[3]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued
[text continues to P 0 of P.5(A)--analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hevas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is
[137] among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
[438] times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into
[462] thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[*] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small [484] fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they [782] do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at [487] *surstsaṇku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

urigakí is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book.[1]

(1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order [776] to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[162] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[772] [162] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

[1 See category 116, pp 75-95 - Analyst.]

*539 make him sleep. It is then that the water-
776 jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He
823 searches for cacao, and when he discovers a
761 well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamú* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamú*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 (*Cabécar*)

776 When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes
761 up and down inviting people to drink cacao
[823] with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after
[825] people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas
103 through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires
[133] to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on al-
[487] most all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamúte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namú tö* (jaguar print).

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 10 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically dis- [177] tinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. • 489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent 491 and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- 177 quest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the 648 republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

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SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 10 (A)]
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[46] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

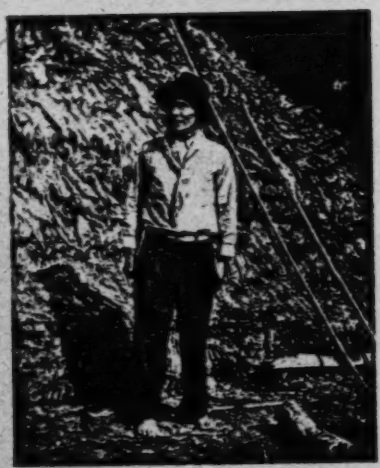
133
491
415
764

a

b

291
342
756
778

c



d

a, Vine bridge, Alto Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alto Coen. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

291
342
412
492

BRIBRI DWELLING WITHOUT SIDES
A bowlder used as a metate is shown in the foreground

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 47]

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. 342 They put these rolls on an ox or on their own [492 backs and take them to the building site (see 493] fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *mastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their [439] hair, seldom appearing with less than two combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two 302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

TRANSPORTATION

481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The 482 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

* Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 198.

erally put the braids up, tying them together 302
with ribbons. The hair is kept sleek with cocoa-butter, and the skin is cleared of freckles or blemishes by using a mixture of cocoa-butter (see p. 20) and *tſama*. T*ſama* is sometimes called by the Spanish name *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.).

The men wear the regulation pants and 291
shirt of the *ladino* and some still use the woven belt. In the beginning of this century, the men wore a typical costume, the cloth for which was woven by the men. Lehmann[23] notes that this was characteristic of the *Cotos*, whom, as we have seen, form part of the modern *Boruca*. Weaving was done by some, not all, of the men and women. In particular the older *Coto* men wove for all the other men.[24] The men used a *huipil* without sleeves which took one month to weave and reached below the knees. The stripes were narrower than those of a women's skirt, and they were more like the belts used at present by the men. Beneath this, they wore a loin cloth of *mastate*, and a woven belt which kept the loin-cloth in place. Formerly, the men cut off all their 302
hair except a small portion in the front which stood up like unruly bangs. One old man in 301
1944 used the same sort of decorations which were used years ago, pelts of birds, squirrel tails, and bird egg shells as necklaces.

Most Indians go barefooted, although occa- 291
sionally sandals are seen. These sandals are of hide, usually of wild peccary, with thongs of twisted hide which pass between the first and second toe and between the third and fourth toe, being fastened on the outer side by the ankle.

TRANSPORTATION

to transport essentials on his back (see fig. 492
7, *a*), and never to pull a cart as amongst the *ladinos*. The very few horses of the *Boruca* (see p. 23) are ridden with a halter, and old, worn, second-hand saddles.

By Water. In addition to a mountainous 505
land, the terrain of the *Boruca* and most of their communities border on water. The Diquis River still forms an important highway for these people. Until a few years ago, the

[23] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 50.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

291
415
532
524

482
492
352
285
287
534
415

4, Old and Indian women bedecked with grasses for a roof. 5, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, mouse or shirt; 2, hoe; 3, doll; 4, mortar or rattles; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, sieve. 6, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, basket; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. 7, Women wearing the mouse, or shirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
[262] River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[954] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
● [492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/2]
794 In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
231 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
422 the patron of the community, roam the savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

parrot Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/2 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *kono* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

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482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [864] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, *d*).

[Text continues top of P. 21(B)--Analysis]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every [248] household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [794] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [797] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[Text continues bottom of P. 21(B)--Analysis]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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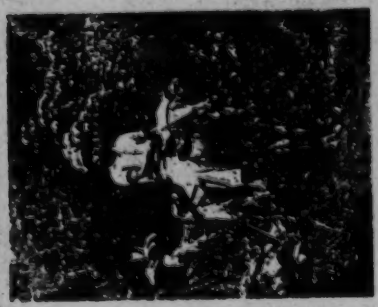

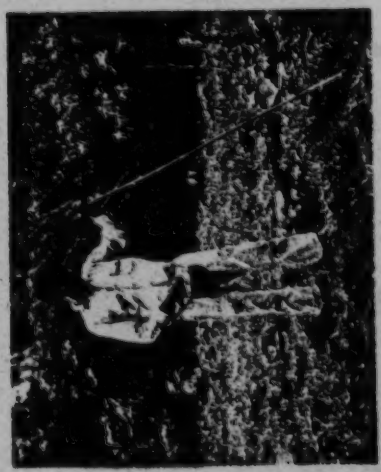

a-b, Swamps by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. c, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. d, Ethel riding on ox, Pacific slope.

[END Plate 1]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

• 501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the
501 river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigana*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Cordage.** The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

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[Text continues top of P. 21(B)--analyst]

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[Text continues bottom of P. 21(B)--analyst]

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[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bruus* or in large wooden troughs.

● 501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1928, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1928, pp. 67–68.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *higuerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, *5*, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [854]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ba'ua*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

erally put the braids up, tying them together 302
with ribbons. The hair is kept sleek with cocoa-butter, and the skin is cleared of freckles or blemishes by using a mixture of cocoa-butter (see p. 20) and *tʃama*. Tʃama is sometimes called by the Spanish name *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.).

The men wear the regulation pants and 291
shirt of the *ladino* and some still use the woven belt. In the beginning of this century, the men wore a typical costume, the cloth for which was woven by the men. Lehmann[23] notes that this was characteristic of the *Cotos*, whom, as we have seen, form part of the modern *Boruca*. Weaving was done by some, not all, of the men and women. In particular the older *Coto* men wove for all the other men.[24] The men used a *huipil* without sleeves which took one month to weave and reached below the knees. The stripes were narrower than those of a women's skirt, and they were more like the belts used at present by the men. Beneath this, they wore a loin cloth of *mastate*, and a woven belt which kept the loin-cloth in place. Formerly, the men cut off all their 302
hair except a small portion in the front which stood up like unruly bangs. One old man in 301
1944 used the same sort of decorations which were used years ago, pelts of birds, squirrel tails, and bird egg shells as necklaces.

Most Indians go barefooted, although occa- 291
sionally sandals are seen. These sandals are of hide, usually of wild peccary, with thongs of twisted hide which pass between the first and second toe and between the third and fourth toe, being fastened on the outer side by the ankle.

TRANSPORTATION

to transport essentials on his back (see fig. 492
7, *a*), and never to pull a cart as amongst the *ladinos*. The very few horses of the *Boruca* (see p. 23) are ridden with a halter, and old, worn, second-hand saddles.

By Water. In addition to a mountainous 505
land, the terrain of the *Boruca* and most of their communities border on water. The Diquis River still forms an important highway for these people. Until a few years ago, the

[23] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 50.

● 505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
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[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-ko*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The primary clearing of the forest to make the
[462] field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods. The agricultural implements of the present-
412 day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed
[177] from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dang-
ling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely
there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as
expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course;
but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with
tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse
and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan
Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame
with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for
sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door,
and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Every-
thing is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and
"meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are
of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by
a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven
openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer
and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer
than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually
dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A
coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made
with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tiribi procure all their bags from the Iri-iris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Vallentes, living beyond the Tiribis,
in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but
much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Iri-iri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Vallente
nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no [248]
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of
themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost
every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open
bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin
it.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

the natives. In the spring of 1917 only two examples were to be found, and one of these had been abandoned and was falling into decay. These houses are great conical structures, about a hundred feet in circumference, consisting of thatched walls rising from the ground to a sharp point, forty or fifty feet above, which is capped by an inverted kettle to prevent leakage during inclement weather (pl. II). The doorway is high enough to admit a man without stooping, and is protected by a roofed but sideless vestibule. Inside all is dark, for no light is admitted except through the door, and the interior is thoroughly smoke-blackened. A rectangular platform, about ten feet square, made of puncheons supported by vertical beams, supports the bark granaries and some pottery vessels, together with a small supply of pounded clay for blowgun pellets. The sides are festooned with weapons and utensils, while pigs enter freely and root about among the stools and benches. Piles of palm-leaves around the sides indicate beds. We were told that

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[513]
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with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [23]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

[p. 13-B]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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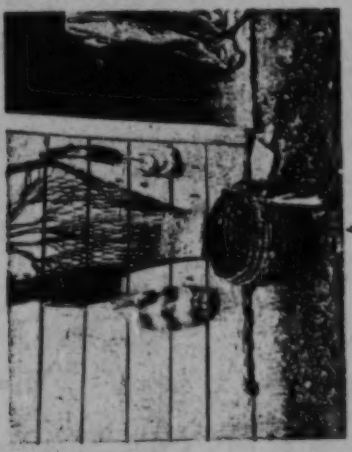

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5. Girls bring with oranges in baskets of form of school boxes. 6. Carriage uniform used by the Bocas; 1, hats; 2, 4, 7, string bags made by the Talamanca people; 3, hats; 5, string bag made by the Bocas; 6, hammock made by the Bocas; 8, Mayan candy for sale. 8. Sample of rope necklaces.

[p. 58]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fish-
ing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves;
bright feathers from birds, in particular the
oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers;
[237] sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal
skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers
for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers
for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the
Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs
of all houses and are for sleeping as well as
resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves
are placed on the ground by the fire and are
used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs
and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on
the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are
common. These may be long, rectangular, or
circular and are often decorated with a pro-
[531] truding head and tail. The women sit on them
while cooking, or people while talking, in
order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the
men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in
Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden
mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas,* and
basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold
[824] chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to
protect them from animals. Large earthen
chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all
the big circular houses of the Bribri and in
some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a
[439] Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true
even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils
are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of
their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
[415] hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[412] in every household although their number is
limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *bavas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[60]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la sean desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[60] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.100(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	*Yellow Variety*
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.089
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	*Use*
824 [278] chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
[845] spíkichs	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
[272] [844] séjkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɛrekɔ	*Miconia inspetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

CABÉCAR

	Latin	*Use*
[278] popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
[386] [515] [278] bɔ́Lk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacia sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

231 Tame parrots, parrakeets, macaws, and other birds, or mammals, such as monkeys, screech at the visitor from a safe retreat in the rafters, and there is always a host of dogs to guard against.

342 Another, now uncommon, type of lodge is oval or round, a trifle larger and flatter than the form described. Its outer wall is only about four feet high, loosely built of sticks set up vertically and tied together. This type of lodge is light inside, but its sides are not tight; it has no raised floor, and no smoke-hole. The kitchen is always some distance from the door, and though never in the center of the building, is often at the end opposite from the entrance.

352 516 [532] In all the forms of lodges observed, there are many four-legged stools, sometimes roughly carved to imitate tortoises, and very long benches. The Bribri, when at home, never squat on the bare ground like their North American relatives, but each member of the family, including the youngest child, has his own seat.

342 The last type of Bribri house to be mentioned is the most striking. It is called today a "*palenque*," or "king's house," by

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

342

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5. Method of grinding corn. A, Single pole as base of house (over window on left, and yoke for chicha hanging on front wall). 5, Home base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). 6, Front stone terrace. Carré.

[p.55]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
cabecar

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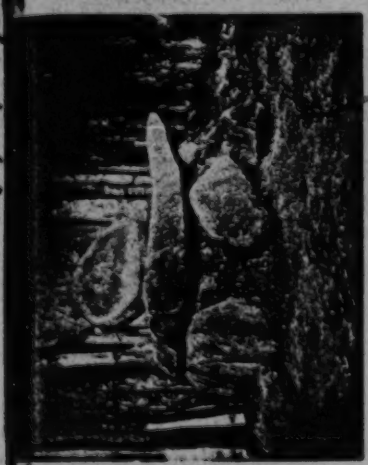

a, Neural reading room in a stream. b, Neural reading room in a house. c, One of four boards within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. d, One of two boards within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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a

b

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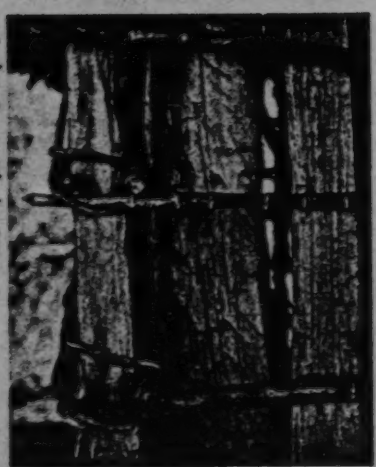

c

d

a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

6

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

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a

b

[516]
301
[854]

c

d

a, Bribri man. b, Bribri woman. c, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. New Barra menu on woman. d, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

[END PLATE 9]

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

● 517 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting
521 for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men
[538] and women often tell theological or lay "his-
[184] tories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation
521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often,
[184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little
[888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally,
431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from
484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone,
[576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 825 [821] warns when it is going to rain by howling in the morning and in the afternoon.

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(Bribri)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 484 [521] of food and drink will be offered them. Conversation, in this case, is confined almost entirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

● 517 224 226 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 252 [481] [533] [574] Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rar*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bomitsɤn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *sɤkɤnɛ́* which is a very strong term.

476 574 273 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Bpɤ* (coyeo).

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[8] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

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RECREATION

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476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipo* (coyeo).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ble for a stranger to learn the true name of an Indian, directly from the 551
person himself, although his friends may divulge it, and this is looked
upon almost in the light of either a breach of confidence, or a practical [522]
joke. After long acquaintance, they may be prevailed upon, but even
then are more apt to give a false name than to tell the truth, so great is
their reluctance. One fellow, who was my servant for over three months,
after always denying having a name, at last told me a pet name, or
"nick-name" that he had had as a child. It is customary for children
to have provisional names, or to be called only "boy" or "girl" as the
case may be, until the whim of an acquaintance or some equally arbitrary
circumstance fixes a title to them. Besides the native name, generally
derived from some personal quality, or not seldom the name of some ani-
mal or plant, almost all of the Indians possess a foreign name, by which
they are known, and which they do not hesitate to communicate. Among
themselves, when the name is unknown, a person is called by the name
of the place where he lives. Mr. Lyon says all the women have names,
as well as the men. But my experience with them is never to have heard
them called by other titles than "girl," "woman," "*wishy*" (applied
familiarly to young married women), or "so-and-so's wife" or daugh-
ter, except in the case of a few of the more civilized men, who have given
Christian names to their families.

Children are not generally weaned early. In case of the birth of a se- 862
cond child, the first is weaned perforce. But it is nothing strange to see
a child well able to walk, say even two years old, go to the breast as a
matter of course, although sufficiently accustomed to more solid food.

Small babies are carried on the back, astride the hips of the woman, 854
and supported by a broad strip of bark or cotton cloth, passed around
both, and secured in front by a dexterous tucking in of the ends. When
they become larger, they are carried on one hip, supported by the arm;
or are placed on top of the load, if the mother is travelling. They sit
perched on the bundle, with a foot dangling either over or behind each
shoulder of the mother, and soon learn to hold on like monkeys.

The training of the youth is left almost entirely to themselves. Among 866
the Tiribi they are taught to respect and obey their parents, but in the
other tribes they are more insolent and disrespectful to their parents than
to other persons. I have seen a boy of ten years old absolutely refuse to
obey some trifling command of his mother, and she seemed to have no
power to enforce her order. The little girls learn early to accompany the 868
older girls and women when they go out to bring water. Their usual
station, in the house, is at the side of the fire, where, as soon as they are
large enough, they assist in fanning the fire, preparing plantains for the
pot or watching the cooking. The boys will sometimes deign to hunt
fire-wood, but they are more apt to be playing by the side of the river
with mimic bow and arrow, learning to shoot fish under water. Their 524
toys are mostly diminutive copies of the tools and weapons of more ad- 868
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SA19 Talamanca SA19

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SA19 Talamanca SA19

868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least [591] for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The 582 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two 614 persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

The seats vary in size from diminutive forms used by children to benches six to ten feet long, narrow, with square ends and clumsy feet. Some of the children's seats have been used as toys. Pl. IV, *a*, illustrating a seat shaped like a turtle, still has about the neck a portion of the fiber string by which its little owner dragged it about; 352 352 524

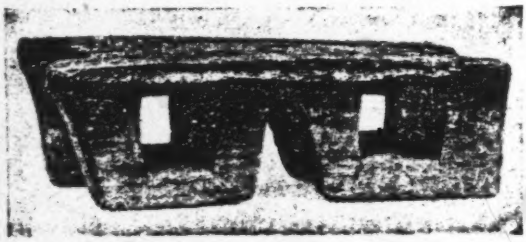

FIG 3.—Stool with unusual supports (length 13½ in.).

and, to add to the realism of its play, the child had also fitted the ill-smelling carapace of a freshly killed tortoise of the family *Chelydra* over the top of this stool.

Hammocks and Beds.—Large, handsomely netted hammocks of string made from native fibers are often used for sleeping, each member of the family having his own. They are 352 286

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is [439 put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast 524] are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives 324 for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao.

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 [825] The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[32] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 [783] **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camíbar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camíbar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[32] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

535 [171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

The other dances which are performed in public are danced only by the younger generation. The steps are entirely borrowed from [177] the Chiriquíans, who formerly and even still inhabit much of southern Costa Rica. The favorite dances are the *cumbia*, the *punto Chiricano*, and the waltz. All of these, with the single exception of the waltz, are danced individually and not by a couple holding one another close.

525 **Games and Gambling.** The *Boruca* are not a gambling people. They appear to have no interest in any sort of gambling. Dice are almost unheard of, and perhaps one pack of cards can be found in the whole village.

524 857 The boys have a game called *cuepas*. This is played with round pieces of bee's wax shaped almost like the cap of a pop bottle. One of these are placed face down, and a boy throws a similar piece on top of it. If the result of the impact causes both pieces to be face up, the boy who threw the *cuepa* wins, and takes the other *cuepa* as well as his own. If the result is otherwise, he loses his *cuepa*. Boys carry a ball of wax in their pockets for the express purpose of making *cuepas*.

Tops, made of wood with a nail serving as the pointed end, are also seen. They are not very popular, however.

[p. 30-B]

[pp. 31 and 32 contain no text]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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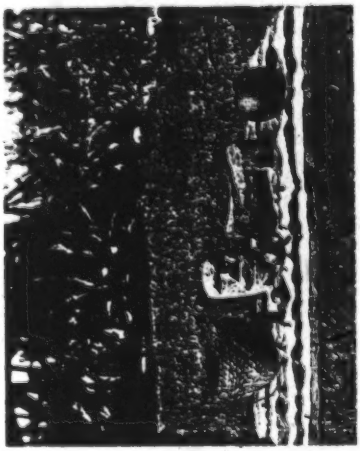

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4, Ox and Indian woman living with grasses for a roof. 5, Artifacts of the *Bersua*: 1, *mama* or skirt; 2, *baba*; 3, *dali*; 4, *mamam* or ratchet; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, *sarra*. 6, Artifacts of the *Bersua*: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, baskets; 3, *sieve*; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. 7, Women wearing the *mama*, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
[856] crawl and they are given anything they cry
863 for. It is interesting to note that habits in connection with excretion are taught practically from birth. The child is taken out of the house and held up while he does his needs. He is not allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or a father lie in a hammock with his small children beside him. Parents pay attention to personal details, such as wiping a child's nose or washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes are taught to swim and help to make fires, using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when sitting on the low benches or on the ground before the hearth. At the age of seven, they begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt, using small arrows for training. When the adults are out in the fields or hunting, children up to ten years old stay at home to tend the fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no school and all lore is learned by word of mouth on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have some connection with the handling of the dead (*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line. Often they play with mud daubers' nests or similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [257] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

535 [171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

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[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

[P. 28 (B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

872 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the 462
sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by
the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and 482
endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on
her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each 464
other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer.

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly 28
be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are 32
hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived 286
from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to [513]
lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are [386]
obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the [482]
field to the house.

The people of Tribli procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I 438
believe, their hammocks also. The Valientes, living beyond the Tribli, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets 531
are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Valiente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste.

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and 286
women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no [248]
care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women [283]
collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin

t.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

415 *Calabashes.*—No utensils are more common among the Bribri than vessels made of calabashes. Gourds nearly globular in shape, with a small, round hole cut in the apex (fig. 5, *a*), serve for water bottles, while the simplest form of dish or cup is a

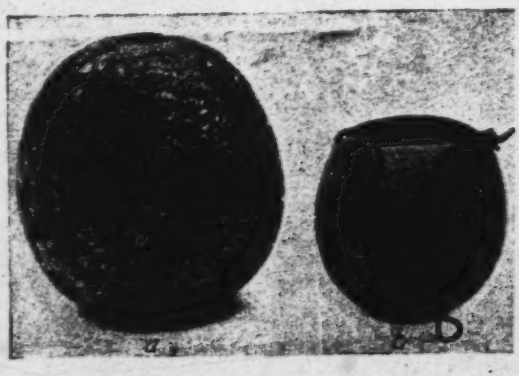

FIG. 5.—Calabashes used as receptacles.

half gourd without decoration. These, or coconut-shells, are sometimes pierced at opposite sides and are furnished with a fiber cord for suspension or carrying (fig. 5, *b*). Thus equipped, they are used as salt dishes.

[531] These gourd receptacles are frequently ornamented with rudely incised designs.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Fig. 6, *b*, represents a bowl or cup marked with four T and Y shaped figures, while *a* of the same illustration shows a stellar design with a divided triangle on one side and a T figure on the other. 531 415

Fig. 7 is the most elaborately ornamented calabash bowl collected; it is decorated with [532]

FIG. 6.—Decorated calabashes.

the figure of a steamship, anchored at both ends, and furnished with two nondescript flags, several fairly complicated geometrical figures, the date *1 Mayo*, and the initials *R. M.* Although not obtained from him, it is possible that this vessel may have been made by Ramon, the "king."

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

415 Another type of vessel is a sieve, or colander, made from the shell of a calabash, shown in pl. XIV, *a*. The rim is left intact, but the rest of the utensil is riddled with holes, though a suggestion of a pattern is

[531] [532]

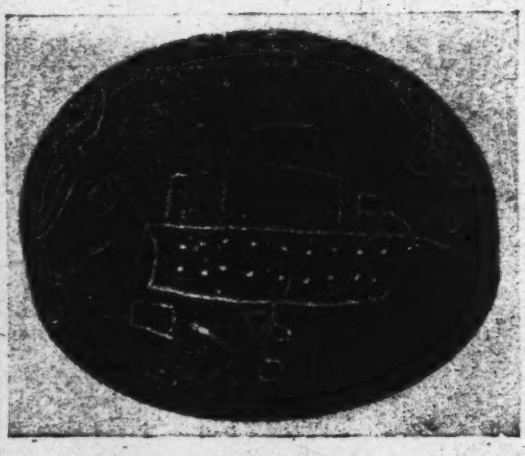

FIG. 7.—Decorated calabash receptacle.

left untouched. The rim bears some crude, etched figures, including one resembling a conventionalized butterfly. The calabash, where cracked, is laced together with fiber string passed through two holes bored in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

times, though rarely, used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [321] [534]

"The men sometimes wear headdresses made of feathers. The most prized are the white down feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made of chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one headdress made from the hair of the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place." 237 301

Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 19
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Bribri

a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel." 286 [292] [386] [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri. [531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[115] [30] Information given to the writer by Professor Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-B]

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[21] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double ●[531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[21] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

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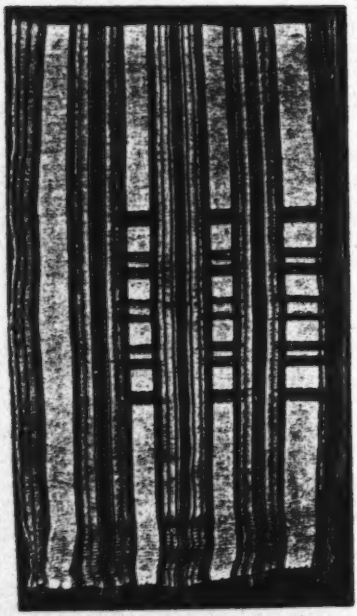
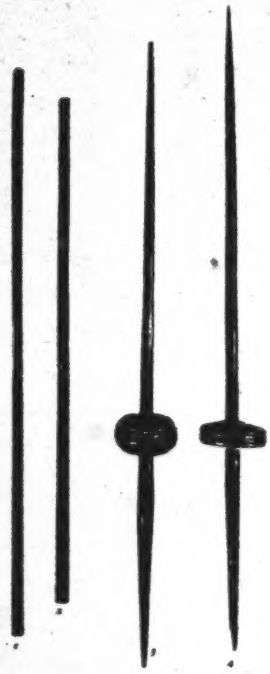


a



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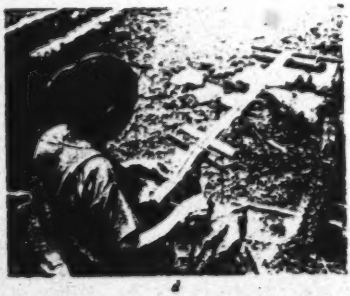

d

a, Mana or skirt with single-faced weft-pattern weave (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). b, Pejibalk artifacts: 1, 2, pejibalk rods used in weaving; 3, 4, spindles and whorls of pejibalk (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). c, Start of a belt. d, Woman weaving man's belt.

[p. 59]

[Ought to read "pejibaye", see errata, p. 51. —Analyst]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas*, and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guaruomo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[23] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are
[482] suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration of the skirts consists of wide brown and white [531] stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

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[531]

a

b

[854]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. *c*, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. *d*, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

The final disposal of the remains is a matter of great care. The whole of the tribe goes to the district of Bri-bri for this purpose. The receptacle is a square pit, about four feet deep and ten feet square. This is paved on the bottom with stones, and is roofed over from the weather, by a series of heavy hewn slabs of a very durable wood, open on the front and ends, and sloping to the ground at the back. Each family possesses one of these pits and here, after the funeral feast, the bundle of bones is carried and deposited. After the rest, the remains of Santiago were carried to the "royal" pit and deposited without further ceremony. 764

The Cabecars, according to Mr. Lyon, have about the same ceremony, but their pits are mere holes, not paved, and covered by planks laid on the ground level.

The Tiribis have a death feast, but it differs in some respects from the others. The body is buried immediately after death, but no longer with the property of the deceased, and, of course, the defunct is not present at his final feast, as with the Bri-bris.

Mr. Lyon, to whom I owe much of the information in the present memoir, has described to me one circumstance, in connection with these death feasts, that I have not witnessed. The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribis were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with "old man's beard" moss, sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a "tree calabash," properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy of this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian museum. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, "to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm." Neither Lyon nor the Indians could give me a very clear account of what spirit, whether good or evil, this represented. But the people seemed to regard him as rather of the malevolent sort; to be classed under the general head of "*Bi*" or Devil. Doubtless this, at one time had a distinct meaning, now lost. 766 [532]

No strictly religious belief can be said to exist among these Indians, in the sense that it is usually understood among us. They have, however, a series of ideas or beliefs which affect their daily lives and are never lost sight of. In connection with the funeral feast, described above, I have referred to their idea of a future state. 771

During the year that the body lies in the woods, the disembodied spirit prowls around, living on wild fruits, of which the wild cacao is the only one of which I know the name, although others were also pointed out to me. At the end of that time, when the funeral fire is kindled, the spirit is thus attracted to the feast, whence it departs on its final journey. 775

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have [532] been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [257] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are course 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Tame parrots, parra-
231 keets, macaws, and other birds, or mammals, such as monkeys, screech at the visitor from a safe retreat in the rafters, and there is always a host of dogs to guard against.

342 Another, now uncommon, type of lodge is oval or round, a trifle larger and flatter than the form described. Its outer wall is only about four feet high, loosely built of sticks set up vertically and tied together. This type of lodge is light inside, but its sides are not tight; it has no raised floor, and no smoke-hole. The kitchen is always some distance from the door, and though never in the center of the building, is often at the end opposite from the entrance.

352 516 [532] In all the forms of lodges observed, there are many four-legged stools, sometimes roughly carved to imitate tortoises, and very long benches. The Bribri, when at home, never squat on the bare ground like their North American relatives, but each member of the family, including the youngest child, has his own seat.

342 The last type of Bribri house to be mentioned is the most striking. It is called today a "*palenque*," or "king's house," by

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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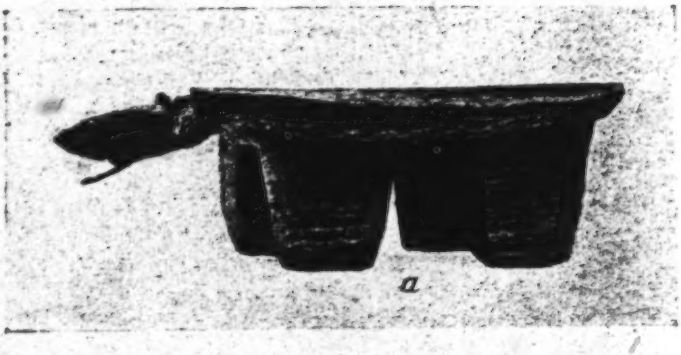

STOOLS CARVED TO REPRESENT THE TORTOISE

(Length: *a*, 11"; *b*, 12½")

[Facing p. 53]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Fig. 6, *b*, represents a bowl or cup marked with four T and Y shaped figures, while *a* of the same illustration shows a stellar design with a divided triangle on one side and a T figure on the other. 531 415

Fig. 7 is the most elaborately ornamented calabash bowl collected; it is decorated with [532]

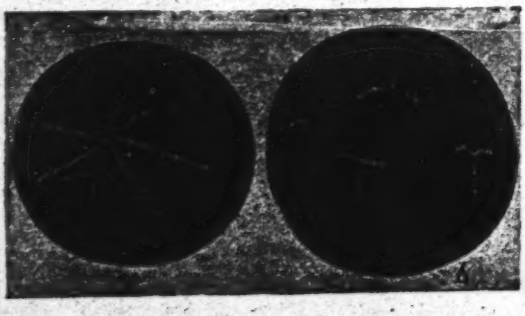

FIG. 6.—Decorated calabashes.

the figure of a steamship, anchored at both ends, and furnished with two nondescript flags, several fairly complicated geometrical figures, the date *1 Mayo*, and the initials *R. M.* Although not obtained from him, it is possible that this vessel may have been made by Ramon, the "king."

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

415 Another type of vessel is a sieve, or colander, made from the shell of a calabash, shown in pl. XIV, *a*. The rim is left intact, but the rest of the utensil is riddled with holes, though a suggestion of a pattern is

[531]
[532]

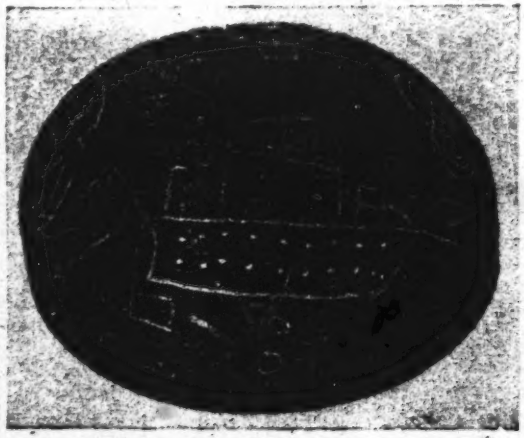

FIG. 7.—Decorated calabash receptacle.

left untouched. The rim bears some crude, etched figures, including one resembling a conventionalized butterfly. The calabash, where cracked, is laced together with fiber string passed through two holes bored in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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[532]

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Planting dibble and war club, length 5'; *b*, Cacique stick, length 4' 1"; *c*, Blowgun, length 6' 10"; *d*, Bow, length 4' 10'

[Facing page 73]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribi made of a deer's bone. 534

"On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it."

Cacique Sticks.—These are long, cane-like staves, made of a dark, hard, heavy, reddish-brown wood called "cacique". As a rule they are entirely plain, but pl. XVII, *b*, exhibits an example of a type, now said to be obsolete, that has the figure of a man rudely carved on the handle. These canes are highly regarded, because of certain 293 [532] [757]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

293 757 astringent properties said to be contained in the wood, and they are sometimes scraped and the scrapings drunk with water as a curative. It is supposed to stop bleeding, and is also valued for intestinal ailments. [622] Formerly they may have been the property only of the headmen.

293 A stick once owned by Ramón's father, the old "king," was in the custody of Señor Alejo Jimenez, governor of Talamanca, who lives at Saporio. It was taken by the Bribri from a neighboring tribe, probably the Tiribi, in war, many years ago, and the Indians are very anxious lest it should pass out of their hands, since they say, "it cost us blood." This staff was seen by Gabb,[16] who states:

[532] "It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carv-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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MASK AND DANCE DRESS COLLECTED BY W. M. GABB
(Courtesy of the U. S. National Museum)

[facing p. 101]

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers 539
killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale.

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* 534
is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations.

The music on these occasions is almost en- 533
tirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn [177]
have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard.

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have 535
secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) [532]
mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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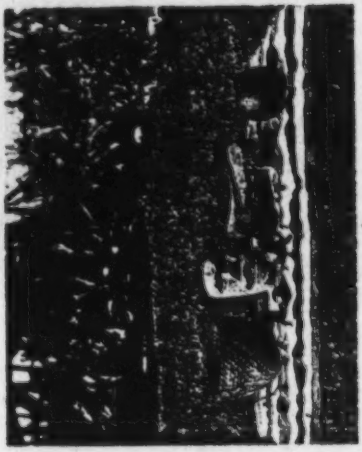

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6, Ox and Indian women laden with grasses for a roof. A, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, *mamu* or skirt; 2, *bebi*; 3, *dulli*; 4, *mamu* or *rancha*; 5, *mask*; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, *sieve*. 4, Artifacts of the Bribri: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, baskets; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. 5, Women wearing the *mamu*, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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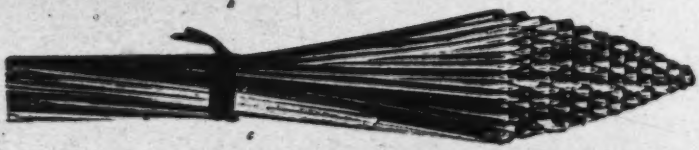
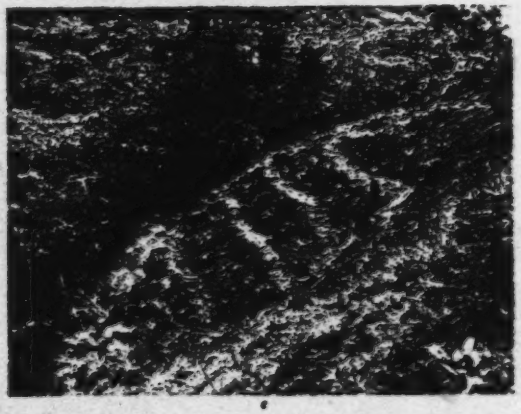




a, Funeral of a woman. *b*, Mask used in New Year's celebration. *c*, Straw nurse (⅗ actual size). *d*, Rattles or nurses with bone handles. *e*, Remains of common agriculture on the savanna.

[p. 60]

756 him. Both benches had four feet, but one had
[352] a protruding tail and head with a red spot.
[532] The two men then went outside and the chief doctor closed the door to keep others away. From within, one could hear the elder man's voice in a song which gradually became louder and louder.

According to custom, they sat on benches in front of the house and the head man sang to the novice. Two of the assistant medicine men went out to watch for the sunrise so that they could warn the chief that it was time to put the novice back in the hut.

When they came in, the aspirant took off his white blanket. The head medicine man took the feathers from the first carrying bag which was still on the low bench, some stones, a staff,
[534] a jaguar skin, a long reed flute (*kuLu*) which only the medicine men can make and put these things in the leaf room. The two new benches were not included. Then the head man entered with the aspirant to arrange the details. When he came out, he said to the novice who remained inside, "You do not have permission to sleep, not even a little."

The aspirant had to stay in the room all the following day without sleeping because to be a doctor he must show his power of self control. In fact, this endurance test was explained by a simple question: if a medicine man were to have a very sick patient and fell asleep, what would happen?

The drinks and food were now passed for the fourth time with the same ceremony as
[534] before. Then the head man blew a conch-shell horn right by the novice's wall and pushed the leaves. This was to be certain that he was not dozing. The aspirant was forbidden to talk, but he answered by blowing at times a conch-shell horn and at others a flute. Every now and then the other medicine men would poke their staffs at the wall and receive a blown attestation of his wakefulness or a knock. This continued throughout the day.

At night the ordeal ended and the novice could leave his leaf compartment and take his stones. However, he had to wait four days before he could finish the mouth-washing ceremony and become in truth a *jawá*.

758 **Sickness.** On the Caribbean side, but less often on the Pacific, a lean-to for a sick person is made of *pejibaye* leaves at one end of the

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kǫmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171] [206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

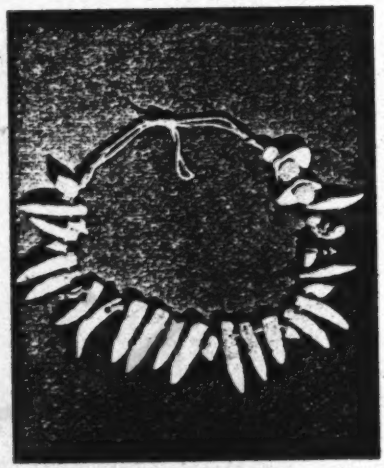
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

532
756
778
[172]

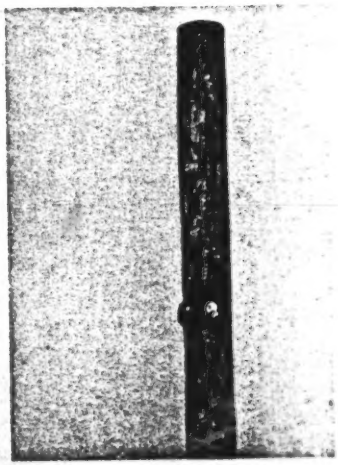
a

b

301
789
411



c



d

a, Ceremonial staff from cache on slopes of Irazú volcano, Central Plateau. *b*, Ceremonial staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Ozón Jiménez L.). *c*, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bone, and beads to ward off evil (property of Don Julio Callejas T.). *d*, Part of Cabécar blow gun with bamboo sights.

[END PLATE 11]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same 766
manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened 535
calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, [534]
around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes im- [533]
promptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, however, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chicha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, 766
when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch, that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These [584]
eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains, several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been devoured, the *bi-ka-kru* or steward announced that the commissary had given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished [123]
guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a [574]
little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their 533
rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, 766
which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other 775
world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path; of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precipices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead 533
of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 766

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

766 in part unintelligible to the uninitiated. At the end of each stanza was
[533] a chorus, where the priests, who during the stanza kept time with their rattles, now gave a peculiar twirl, and the lay singers joined in the chorus.

As the song approached its end, the leader was furnished with a big gourd of steaming chocolate, holding about a quart. As he finished, landing the dear departed safe beyond further troubles, he announced it with a most unearthly yell, in which all hands joined; he at the same time turning the chocolate over the fire, totally extinguishing it. The party at once arose and for a minute or two all was bustle and confusion of preparation.

A person, whose office it is to handle the dead, endeavored to lower the
[767] bundle but it was a little out of his reach. Nobody else could touch it
for fear of defiling himself. To lend a hand would have cost an Indian
[783] three days of purification. I drew my long knife, which all learn to carry in this country, as an actual necessity; and with a couple of blows cut the fastenings and brought the little cane rack, bundle of bones and all, tumbling into the outstretched arms of the official, with much more haste than solemnity. Nobody seemed shocked, and being a foreigner, and
[123] withal a medicine man, who had made cures where their best doctors had failed, I was of course impregnable to *bu-ku-ru'*. The aforesaid official now lashed the package to its stick, and two long slender strings of loosely twisted cotton were tied to the head of the package.

Santiago had had three wives. One of them had re-married to his suc-
[587] cessor; but there were two remaining in widowhood. A procession was formed. First came the priests with their rattles. Next the chorus singers with their drums. Next the corpse, borne by two men, and preceded by the two widows, each holding the end of one of the cotton strings, leading the dead, as it were, to his final resting-place. Next ourselves, as the most distinguished persons present, and escorted by the two chiefs. Behind us came the older men, and following them the usual rag, tag, and bob-tail of young men, women, boys, and persons of no account generally. Some of the boys however, true to boy nature, were as usual irrepressible, and instead of keeping decorously in place, skirmished ahead, and on the flanks of the procession, mounting stumps, logs, or other commanding points to take in the general effect of the pageant. As the procession filed out of the house, some old chicha jars
[768] were carried out and ostentatiously broken; but I observed that nothing of real value was destroyed. As soon as the line got fairly under way, the priests struck up another song which was kept up until the procession halted.

Everybody had been on so long a debauch that it was decided to take a rest of three or four days before the party started off. But it was necessary that the bones should be removed from the house. A temporary ranch had therefore been built a few hundred yards distant; and to this the remains were carried and deposited until the bearers were in a fit condition to proceed.

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers 539
killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale.

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* 534
is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations.

The music on these occasions is almost en- 533
tirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn [177]
have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard.

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have 535
secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) [532]
mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The

173 tent that this small valley could not support
the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China
166 Kichá and there were joined by more people
from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás
and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the
people of the Reventazón Valley, but there
are none of the Talamancan living habits left.
Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and
Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and
101 Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in
Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Tala-
mancans by the government of Costa Rica as
penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709,
[797] which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish
[177] men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest
the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants
of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri,
however, do the same with Cabécar. In this
respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out
that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when
dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

184 197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, 104 indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą ˈilə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, ị, ọ, ụ, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [965] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. [262] He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were [775]

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
[614] journey to the other world through song. The Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrehué*, or *sinąbwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənítsuə* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéluwək*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

767 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is
764 common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must
[273] plant the maize to be used for the chicha at the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has
[756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former
[775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This
[768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the
[656] geographical location. Government and ecclesiastical authorities have prohibited the funda-
[797] mental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] tion between *sini* and *sinębwak?* (*See* Social Organiza-
[533] tion.)

[110] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.
[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* [825] (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquízque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 of an individual a year or more after death.
The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today
is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essen-
tial contribution to the cultural background
of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of
the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the
purpose of ceremonials in connection with
such burials. Here the bones are taken from the
leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the
Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the
deceased and all his actions, for example: how
he planted, worked, what he did, and where
he went. The song also gives the reason for
his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people
and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard.
Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near
the headwaters of a stream. Here are located
the clan graves known as *pq*. These are deep,
round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called
suri in Cabécar) which does not rot easily.
The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but
the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The
Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar
in that the bones should not in any way touch
the earth. An additional plank is inclined over
the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to
inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The
Burier removes the planks of the grave and
puts the bone package in with his hands while
the medicine man sings, explaining that now
the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *bák-namú* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs ● 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

*589 [595] taught people how to dance and to sing the following song:

> *sibu* came in the form of a buzzard
> dressed as a man,
> Collar on his neck.
> The collar reflected,
> He came with the collar
> Ejené, ekujé,[199]
> Ejené, eanjé,[199]
> He came to give us the dance
> He came from the air.
> Ejené, ekujé,
> Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound [825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [199] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.

[593] [199] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[202]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of
226 their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
533 sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*wəbLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsen.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəpę́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
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[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipo* (coyeo).

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
juntas or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
574 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They
273 are held when there is need of group labor
such as building a house, clearing a field,
making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people
meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply
liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the
preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of
clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana
[381] skin and the other end open. The skin is
[824] fastened to the wood with a glue made from
the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a
half to three feet and they are played by hand.
Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a
stick. The people on the Pacific side do not
have the upright drum but use the Chiricano
caja or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with
two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick
while those of land turtles are used in a similar
manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a
musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled
with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or
wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the up-
right drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and
1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty
drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific
side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[sss] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

535 example, *burète* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLak*).

535 342 532 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

The whole ceremony is known as *itsó* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsó* or *kɔmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171] [206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen
[184] today outside of upper Talamanca.

Pittier[200] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[200] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[201] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

*539
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Sacred Songs

(18) SINGER'S SONG[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsǫ́*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

(19) *dikúswa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755 787] This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúswa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúswa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúswa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúswa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

Lay Songs

(20) THE MONKEY DANCE[211]

(*Bribri*)

[535] This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:
Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsua* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

[756] [209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *biʒɔbLɔ-kɔk-keLi*. This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.

[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúswa*.

[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLɪakuLe*.

[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLeɪɔ; also* The Arts.

(21) *duLetɔ*[212]

(*Bribri*)

*539
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Old timers, let's go;
Let's dance.
Now let's walk forward;
There's a place to see, old timers;
There's no place to see.
masLakésLa, the mountain, touches the river.
Let's go.

(22) Song for Cutting Wood for a House[213]

(*Bribri*)

We are going to tear down the house of *itsó*
where we went to hide
and when we reach our house with it
then we shall sing.

(23) Sister[214]

(*Bribri*)

Where sister, little ugly sister,
Where are you standing?
In what place are you coming on a raft?
Or in what place are you going.

(24) Lullaby,[215] Version 1

(*Bribri*)

Hush little one.
Don't you cry dear child
Sleep quietly
Why cry little one, baby.
Sleep, sleep, quietly sleep
Mother has gone to bring you a flower
Little ugly one, sleep quietly.

Lullaby, Version 2

(*Bribri*)

Little child, don't you cry, don't cry
While your mother goes to bring plantains.
Don't cry while your mother goes to plant cuttings.

[776]
[342]

[212] *itsó* is a spirit who doesn't die so they sing this in the belief that the house will last a long time. *See* Linguistic Texts: *itsó*.
[214] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tɜ̃e*. This song is sung frequently by women when working.
[215] *See* Linguistic Texts: *aLaLa bũa*.

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I am going to pick yuca; to pull up *ñames*.
Don't cry little child.

The Dove

(*Bribri*)

When the young pigeon flew in the world
Now he wants to do the same
To fly also as the young pigeon flew
I am
So that you hear that I am on this earth.

Song

(*Bribri*)

Now it is day, I am going to sing
because it is day,
Saying goodbye to my people here,
I sing to my people so that they will
hear me.

(25) The Bird[216]

(*Bribri*)

This is your child who stays,
Go to the mountain as I go.
You, buzzard, on your dry road
And I, buzzard, on my dry road
I try, you try to reach the shores of the sea.
You go with a good wind and I go also in the
dawn.
Sea where you go;
Wind where you go.

(26) On the Back[217]

(*Bribri*)

He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
little monkey,
He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
white-faced monkey and a little periquette,
He who doesn't put on the back an important
person,
They have put him on the back,
Great *sibu* has been put on the back.

[216] *See* Linguistic Texts: *du*.
[217] *See* Linguistic Texts: *itiŋ̃ŋ̃ tsé*.
[218] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dina dinamí*. This has the character of a calling song, or one to boost one's ego.
[219] *See* Linguistic Texts: *bLó* (chicha) *tse* (song).

(27) Water-Jaguar[218]

(*Bribri*)

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The water-jaguars want to eat.
Don't be afraid.
There are many jaguars who want to eat.
Don't be afraid of them.

(28) Chicha Song[219]

(*Bribri*)

What's the matter with the way you're thinking!
Is it that you think I cannot grind
either chicha or chilste?
Then take this as if it were like good chicha grinders make,
Not like a poor person holding a gourd,
Not like one who doesn't grind chicha,
And listen to what I have to say.

(29) Fighting Song[220]

(*Bribri*)

The grasshopper and the alligator ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large snakes ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large alligator ate the grasshopper.
The large snake ate the grasshopper.
I am not afraid.

(30) Cemetery Song[221]

(*Bribri*)

We'll try to see if we can lift the stones and logs.
We'll put them on our shoulders as men.
We're going to try.
We'll lift the log as a tiger,
We'll lift the log as an alligator,
We'll lift the log as *serike*,
Drinking our chicha to get strength as men,
We'll sing all of us boys.

[154]
[578]

[218] This song is sung when one is angry and out of patience.
[219] *See* Linguistic Texts: *injjpak-tsi*. This song is in a sense a challenge to fight.
[220] *See* Linguistic Texts: *apé tsak*.

[P.73(A)]

Cabecar

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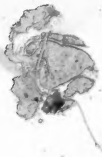
(31) Lullaby[222]

(*Cabécar*)

Rock-a-bye baby, sleep,
Little mother went to look for flowers.
We must sleep before little mother comes home.

[222] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ʒabaLá pabLewq*.



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[P.73(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cabecar

* 539

● 533

(32) PLANTING SONG[223]

(*Cabécar*)

Let's go to work
Let's go to plant corn
Plant the corn well
When it's planted we'll leave.

[223]*See* Linguistic Texts: *tks.*

[P. 74]

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

114 Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have
194 been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, é, ę, ę́, ə, i, í, o, u, ú, ṵ, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a
193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, ję́, ka, kə, kə́, ki, ki, kú, Li, ṇę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, tə, sa, se, si, su, uk, ṵk, ʒe.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ṇa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use
194 of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and
114 Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[114]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental pho-
193 nemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

194 The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except i, ę, ǫ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ią, ąi, ʌi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, ṵą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the
195 medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also
● 533 generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred
+539 or curing chants of the *jawá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba
[198] (Tribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[114] Jones, 1959.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539 2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

Sacred Songs

18. The Staff of the Thinkers[291] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsɸ* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsɸ*.

---

2. "anaɸ́," isuebškaLa,[293] "mu̧-suešo." duɸ́-bitę́, duɸ́-uąLowa[294] iriria.[295]

17. šipo

1. ę́ tsɸ́ kuLę́isúk,[296] etą sibu kirínawą. étą sibutə šipo kié ébuaɸ́k[297] męLę. étą sibutə šipo patkęmj. ę́ tsɸ́ kuLę́itsúk.

2. šipo mią i-tsɸ́ kuLę́isúk. étą i-mią tsək.[298] emę kéwą iujchenę, tə[299] i-ruówami. buLame-tą sibutə ichake i-ąto, "šə-ruówąmi?"

3. šipo iąté, "tó bu-ruówąmi." ę́ kuggj sibutə šipo jkó tuwą i-wəbLar kąchək.

18. bišəbLə-kar-keLi[300]

1. ęmatą́ somj uiąchó.
somj itsɸ́ tsąk wę sorá ibLókwą,
ę itsąk męLę.

2. dé-męLę wę́ike,[301] étą somíketkę́ tsək itsɸ́ wós.

[195] [756]

[291] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."
[292] Medicine man's term.
[293] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.
[294] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *iɸ́ak* means "land" or "earth."
[295] This word is a combination of *kuLę́* (to cure) and *isák* or *itsák* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.
[296] This only means to cure.
[297] The lay word "to sing" is *tsąk* or *tsək*.
[298] *tə* here is front of *i* signifies "if."
[299] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."
[300] *u* is "house." This word means "within the house."

[195] [755] [533] [756]

APPENDIX II: MUSICAL SCORES OF TWO BRIBRI SONGS

dino-di-nami

buLsabuLe

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

[123] I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an observer are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one
●534 or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and
535 the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes impromptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, however, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place. 766 535 [534] [533]

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chicha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch, that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom. 766 [584]

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains, several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been devoured, the *bi-ka-kra* or steward announced that the commissary had given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path; of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precipices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself. [123] [574] 533 766 775

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 533 766

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio. never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to 534 them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

savage Indians do not possess it. The drum is their greatest favorite. 534
It is from twenty inches to two feet long, cylindrical for half its length, with a diameter of six or seven inches; it then tapers convexly to near the other end and then widens out a little. The pattern is always the same, and the size varies but a few inches. The larger end is tightly covered with the skin from the belly of the iguana lizard. It is glued on by fresh blood, being held in place with string until dry. A cord tied around each end suspends it loosely from the left shoulder, and it is held under the left arm, being beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. It is used principally to accompany and keep time to singing and is an indispensable part of every feast or gathering of whatever kind. To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, per- [321]
haps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribi made of a deer's bone. The priests use in their songs a rattle, made of a small pear-shaped tree calabash, lashed to a bone at the small end. This contains a few seeds of the "shot plant," or Canna. It is held upright and solemnly shaken in time with the song until the end of the stanza, when, as a signal for the chorus to strike in, it is given a dexterous twirl, throwing the seeds rapidly around inside. On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above-mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it.

Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization 291
approaches. Formerly the dress of the men consisted only of a breech-
cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven
or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the 287
inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with
a roughened stick over a log. This loosens the fibre, and renders it soft
and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is
washed out. After drying, it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and
smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held 291
against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then
wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then
falls over in front, for about a foot long, like an apron. When cotton
cloth is used, it is simply caught up in front and behind under a cotton
belt, with a similar apron in front. Sometimes, for warmth, a shirt of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

both cases the fireplace was opposite the door, near the side, and not in the middle. 942 352 [354]

From the beams and the roof of the ordinary Bribri house are suspended carrying bags and baskets in which are stored calabashes and other utensils, while bows, arrows, and blowguns are held in crude racks or stuck in the thatch. Under the angle of the roof is often a rude attic, made of rough-hewn plank flooring, on which rests one or more great, cylindrical, corn receptacles, or granaries, of bark, and nearby one is likely to see a string or two of braided corn.

Sometimes a long, goblet-shaped, wooden drum, with an iguana-skin head, a number of circular pieces of iguana-skin for fresh drum-heads, or a cluster of several drums, may swing from a rafter at one side; or one may observe plumes of macaws, and the paws, flesh, or skin of jaguars and armadillos, hanging freely or tucked in a woven *chákara*, or bag, to be used as medicine. Again, but rarely, these may be accompanied with a shaman's small gourd rattle with a bone handle. Tame parrots, parra- 352 534 ● ooo

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

times, though rarely, used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [321] [534]

"The men sometimes wear headdresses made of feathers. The most prized are the white down feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made of chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one headdress made from the hair of the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place." 237 301

Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

ment is three feet or less in length, and five or six inches in diameter at the head, narrowing toward the base (pl. XXVI), being constricted about six or seven inches from the bottom, then flaring slightly. Drums are hewn from a solid piece of wood, and fitted with a tight head of iguana-skin, which is shrunken over the large end and held in place with fiber cord glued on with dried blood. The drums are also furnished with a fiber rope for suspension. 534

At a *Chichara* festival one Indian was seen standing with a drum under his left arm and its carrying strap over his left shoulder, slapping the head of the drum with the open right palm. Beside him stood another Indian with his right arm about the drummer's shoulders. They danced with a skipping sidewise step, the drummer beating his instrument while the other thumped his chest in unison with the left hand. [482] [535]

This goblet-like form of drum is antique, as there is a specimen made of pottery, from an ancient grave, in the National Museum at San José. Unfinished drums of a shorter, double-headed, barrel-shaped vari- [172]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

534 ety were seen about the Bribri lodges. Pl. XXVII represents a specimen of this type, kindly presented to the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, by Mrs Minor C. Keith.

Rattles (pl. XXV, *c*) are made of small, egg-shaped calabashes, carefully scraped to make them symmetrical, hollowed out, and canna seeds placed in the cavity. The gourd has several perforations drilled in one end, through which is passed twisted fiber cord by which it is attached to a handle made of a bird-bone. In this respect Bribri rattles differ from North American Indian [171] forms, in which the handle invariably passes through the gourd.

A notched stick was obtained, which seems to be identical with the ordinary Bribri bark-beater, but, according to Ramón it was rasped with a stick as an accompaniment, in addition to other musical instruments. The marimba is not found among the Bribri.

Gabb[15] says:

"To accompany the invigorating music of the drum and help the din, an armadillo skin is

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribi made of a deer's bone. 534 ●

"On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it."

Cacique Sticks.—These are long, cane-like staves, made of a dark, hard, heavy, reddish-brown wood called "cacique". As a rule they are entirely plain, but pl. XVII, *b*, exhibits an example of a type, now said to be obsolete, that has the figure of a man rudely carved on the handle. These canes are highly regarded, because of certain 293 [532] [757]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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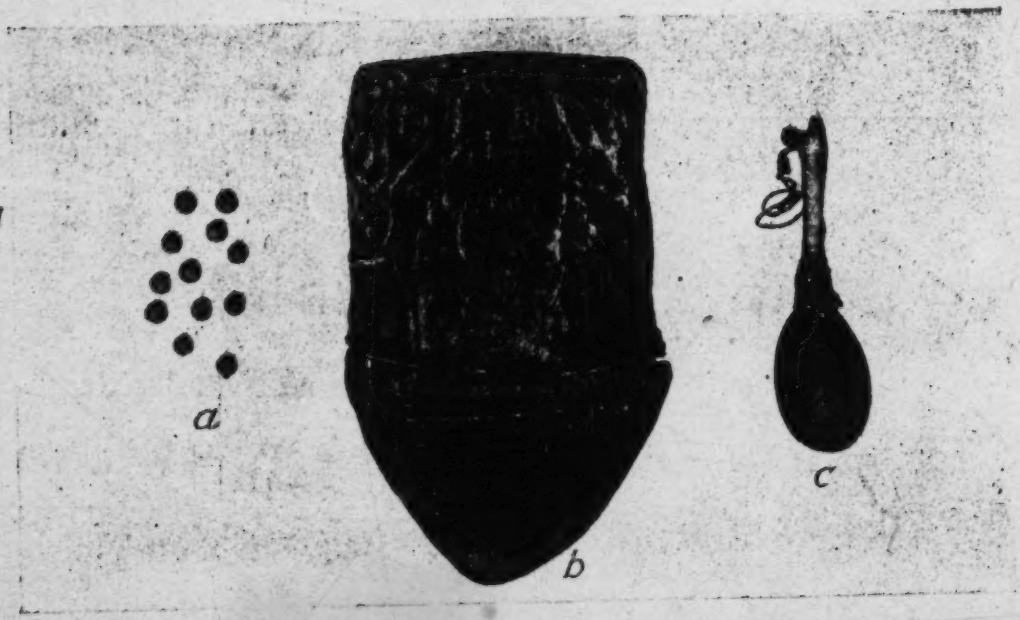

BLOWGUN PELLETS OF CLAY: LEATHER POUCH: SHAMAN'S CALABASH RATTLE
(Length of the rattle, 7½ inches)

[Facing p. 89]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribi made of a deer's bone. 534

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Cacique Sticks.—These are long, cane-like staves, made of a dark, hard, heavy, reddish-brown wood called "cacique". As a rule they are entirely plain, but pl. XVII, *b*, exhibits an example of a type, now said to be obsolete, that has the figure of a man rudely carved on the handle. These canes are highly regarded, because of certain 293 [532] [757]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

[534]

DRUM WITH HEAD OF IGUANA-SKIN
(Height, 24 inches)

[facing p. 92]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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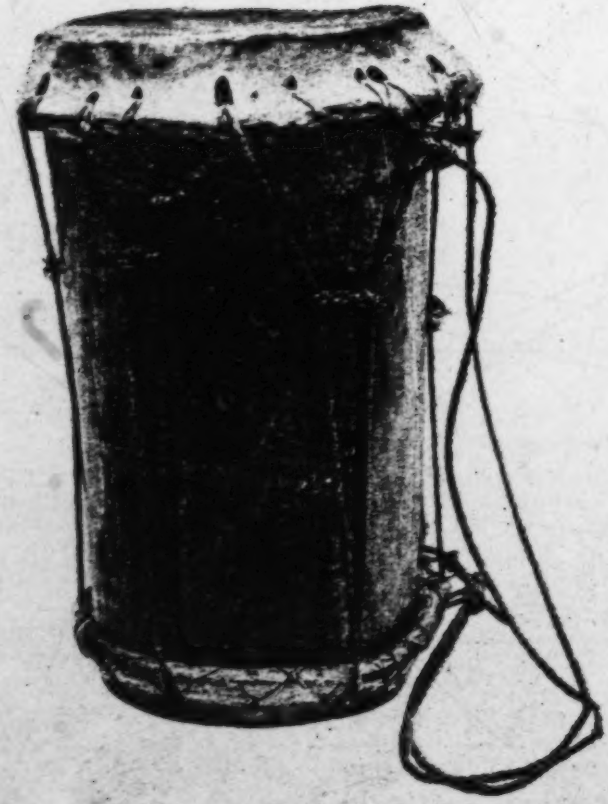

DRUM WITH DOUBLE HEAD
(Height, 20 inches)

[facing p. 93]

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also [534] made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. 314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being 177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

539 When the sister became pregnant, the *sukia* or medicine man was very angry and ordered that she be eaten by three tigers. To carry this out, the *sukia* waited until the woman was in a certain spot, and then made her unable to move. He ordered a man to climb a tree to watch and to report what occurred.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the three tigers came out of the woodland roaring and went right to the woman. Two were spotted with black and one was a yellow lion. The watcher saw them play together and pet her. The woman remained frozen. When they

[Continued at top of page 29-B]

THE ARTS

534 **Music.** There are very few genuinely aboriginal instruments left amongst the *Boruca*, and in public, they play no music that can definitely be called their own. The *maraca*, or rattle, is undoubtedly pre-Spanish, as frequently clay *maracas* are found in the early graves. The modern *maraca* is generally made of a gourd and often has little holes at the base to give more sound. The gourd is filled with little round black seeds called *t·akra'*, and attached to a bone handle (see p. 18). Rattles or *maracas* are also made by men and women of a grass (*Arundinella Deppeana* Nees.) which grows in the savanna. This grass is called *suge-r·a'* in Boruca, and *cola de venado* or *cola de chivo* in Spanish. The upper portion when young is purplish, while the lower part and the old grass is the color of straw. The Indians use both the old and young grass, thereby giving the rattle two distinct colors. It is woven with the fingers, the weave used being called *ra-t·a'* (see fig. 10, *c*), and the finished product is filled with corn to make it sound. Drums are round (see fig. 7, *c–5*), and made from a piece of the trunk of cedar or of balsa, and, very occasionally, of the coyol palm (*Acrocomia vinifera* Oerst.). Both ends are covered with wild peccary hide and fastened with thongs of the same hide. They are played by hand without sticks. A *chirimia* or flute-like instrument is made of cane and wood, and is used in a burlesque dance of bullfighting on the first of January, as well as on the eighth of December with the *negritos*. The *zambombia* is an instrument of the *Boruca* which has probably come to them through

[Continued at bottom of page 29-B]

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers 539
killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale.

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* 534
is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations.

The music on these occasions is almost en- 533
tirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn [177]
have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard.

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have 535
secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) [532]
mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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534
415

4, Ox and Indian woman laden with grasses for a roof. *b*, Artifacts of the *Boruca*: 1, mantle or skirt; 2, hube; 3, doll; 4, earrings or pendent; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, sieve; *c*, Artifacts of the *Boruca*: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, baskets; 3, sieve; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. *d*, Women wearing the mantle, or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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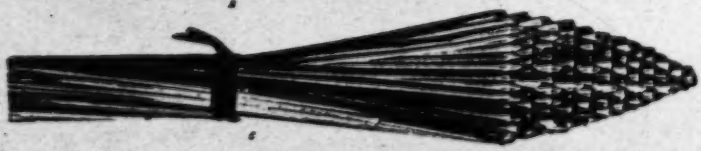

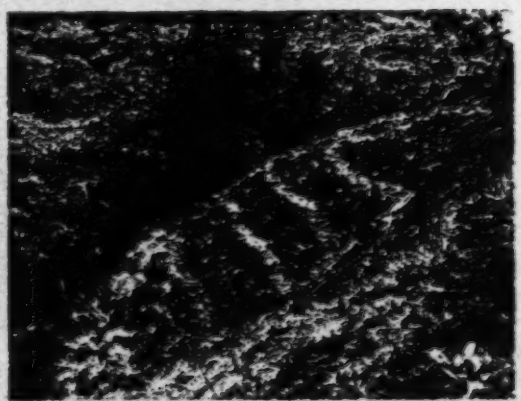

a, Funeral of a woman. *b*, Mask used in New Year's celebration. *c*, Straw weaver (¾ actual size). *d*, Rattles or weavers with bone handles. *e*, Remains of weaver spiralware on the sarcoma.

[p.60]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

omen. Now, while Sórkura was in the woods, Sibú went to his house. Sibú went to Sórkura's door, and spoke to the spider, "Art thou there, art thou there?" And the spider answered, "Here I am, here I am." Sibú also asked the dried skunk, "Art thou there and dry?" And the dried skunk answered, "Here I am and dry!" 539

Sibú had brought with him a cotton apron. He blew on the skunk, and it breathed again; it stood on its hind legs like a man, and was ordered to fasten the apron upon his body. Sibú had brought, also, the Singer's Calabash,[1] and he said to the skunk: "O thou, my uncle; thou shalt get the Calabash!" The skunk replied, "Oh no, I prefer to have the Drum of the Helper!" Then they played for a long time, until the music pervaded the wilderness. And Sórkura, alone in the woods, said to himself: "What is that resounding *tuú, tuú*, in my house?" And he thought: "What is it that so resounds? No one would dare to go to my house to bewitch." Then he thought again that he would go and watch. He went home, and hid himself behind a wall, to wait and see.

Sibú came again to play with the skunk. But then Sórkura was waiting for him with his spears. He threw one of these, and Sibú evaded it, so that it stuck fast in a wooden pillar; he threw another, but Sibú warded it off with a pot; the third one fell into the fire, and the fourth went through the door. And then Sibú ran away so swiftly that Sórkura only could grasp the whistle, which remained in his hand. Sórkura's people went after Sibú to kill him, but he could not be found.

Four days passed by, and Sibú was not seen anywhere. When he went back to Sórkura's house, this time under the disguise of an old Sórkura, — buried in far-away times, and now covered full with wounds and sores, — he said, "I am told that your boys stole Sibú's whistle." Sórkura answered, "How is it? dost thou happen to be Sibú?" Then Sibú spoke again, "Thou willest make fun of me, because I am so old and sore! I Sibú, the Almighty! Could Sibú be like myself?" But Sórkura insisted, "No, thou mightst be Sibú!" And Sibú went on, "Was Sibú, the Whistle-Bearer, like myself?"

Sórkura went and took the whistle, which was hanging from the brim of a basket. He showed it to Sibú, and Sibú grasped it; but Sórkura did not loose the string. Then Sibú spoke once more, and said, "The good gods manifest good virtues: what you have done is wrong! Let the string go." But Sórkura said, "No." Sibú then

[1] This is the sacred calabash, filled with the hard seeds of the *Canna*, and used by the singer (*stré-bur*) to mark the cadence of the ceremonial songs. The chief singer has a helper (*sinó*) provided for the same purpose with a drum. Therefore, the skunk declines the honor of leading the tune, and is modest enough to be satisfied with the drum. [534]

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration of the skirts consists of wide brown and white [531] stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or childlike drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *havas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

[P. 24(B)]
Bribri
Cabecar

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, [252] grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). [412] Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [415] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed for food preparation and the manufacture of 287 bark cloth.

[P. 46(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

756 him. Both benches had four feet, but one had
[352] a protruding tail and head with a red spot.
[532] The two men then went outside and the chief doctor closed the door to keep others away. From within, one could hear the elder man's voice in a song which gradually became louder and louder.

According to custom, they sat on benches in front of the house and the head man sang to the novice. Two of the assistant medicine men went out to watch for the sunrise so that they could warn the chief that it was time to put the novice back in the hut.

When they came in, the aspirant took off his white blanket. The head medicine man took the feathers from the first carrying bag which was still on the low bench, some stones, a staff,
[534] a jaguar skin, a long reed flute (*kuLu*) which only the medicine men can make and put these things in the leaf room. The two new benches were not included. Then the head man entered with the aspirant to arrange the details. When he came out, he said to the novice who remained inside, "You do not have permission to sleep, not even a little."

The aspirant had to stay in the room all the following day without sleeping because to be a doctor he must show his power of self control. In fact, this endurance test was explained by a simple question: if a medicine man were to have a very sick patient and fell asleep, what would happen?

The drinks and food were now passed for the fourth time with the same ceremony as
[534] before. Then the head man blew a conch-shell horn right by the novice's wall and pushed the leaves. This was to be certain that he was not dozing. The aspirant was forbidden to talk, but he answered by blowing at times a conch-shell horn and at others a flute. Every now and then the other medicine men would poke their staffs at the wall and receive a blown attestation of 'his wakefulness or a 'knock. This continued throughout the day.

At night the ordeal ended and the novice could leave his leaf compartment and take his stones. However, he had to wait four days before he could finish the mouth-washing ceremony and become in truth a *jawá*.

758 **Sickness.** On the Caribbean side, but less often on the Pacific, a lean-to for a sick person is made of *pejibaye* leaves at one end of the

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *dí*[204]-*ʒo* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
533 on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
184 tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
534 [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Qualys]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
237 or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
381 fastened to the wood with a glue made from
824 the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
184 chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Qual,1st]

[192] [204] *dí* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their
labor free until the project is completed. These
affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the
over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep
guarded by his female companions or vice-
versa, and the joint work of the men begins
as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[535] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

[123] I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an ob-
534 server are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one
535 or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same 766
manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened
calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, 535
around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, [534]
but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of
the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and
then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries
them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep
on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes im- [533]
promptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a
series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, how-
ever, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall
have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the
funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an
hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chi-
cha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, 766
when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch,
that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These [584]
eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of
the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during
which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains,
several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been de-
voured, the *bi-ka-kra* or steward announced that the commissary had
given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according
to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished [123]
guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where
we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a [574]
little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader
in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line
facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried
from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the
principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their 533
rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, 766
which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other 775
world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators
lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path;
of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful preci-
pices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared
with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous
butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of
his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-ba*, where he would have
nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead 533
of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 766

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

ment is three feet or less in length, and five or six inches in diameter at the head, narrowing toward the base (pl. XXVI), being constricted about six or seven inches from the bottom, then flaring slightly. Drums are hewn from a solid piece of wood, and fitted with a tight head of iguana-skin, which is shrunken over the large end and held in place with fiber cord glued on with dried blood. The drums are also furnished with a fiber rope for suspension. 534

At a *Chichara* festival one Indian was seen standing with a drum under his left arm and its carrying strap over his left shoulder, slapping the head of the drum with the open right palm. Beside him stood another Indian with his right arm about the drummer's shoulders. They danced with a skipping sidewise step, the drummer beating his instrument while the other thumped his chest in unison with the left hand. [482] [535]

This goblet-like form of drum is antique, as there is a specimen made of pottery, from an ancient grave, in the National Museum at San José. Unfinished drums of a shorter, double-headed, barrel-shaped vari- [172]

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers 539
killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale.

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* 534
is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations.

The music on these occasions is almost en- 533
tirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn [177]
have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard.

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have 535 ●
secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) [532]
mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The

535 object of the "dance" is that all the participants "fight" the bull, the wearer of the two-faced mask being the real "matador." At the end of the "dance" the "bull" is tied and supposedly strangled. This "fighting" is done to the accompaniment of the *chirimía*, *maraca*, and drum (see p. 29) to say nothing of the shouts of the various dancers. On New Year's Eve, the Indians dress in banana leaves and masks, and go to one another's houses, and, according to some, to a secret place to celebrate. On the eighth of December, the council chooses three or four men who represent the *negritos* or black men. They paint their faces with mud and soot, and adorn themselves with the skin of the jaguar or other animal of the forest. One man dresses as a black horse, using for this a hoop-shaped piece of cane from which hangs black cloth cut to represent a horse. The man steps into the center of the hoop and wears it hanging from his shoulders by fiber ropes. The drum, *chirimía*, and *maraca* accompany these merrymakers who dance around, bow to people, play tricks on people, and beg drinks from anyone they chance to see. In fact, they dance from house to house and at each stop are usually given a drink of chicha. The dance itself dates from Spanish-
171 colonial times, and is performed today during
535 religious feasts in many communities from Mexico through Guatemala southward, in-

[p. 30-A]

535 [171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

The other dances which are performed in public are danced only by the younger generation. The steps are entirely borrowed from [177] the Chiriquíans, who formerly and even still inhabit much of southern Costa Rica. The favorite dances are the *cumbia*, the *punto Chiricano*, and the waltz. All of these, with the single exception of the waltz, are danced individually and not by a couple holding one another close.

525 **Games and Gambling.** The *Boruca* are not a gambling people. They appear to have no interest in any sort of gambling. Dice are almost unheard of, and perhaps one pack of cards can be found in the whole village.

524 857 The boys have a game called *cuepas*. This is played with round pieces of bee's wax shaped almost like the cap of a pop bottle. One of these are placed face down, and a boy throws a similar piece on top of it. If the result of the impact causes both pieces to be face up, the boy who threw the *cuepa* wins, and takes the other *cuepa* as well as his own. If the result is otherwise, he loses his *cuepa*. Boys carry a ball of wax in their pockets for the express purpose of making *cuepas*.

Tops, made of wood with a nail serving as the pointed end, are also seen. They are not very popular, however.

[p. 30-B]

[pp. 31 and 32 contain no text]

184 197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which 104 are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą iłə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, i, ǫ, ų, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[65] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pij*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-509.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

*539 614 [824] [825] *gruwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənitswa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənitswa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P64(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

*589 taught people how to dance and to sing the
●[595] following song:

> *sibu* came in the form of a buzzard
> dressed as a man,
> Collar on his neck.
> The collar reflected,
> He came with the collar
> Ejené, ekujé,[199]
> Ejené, eanjé,[199]
> He came to give us the dance
> He came from the air.
> Ejené, ekujé,
> Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound
[825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [199] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.
[593] [199] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
184 tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
534 [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
381 fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
824 with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

[P.69(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their
labor free until the project is completed. These
affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the
over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep
guarded by his female companions or vice-
versa, and the joint work of the men begins
as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
●535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[535] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

535 example, *burére* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLɜkuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLɜk*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsó* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsó* or *kɜmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171]

[206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

525 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

*539
533

Sacred Songs

(18) Singer's Song[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsó*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

(19) *dikúswa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755]
[787]

This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúswa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúswa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúswa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúswa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

Lay Songs

(20) The Monkey Dance[211]

(*Bribri*)

● [535]

This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:
Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsua* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

[756]

[209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *bizəbLə-kək-keLi*. This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.
[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúswa*.
[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLəakuLe*.
[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLeiə*; *also* The Arts.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539

4. There is the turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
(*2*) Shell pool,[218] devil pool, dance of *kásuma*, dance [of *kásuma*].
(*3*) *Ledj*[219] horizon,[227] beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon.

5. Brave child, beautiful horizon, brave child he, ended brave.

6. *See* Linguistic Text.

7. I say nothing more.

21. The Dance of *duLętə*[219] (*Bribri*)

1. The elders are going to [dance] *duLętə*;
Let's go [dance] *duLętə*;
Let's dance; now let's walk. (*2*) In the front place there is no place to see.

2. Sir,[219] sir, *masLakésLa*.[220]
It touches, touches [the other world].
Lari river does not touch, touch.

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4. joekokə kaaenje ta-kuea, kuen-dí, ta-kuen-dí, Lạn-dí, ta-soLaLa soLonchi, ta-doa-donchi.
(*2*) tadon-dí,[221] suen[222]-dí, iberke kosa ję́-iberke.
(*3*) ję́-Ledj ta-mątedia ta-Lotedia, ta-nąwengiwę,[223] ta-nąwendia, taigewendiaLe, taigewendiaLe.

5. ta-nątę́ manbLi,[224] taigewendiaLe, ta-nątę́-i-manbLi, taiLote[225] manbLi.

6. kaake[226] kaajeje jaekoajeé.

7. ejke-šér-iche.

21. duLętə[227]

1. sképépa mi-duLętə;
mjíka duLętak;
sadoLeté; iké-sołka. (*2*) woka[228] kę́šą kjsąuk aje-kąni-kéta.

2. kéké, kéké, masLakésLa.[229]
i-kana, kana[230]
di-paLj Larj kei[231]-kana kana.

[218] Certain shells were part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Medicine Man's Paraphernalia).
[219] This is a name.
[220] This is a dance name as in English one says waltz or fox trot.
[221] This is a term of respect used for elders.
[222] *suen* is the *caracol* or water snail.
[223] This and the following three words signify "to adorn."
[224] This is a Térraba word to signify "something red" or "redness."
[225] Literally, "closed" or "finished" or "end."
[226] These three words are included for sound only.
[227] This song is in part Bribri and in part Cabécar.
[228] The following is in Cabécar.
[229] "The other world" is understood here.
[230] Bribri begins.
[231] This is Cabécar.

[535]
[825]

8.Zone E-5 (1950-1959)1962
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[P. 51(A)] Cabecar Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jerú* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[100] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking of them. The good and bad people all go to 775 *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything 772 from beneath the earth to make place for the 776 Indians there. In this underground domain, there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one 753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals themselves. This is one reason why the medicine [756] man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-

776 [100] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

*539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 Visits. People are not in the habit of visiting
521 for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men
● [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the
[184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation
521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often,
[184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to
[888] as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally,
431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from
484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone,
[576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

FOLKLORE

773 Very little remains in the field of legends or myths. Certain ones, told as recently as the time of Pittier, for example, "El Encanto,"[40] are now forgotten. The tales which are still told appear for the most part to be unfinished, half-remembered stories, and are, to a great extent, crude and unsatisfactory. The writer found that the telling of legends was similar, in a measure, to the gathering of language data. Few people remembered details, and no [124] two people agreed on all details. The fundamental note in the tales collected is the im- [154] portance placed on witchcraft, in spite of the fact that the *Borucas* like to give the impression that they no longer believe nor remember anything about witchery. The following are four myths which are still told by the *Boruca* Indians.

539 **The "Mamram."** These are two bewitched women. They were orphaned girls who were from Boruca, and who used to fish the crabs and the crayfish in the creek which runs through the town. Each day, as they exhausted one spot, they moved a bit further along the water course, until one day they disappeared completely and did not return.

The shamans, however, found the girls, and tied them up, then moved them to Barranco. You know they are there today, because you can see the stones of their hearth. Their bodies are covered with hair, and they are ugly, not only in appearance, but also in character. They are very mean, and have bothered people so much in the vicinity, that more than one community has had to move. The last place they destroyed was Camakrán by Paso Caracol.

The Grandfather of the Volcano. A long time ago, the grandfather of the volcano fell in love with a girl and took care of her. She became pregnant. He brought her partridges, wild turkeys, *pawceles*, wild hogs, wild pigs, and deer. The girl had a son, and she took care of him and raised him until he was six. Then the father came with a great wind and took the boy from his mother, and carried him to his house.

The father continued to visit the mother nightly, however, bringing her dried meat.

[40] Pittier, 1941, pp. 93–94.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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Boruca

But the mother would say, "My child is what I want. Where is he?" 539

The father did not like this, and moved the boy to a different place, and gave him the name of San-kra'-ua so that the mother would not know where he lived.

The Serpent. This is a legend which is concerned with the creek and site of Boruca itself. The hole mentioned in the story is still pointed out between two of the undulating hills in the town. The serpent has a mystical connection with the serpent who thunders by rattling his tail, and with the Laguna de Sierpe which forms one of the seven mouths of the Diquis River. [778]

The serpent lived in the hole. He came out, and the woman was behind him at the edge of the entrance. The snake waited for her to give him chicha so he would become drunk, and they would embrace. Then she laughed with the snake. Then they bathed together in the Diquis River. Then the snake went to sleep in his hole, and the woman went to her house to make more chicha, so that day-after-tomorrow again the snake would become drunk. Thus they behaved.

Then the woman became pregnant by the snake. Then the people and the sun knew. Then the mother of the girl bewitched him, so that he was burned hanging.

Then the girl gave birth, and the people stood by ready with machetes to kill the little snakes. They were ready with machetes and with sticks. One little snake did not have a tail. The mother of the girl burned them all. Nothing remained but ashes. The mother felt sorry, and cried for her daughter.

It ends here. All of it.

The Legend of the Kagõera. The Kagõera were a branch of the *Boruca* who lived at a site called Vanilla between Curré and Lagarto. They were in the habit of making frequent visits to Drake's Bay, on the coast near the Osa Peninsula. The Kagõera could be distinguished from the rest of the tribe by a golden plaque which they wore on their forehead.

Among the Kagõera was a brother and a sister who lived together as a married couple.

[p. 28-B]

1/4 [See p. 42-B for orthography.—Analyst]

539 When the sister became pregnant, the *sukia* or medicine man was very angry and ordered that she be eaten by three tigers. To carry this out, the *sukia* waited until the woman was in a certain spot, and then made her unable to move. He ordered a man to climb a tree to watch and to report what occurred.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the three tigers came out of the woodland roaring and went right to the woman. Two were spotted with black and one was a yellow lion. The watcher saw them play together and pet her. The woman remained frozen. When they
[Continued at top of page 29-B]

THE ARTS

534 **Music.** There are very few genuinely aboriginal instruments left amongst the *Boruca*, and in public, they play no music that can definitely be called their own. The *maraca*, or rattle, is undoubtedly pre-Spanish, as frequently clay *maracas* are found in the early graves. The modern *maraca* is generally made of a gourd and often has little holes at the base to give more sound. The gourd is filled with little round black seeds called *t·akra'*, and attached to a bone handle (see p. 18). Rattles or *maracas* are also made by men and women of a grass (*Arundinella Deppeana* Nees.) which grows in the savanna. This grass is called *suge-r·a'* in Boruca, and *cola de venado* or *cola de chivo* in Spanish. The upper portion when young is purplish, while the lower part and the old grass is the color of straw. The Indians use both the old and young grass, thereby giving the rattle two distinct colors. It is woven with the fingers, the weave used being called *ra-t·a'* (see fig. 10, *c*), and the finished product is filled with corn to make it sound. Drums are round (see fig. 7, *c–5*), and made from a piece of the trunk of cedar or of balsa, and, very occasionally, of the coyol palm (*Acrocomia vinifera* Oerst.). Both ends are covered with wild peccary hide and fastened with thongs of the same hide. They are played by hand without sticks. A *chirimía* or flute-like instrument is made of cane and wood, and is used in a burlesque dance of bullfighting on the first of January, as well as on the eighth of December with the *negritos*. The *zambombia* is an instrument of the *Boruca* which has probably come to them through
[continued at bottom of page 29-B]

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers 539
killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale.

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* 534
is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations.

The music on these occasions is almost en- 533
tirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn [177]
have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard.

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have 535
secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) [532]
mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The

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101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

● 599 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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have no chocolate." "Do not lie so openly! I have seen thy cacao fruits hanging from the tree, as I was coming." "It is good," answered Jáburu, and, turning to his wives, he said to them: "Go and gather cacao, and bring also a calabash," and then Jáburu spoke again to his wives: "Let Surá's first crop be roasted for us to drink!" They then roasted and prepared the cacao, and scooped out the calabash to drink the chocolate from. Then Sibú, the almighty God, willed — and whatever he wills has to be: "May the first cup come to me!" and as it so came to pass, he said: "My uncle, I present this cup to thee, so that thou drinkest!" Jáburu swallowed the chocolate at once, with such delight that his throat resounded, *tshaaa!* And he said, "My uncle! I have drunk Surá's first fruit!" But just at this moment he began to swell, and he swelled and swelled until he blew up. Then Sibú, the almighty God, picked up again the seed of our kin, which was in Jáburu's body, and willed, "Let Surá wake up again!" And as it so happened, he gave him back the basket with the seed of our kin to keep. 539

II. HOW THE FIRST BRIBRI INDIANS WERE BORN.

In those far-away times, Sibú once thought what he could do to break up the seed of our kin, which he kept hidden without avail in a certain place. Then he made a bet with Jáburu, and they agreed that they would throw two cacao pods at each other, and that he should lose in whose hands the pod of cacao would break. And as Sibú did not want to lose again the seed of our kin, and let Jáburu have it, — for that was the stake they were going to play for, — he willed that he would choose for himself the green cacao, and give the ripe one to Jáburu. They were to throw four times.

Jáburu placed himself beyond the Afiri,[1] at the mouth of Djiri, while Sibú remained on the opposite side at Torok-hu. And Jáburu threw his pod twice, and the next time it broke in his hands, so that he lost the wager. This happened at dawn, and the angry Iáburu then proceeded to warm his chocolate, and to have the monkey, his *bikú-kru* or servant, serve it hot to him. But he, in trying to be quick, kicked the pot, and upset the hot chocolate. And this is how the warm spring near Torok-hu was formed. And there, where the hot water now remains, Surá-Djëbi (= Jáburu) had his large pot, and since dawn came upon him, he had to abandon it. Just at this time our kin were born in human form. And as our forefathers were lying down on the stone banks which are still found there, they saw the peccaries going by. They went after them, and thus it was that

[1] The Arari or Lari is one of the largest rivers of Talamanca, the Djiri is one of his tributaries, and Torok-hu (or the house of the "Alligator") is a place opposite its mouth, where the cliffs are naturally shaped in form of benches or stairs.

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539 they discovered the way over the cordillera. They got to the other side, and there they found out that the hogs had turned into men like themselves. And these are the *Brurán*[1] people.

III. THE TALE OF OUR DYING AWAY.

773 Our forefathers told us that in far-away times, when we lived in other countries, the gods allowed us to be eaten by birds and animals.

Once upon a time, when many of our people were playing on a 539 plain, there came flying a mighty eagle, and he caught one of our kin and blood, and threw him into a large basket he was carrying. He carried him away to the top of the Kamuk,[2] where he fell asleep, because he was very tired. At that time the eagle never thought of eating up our kinsman. On the morn, he flew again, carrying off his prey far away to the peak of Nëmósul, where he rested, without thinking yet of eating him. Again he flew away, far away, and got to the ridge of Nëmóie, where he met with powerful jaguars. And he told them how he had brought the man. One of the jaguars then proposed to him that they should eat the man together. The eagle consented, and they ate him. They ate him, and after that, the eagle flew up, high up to the top of Nëmóie. And this is the reason 773 why we see white spots near the top of Nëmóie; they are the bones of our kinsman, and there it was that man was eaten for the first [823] time by birds and animals, because the jaguar taught the eagle how to eat him. Our forefathers also used to say that on the same ridge of Nëmóie there are stones shaped like jaguars. Whenever any one goes there, those stones become alive and true jaguars, because they are not stones at all, but bad spirits.

Such is the tale of our forefathers, and they also used to say, that once upon a time strange men became a prey to the jaguars, on that same ridge of Nëmóie. And this is why we are not permitted to live in these dangerous places.

IV. HOW SIBÚ KILLED SÓRKURA.

539 Sórkura was in the habit of drinking the water of a spring in which the skunk used to ease his body. Sibú, the almighty God, thought it would be well that Sórkura should kill the skunk. And so it happened: Sórkura went to watch the skunk, killed it, and hung its dead body to dry on the fire, since it was a prophet of ill-

[1] Brurán is the Indian name for Térraba, the Tírub colony in the Diquis Valley.

[133] [2] Kamuk or Pico Blanco is the most conspicuous peak of the Talamanca mountains; it is 2914 m. above sea-level, according to Gabb. Nëmósul and Nëmóie are two secondary summits, the first at the entrance of the Coen Valley, the second on the ridge between the Estrella and Tararia basins.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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omen. Now, while Sórkura was in the woods, Sibú went to his house. Sibú went to Sórkura's door, and spoke to the spider, "Art thou there, art thou there?" And the spider answered, "Here I am, here I am." Sibú also asked the dried skunk, "Art thou there and dry?" And the dried skunk answered, "Here I am and dry!" 539

Sibú had brought with him a cotton apron. He blew on the skunk, and it breathed again; it stood on its hind legs like a man, and was ordered to fasten the apron upon his body. Sibú had brought, also, the Singer's Calabash,[1] and he said to the skunk: "O thou, my uncle; thou shalt get the Calabash!" The skunk replied, "Oh no, I prefer to have the Drum of the Helper!" Then they played for a long time, until the music pervaded the wilderness. And Sórkura, alone in the woods, said to himself: "What is that resounding *tuú, tuú,* in my house?" And he thought: "What is it that so resounds? No one would dare to go to my house to bewitch." Then he thought again that he would go and watch. He went home, and hid himself behind a wall, to wait and see.

Sibú came again to play with the skunk. But then Sórkura was waiting for him with his spears. He threw one of these, and Sibú evaded it, so that it stuck fast in a wooden pillar; he threw another, but Sibú warded it off with a pot; the third one fell into the fire, and the fourth went through the door. And then Sibú ran away so swiftly that Sórkura only could grasp the whistle, which remained in his hand. Sórkura's people went after Sibú to kill him, but he could not be found.

Four days passed by, and Sibú was not seen anywhere. When he went back to Sórkura's house, this time under the disguise of an old Sórkura, — buried in far-away times, and now covered full with wounds and sores, — he said, "I am told that your boys stole Sibú's whistle." Sórkura answered, "How is it? dost thou happen to be Sibú?" Then Sibú spoke again, "Thou willest make fun of me, because I am so old and sore! I Sibú, the Almighty! Could Sibú be like myself?" But Sórkura insisted, "No, thou mightst be Sibú!" And Sibú went on, "Was Sibú, the Whistle-Bearer, like myself?"

Sórkura went and took the whistle, which was hanging from the brim of a basket. He showed it to Sibú, and Sibú grasped it; but Sórkura did not loose the string. Then Sibú spoke once more, and said, "The good gods manifest good virtues: what you have done is wrong! Let the string go." But Sórkura said, "No." Sibú then

[1] This is the sacred calabash, filled with the hard seeds of the *Canna*, and used by the singer (*stré-kw*) to mark the cadence of the ceremonial songs. The chief singer has a helper (*sisi*) provided for the same purpose with a drum. Therefore, the skunk declines the honor of leading the tune, and is modest enough to be satisfied with the drum. [534]

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539 willed, "May he let me have the whistle! May he look back into the house!" And as this happened, Sibú ran away and ran on whistling all the while. Meanwhile Sórkura thought he would go and set him an ambush on the path. He took four of his spears and his shield, hung his conch upon a string around his body, and said to his people: "I will go and kill Sibú; when you hear my conch resound, Sibú shall be dead. Then you are to warm up my cacao, as I will soon be back." He then went and waited for Sibú to pass by, and when Sibú came along, he threw one of his spears at him. But Sibú had on the back of his head another ear, which warned him that some one was going to shoot at him. The spear fell noisily on his side. Sórkura made another throw, but without effect. And now Sibú took one of the spears in his hand, and threw it at Sórkura, who received it on his shield. Then Sibú willed, "I will kill Sórkura; may he look over his shield!" Then he took a new aim, and Sórkura was shot just in the middle of his face. And Sibú took the conch, and blew: *Tuú, tuú,* so that the woods resounded, and he cut Sórkura's body into pieces with his knife, and made it into flesh, bones, blood, and bowels, which ever since have been [787] things of ill-omen to us.[1] Sórkura's people waited long, and kept his chocolate warm for him; but he never came back. Sibú had killed Sórkura!

V. THE KING OF THE TAPIRS.

[825] Like the wild hogs and the deer, the tapirs have also their king. Two Bribri went hunting into the woods, each one carrying his bow and arrows. They met with a white tapir, and tried to kill it; but they did not succeed. Both ran after it, but they lost its track, and one of them went astray, no one ever knew how. The other looked for him everywhere, but did not find him. So he went back to his home, where he asked for his companion, and, as he had not come back, everybody thought that he had met with a mishap, and lost his life.

The lost man ran far away behind the tapir until he lost sight of it; then he stood still to rest. Soon his ear perceived the crowing of a cock. He then thought that there was some house near, and, having gone to see, he got to a large *palenque.*[2] He went in, and

[1] Every time the Indians find in the woods leaves sprinkled with blood, or bones and excrement, the origin of which they cannot explain, they see in them Sórkura's relics, and turn away with awe; also leaves having the appearance of being spotted with blood, such as frequently occur in certain groups of plants (*Araceæ, Begonia, Columneæ,* etc.), are considered to be of the same origin, and are signs of ill-omen for the undertaking they are engaged upon.

[2] Palenque is the *Spanish* or possibly *Nahua* word employed in Costa Rica to [104] designate the large conical houses of the Bribri, who call the same *ö-suré.*

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there was standing a man of stately appearance. He asked, "Here I am; how art thou?" The other answered, "Well; why didst thou come here?" And he told how he had shot at a tapir, and had lost it. Then the man of the house went on, and said, "Why dost thou shoot to play? When thou shootest, do it so as to kill, so that the poor beast does not fall a prey to the worms. But I see thou art tired, so come in and have a seat." And he brought him *chicha*, and gave him to eat the meat of the tapir at which the hunter had shot without effect, but which the owner of the house had killed. 539

And when he had rested, drunk, and eaten, the hunter said that he had visited his host. But this one replied, "There, take thou this piece of cane, and plant it at thine home, and when the cane has grown its full growth again, then, but not until then, shalt thou be able to speak once more."

When the hunter got to his house, he could not utter even a word, so he planted the cane; and it grew, and when it had attained its full height, then the hunter could talk again, and he told all that had happened to him.

The man in whose house the hunter had been was the king of the tapirs, and this is why he treated him so.

VI. THE KING OF THE WILD HOGS.

Among the beasts, the wild hogs also have a king. He is to all appearance like a very white and good-looking fellow, who goes through the woods with a big stick in his hand. He lives in an enchanted place on the heights of San-krá-ua, and his door is guarded by a huge tiger. 773 825

The king of the hogs is displeased when the Indians wound his subjects without killing them at once. Once upon a time there was in Boruca one of those bad hunters who had the reputation of being a bad archer, and who always wounded the animals, but never killed them. One day he went into the woods, and met with a large herd of hogs, after which he ran and ran, without being able to reach them. When he paid attention to the place he had got into, he saw that he had gone astray. Then he went ahead until he came into the presence of the king of the hogs, who caught him by the throat and said, "Why dost thou hurt all my hogs without ever killing them? Now thou shalt suffer for it, because thou shalt remain in my hands until thou hast healed them all." And there he stayed for a long time, healing hogs; and at the beginning they did not let him heal them, but came upon him to bite. So that he suffered a thousand deaths, until they were cured a little, and became so tame as to follow him everywhere. [224] 539

When there were no more hogs to cure, the king called our

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539 Brunka to his presence, and told him he could go, and to be careful not to wound hogs again without killing them. He also marked in his presence all the hogs he would be at liberty to kill. And the man went away through the woods, until he got to Krámra-ua,[1] where he met with a few of his kinsmen who were hunting hogs. When they saw the man who used to cure them, the hogs always ran to him, and never would go away, so that he could easily kill all those which had been marked for him. And he always advised his companions never to wound animals, but to kill them right away.

VII. DON PEDRO CASCANTE.

(Legend of the hollow trail of El Pito.[2])

487 In very remote times, when the Spaniards had not yet arrived in
773 these countries, the Indians only could climb up from the coast of Quepos to the high mountains of Dota by following the long and
[481] tiresome ridge of El Pito, bound together by means of the royal vine into files of ten to twenty, and pulled by witchcraft without any effort from their side. But, also, on each journey one man disappeared without the others being aware when or how, and that was the toll they paid for the dreaded ascent.

539 This great calamity had lasted for numberless years, and the trail to El Pito became deeper and narrower from day to day, on account of the way they had to go over it, bound together in long files, when a very holy missionary father left Cartago, riding a strong white mule, to go and win over the Indians. And as he was going down to the coast through the fearful road of El Pito, he met the "Encanto" which had taken the form of a big turkey, and would not get out of the road to let the holy man pass. Then the father became very angry; he alighted from his mule, bound the turkey with a blessed string, and dragged him down hill until they got to the place called "Alto de los Cotos." There he tied him to a large tree which he blessed, and told him that he would stay there up to the day of the final doom. And from that day hence, the "Encanto" never again annoyed the passers-by.

Only a certain Pedro Cascante, who had a large breeding-farm of mules and cattle, down on the plain of "El Calicanto," allowed himself to become a prey to his avarice, and on account of it, he lost his soul.

Cascante had become very rich by carrying out to San Marcos the

[103] [1] Krámra-ua, name of a place on the lower Diquis.

[2] This trail, so deeply cut into the ridge of El Pito as to be tunnel-like at a few places, leads from San Marcos, once one of the principal residences of the Quepos Indians, down to the coastal plains of the Pacific.

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fine cheese, finer even than the celebrated Bagaces, which he produced on his farm, together with many other good things. But the richer he became, the more grew the tremendous avarice of Don Pedro. Once he was climbing up the hill of El Pito, in the heavy ascent of "Los Godines," when one of his mules disappeared suddenly. Therefore he jumped from his horse, and, sword in hand, ran through the woods until he got to a plain, where a man was unsaddling the mule which had just gone astray. Cascante then got into a rage, and wanted to fight with the robber. But the latter quietly kept telling him: "Let us be peaceful, friend; let me take thy sword, and bind thine eyes, then I will take thee to my house where thou shalt receive thy mule's weight in gold or silver." After a while, Cascante consented to have his eyes bound, but would never let his sword go. They walked along, and in a short time the bandage fell from his eyes, and he found himself in a large house, filled with gold and silver. The robber, who was no other than "El Encanto," allowed him to carry away all he could, and he loaded his mules with gold and silver.

And, since then, Cascante maintained himself on good terms with "El Encanto," and even his old wife took her part of the benefits of the acquaintance. For she was seen catching tapirs to carry her load of plantains to the house, and binding the wild animals of the forest with a thin vine, and chastising them with a heavy stick, when they were not docile. She used to catch the jaguars, and beat them to death after tying them to a tree with a slender sprig, and whenever they tried to resist, she took them by the tail, and flattened them against the trees.

Don Pedro only travelled by night, riding a big black mule, and accompanied by a dog of the same color. The eyes of both animals threw out sparks in the darkness and from their necks hung noisy bells. And from fright all the people who met them in the night went on their knees to pray, and then the noise ceased instantly, the sparks shone no more, and the night-rider shouted: "Hallos, boys, be not frightened, I am Don Pedro Cascante!" Once ahead, again began the noise, and the sparks shone anew, and so rapid was the ride uphill that they made in six hours the long steep ascent from "El Calicanto" to San Marcos.

When Cascante died, his "deudos" put a candle on his coffin, but then he came to life three times. The fourth time they lighted many candles, and then went to sleep. When they woke up, they found themselves in the dark, and the coffin empty. The "Encanto," who is no other than the Devil himself, had come for his due, and taken away Don Pedro.

H. Pittier de Fábrega.

● 539

[For the native text of myths and songs, see category 116, pp. 52 (B)-68 (B), 71A-95.]

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142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that
827 which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the
843 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods
[343] and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *bu-ku-ra'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *asa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

● 551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

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ble for a stranger to learn the true name of an Indian, directly from the 551
person himself, although his friends may divulge it, and this is looked
upon almost in the light of either a breach of confidence, or a practical [522]
joke. After long acquaintance, they may be prevailed upon, but even
then are more apt to give a false name than to tell the truth, so great is
their reluctance. One fellow, who was my servant for over three months,
after always denying having a name, at last told me a pet name, or
"nick-name" that he had had as a child. It is customary for children
to have provisional names, or to be called only "boy" or "girl" as the
case may be, until the whim of an acquaintance or some equally arbitrary
circumstance fixes a title to them. Besides the native name, generally
derived from some personal quality, or not seldom the name of some ani-
mal or plant, almost all of the Indians possess a foreign name, by which
they are known, and which they do not hesitate to communicate. Among
themselves, when the name is unknown, a person is called by the name
of the place where he lives. Mr. Lyon says all the women have names,
as well as the men. But my experience with them is never to have heard
them called by other titles than "girl," "woman," "*wishy*" (applied
familiarly to young married women), or "so-and-so's wife" or daugh-
ter, except in the case of a few of the more civilized men, who have given
Christian names to their families.

Children are not generally weaned early. In case of the birth of a se- 862
cond child, the first is weaned perforce. But it is nothing strange to see
a child well able to walk, say even two years old, go to the breast as a
matter of course, although sufficiently accustomed to more solid food.

Small babies are carried on the back, astride the hips of the woman, 854
and supported by a broad strip of bark or cotton cloth, passed around
both, and secured in front by a dexterous tucking in of the ends. When
they become larger, they are carried on one hip, supported by the arm;
or are placed on top of the load, if the mother is travelling. They sit
perched on the bundle, with a foot dangling either over or behind each
shoulder of the mother, and soon learn to hold on like monkeys.

The training of the youth is left almost entirely to themselves. Among 866
the Tiribi they are taught to respect and obey their parents, but in the
other tribes they are more insolent and disrespectful to their parents than
to other persons. I have seen a boy of ten years old absolutely refuse to
obey some trifling command of his mother, and she seemed to have no
power to enforce her order. The little girls learn early to accompany the 868
older girls and women when they go out to bring water. Their usual
station, in the house, is at the side of the fire, where, as soon as they are
large enough, they assist in fanning the fire, preparing plantains for the
pot or watching the cooking. The boys will sometimes deign to hunt
fire-wood, but they are more apt to be playing by the side of the river
with mimic bow and arrow, learning to shoot fish under water. Their 524
toys are mostly diminutive copies of the tools and weapons of more ad- 868
vanced age. The machete of the man is represented by a good sized

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid.
756 The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik*
846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe
[824] who is also washed with leaves which sup-
[751] posedly have protective powers. These leaves include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day,
[783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé-
756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the
[783] purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia[102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

● 551 Pittier[103] notes that the Bribri male had a
[756] secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[192] [101] This is called the *papakusk* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taše*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Furthermore, she cannot drink water other than that
[271] from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense* [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[924] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from
[262] a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is common and they are weaned anywhere from
[862] one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pu* means "around
756 one." *kusk* is "to bathe."
192 [109] Segurra y Julia, 1907, pp. 352-53.
[109] Fittier, 1938, pp. 27-28.

[P. 86]

*539

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

19. *dikúswa*[301] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikúswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikúswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikúswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[302] You will never die." (*?*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikúswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *kúswa*], dance [of *kúswa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

---

19. dikúswa

1. ętsą kuLę,[303] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[304] patkęmj ętsą kuLę-i-tsúk. buLáme-tą, sibu-tə dikúswa ichake, "šu-ruówami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iąté, "ké bu-ruókua. be-ęə emę. ké be-ruókwą šątę.[305] (*?*) ó-kuęgi sibu-tə dikúswa[306] meąt-sé buąúnmeLe.

20. buLtakuLe[307]

1. kaęgęę[308] kaęgé jaęgaange[309] kaanjé jaęgęęg.
kaanjé eguange kaanjé.

2. ta-kuęą,[310] kuen-dí,[311] ta-kuen-dí, Ląn[312]-dí,
ta-soLoLa soLari,
ta-dos-donchi.
ję[313]-iberke ikatsą, ję-iberke jęn.

3. kaanjejeé[314] jekua jóeé.

[755] [552] [778] [197] [172]

[301] This is the medicine man's song against sickness. [302] I.e., that you are sick.
[303] *kuLę* means to *sing and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kuLę*.
[304] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cuyeo.
[305] This also means "nothing."
[306] The connotation is that the bird, *dikúswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikúswa*.
[307] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[308] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[309] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[310] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[311] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle. [312] *See* Theological Beliefs.
[313] *ję* and *jęn* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *kúswa*.
[314] These sounds signify adornments.

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756 The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik*
846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe
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[192] instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
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101 There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
131 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyta;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Chonguen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymí.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike;
[411] for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Téjar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 648

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however, that certain vestiges of traditional customs [178] persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a [765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.** There is an elaborate group of officials con-764 nected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one [784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person [783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the [756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ʒarichak*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-hood, but do have a decided social position [554] because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókum* in Bribri and *keri* in Cabécar. They are [756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are [825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. [262] He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were [775]

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkíwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

suLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbowak	mediwak
mogriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
● 554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts
611 of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves members of their *father's* clan in spite of the
[851] fact that the father has married outside of his people.

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *síbor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[Text continues top of P. 41(B)—Analyst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawé* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[Text continues bottom of P. 41(B)—Analyst]

[435] [140] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[140] Usually 100 pounds.

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* 539

4. The brother asked the sister, "Why did you come?" She answered her brother, "I came to return [to] this place." Thus they conversed together.

5. He heard the jaguar roar. The jaguar said to the woman [and] her brother, "We shall live in the house." They all went to work. When they returned, then everything was cooked. Thus it happened daily.

8. *serike*'s Mother (*Bribri*)

1. *serike*'s mother is the daughter of *itsó*. *serike* is eight men [in one]. He once wanted to go with a woman. *itsó* ate [*serike*'s] mother. Then they [the family] became angry with their grandfather. Afterwards they went where the world ends. (*2*) But then they said to their grandfather, "We will return to see you within four days. You remain waiting for us here." Then [*serike*] went where his old grandmother [was[363]].

2. Four days went by. He returned right away to see his grandfather. Then he [*serike*] put plumes on his head. He met his grandfather. Then he carried away the root[364] to kill him. (*2*) Then we see much wind blowing.[365] This happens in the summer all the time.

9a. The Stone Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the stone jaguar. Everywhere *sibu* made the

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4. ikəte ſchagá ikutąną, "jirəwągLə bə betena?" ike kugaite, "sbitə-jika ką mjnąną." jebibə ikta ąnra.

5. ksaitera namą uLurgę. namąte ika iLagLóną šəbuku bəkeną, "sąte senewemi jujarga." jiewą migę kLabé škabLə. biguge danera, jirə bikəLe tsǫ LiLəjka. jerə kegarra.

8. serike amí

1. serike amí-rər itsǫ́ aLabusi. serike rər pagaL wepa. emí ké ą́ aLakarpa tą́ e-tagLotą. itsǫ́-tə[366] imí kate-wa. nęę iepa uLąna iduo-kj. ukəska i-michórąk wę ką-ąak wəbLerkęę. (*2*) ę́rə étą iduó ą́ i-cheąt, "ką́ tkeL-ąjwową sarəmęLę bəsouk. je mąąte sá kistsək." nęę i-michoe iujkékeLasąk.

2. kąre tkeL-ąjwowatą. iškəąnąmęLę iduó šuLónmeLe. étą iwókir-kj dukə tuLákąiwą. iduó kąwą étą ikuąmiwą[367] ujtéwą. (*2*) étą sé-tsó isuúktą simǫé buLar tafe. é wambLéke duís kékara.

9a. ják namą

1. šis-mą išə namą ják. jíska sibote išəwa namą ják tsəwaisągLə.

[554]
[888]

[363] Literally, "it was."
[364] I.e., the grandfather who is considered the root of the family.
[365] Literally, "sounds."
[366] Here *to* signifies action.
[367] *ikuą* is root; *miwą* is carried away.

586 nowadays it does exist particularly amongst the Indians who have contact with the *ladino*-populated coast. Formerly, it was unknown, but today a man leaves a woman, or a woman a man, if they feel like it.

764 Death. Whatever ceremonies existed amongst the *Boruca* in regard to death have almost entirely disappeared. It is interesting that the *Boruca* do not cry at funerals. At the wake, there is a feast the size of which depends [556] upon the economic status of the deceased. Coffee and chicha are always served as drinks. The women put the body, at times with the hands folded as in prayer, on a long wooden bench or on wooden tablets, and cover it with any piece of cloth available. Three candles are placed alongside the body, one at each side of the face and one at the end. Sometimes, a candle is put by the feet. Prayers are recited all night during the wake. In the morning, men tie the body with fiber rope to the bench or planks, fastening to them two poles horizontally to serve as handles, and generally carry the whole to the church. Here an Indian, the warden, officiates in the absence of the priest. After the Mass, or the few prayers if there is no priest, the body still on the bench (see fig. 10, *a*), and still covered with cloth, is carried by the men to the cemetery, friends of the dead following. Here, bench and all, it is deposited in a shallow grave (about 4 feet), and very infrequently, leaves or flowers are scattered over or placed on it. When the deceased leaves no relative, his extra clothes are placed under his body and used as a bed in the grave. If the dead has enjoyed a good 766 position within the community during life, then a small tunnel is made in a side of the grave, and the body is placed there. This is called a "tomb." When a child dies, the body is tied in a white cloth and the one accordion in the village is played all the way to the graveyard. The whole town accompanies the body.

769 One year after the death of an individual, the *Boruca* celebrate what is known as the "birthday" of the death. Another feast is given at the house of the deceased. This feast must have a lot of chicha, and often lasts until the following morning or until the chicha disappears.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an 234]
inheritance. The cows are seldom milked.

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who [342]
wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot.

Political Organization. Most traces of 625
political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who is an Indian, but is appointed by the Govern- 625
ment of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pastime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

872 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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179 came among them, I could get no more satisfactory answer than that they went to Cartago to buy them. I have been told a vague story, however, that long ago there were two bands living in the country now occupied by the Bri-bris. Those living in the valley, around the junction of the branches of the Tiliri were more powerful than the mountaineers, and forced the latter to pay tribute when they descended to hunt, or cut the material for their bark-cloth clothing. But gradually the lowlanders died out; the highlanders, becoming the more powerful, rebelled against these impositions, and eventually emigrated in such numbers to the country of the former, that the distinction became lost by an amalgamation of the two parties. Even now the Bri-bris, who occupy the lowlands
[563] and most of the hill regions of the Sicsola, look down on their neighbors the Cabecars and treat them as inferiors. The Cabecars, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge even a social supremacy, and in a mixed party submit to assume the more menial occupations, like bringing water and wood; and are always obliged to wait until the last when food or drink is being served. Few of the Bri-bris speak the Cabecar language, but there are few of the Cabecars who do not speak Bri-bri, and they usually
[622] use it in the presence of strangers. The Cabecars have no chief of their own, but are entirely under the rule of the Bri-bri chief, and have been, from time immemorial. Their subjugation is, in short, complete. At
[793] the same time they have the honor of religious supremacy, in so far as that the high priest, the "*Usekara*," whose office will be explained further on, belongs to their tribe. The ordinary priests, the "*Tsugurs*," who, like the "*Usekarà*," are hereditary, come from a group of families on the Coen River, but belong to the Bri-bri tribe.

About the beginning of this century there was a bitter war between the
179 Bri-bris and the Tiribis. The youngest members of the war parties are
721 now mostly dead, and the few remaining survivors are very old men. The last of the warriors proper, mature men at that time, died about 1860, at an extremely advanced age. I have heard the traditions from both sides the question, and of course each party throws all the blame on the other. The Bri-bri story is that some people, a whole family, living on the extreme eastern portion of the Uren district, were found murdered, and no clue discovered to the perpetrators of the act. Not very long afterwards other murders occurred in an equally mysterious manner, which threw the whole country into a state of excitement. Afterwards a small party was attacked by some unknown Indians, a portion killed and some left to tell the tale. The tracks of the strangers were followed through the woods, always keeping to the east, until they were lost. Following this clue, the chief of the Bri-bris sent out a party of armed scouts, who climbed to the summit of the dividing ridge, overlooking the Tilorio. From here they discovered for the first time that they had neighbors; seeing their houses and cornfields in the distance. A large war party was fitted out; they passed the mountains, and without warning descended on the unsuspecting

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept 173
up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as 721
many heads as possible. This went on until the Tribi, reduced to a
handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the
Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the
right of final choice of chief of the Tribis, after nomination of the can- [622]
didate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been
exercised. The Tribi story does not differ from the above, except in
the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris.
In some respects the Tribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children
are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress [563]
and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and
while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a con-
quered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, [582]
and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them.

I have already said the Tribis and Cabecars are under the political rule 619
of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family
holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning 622
chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not
in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible mem-
ber of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is
passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present
chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor,
who was in turn a cousin to his.

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The
principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social
than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock
for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, cho-
colate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But
in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the [411]
long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last 622
decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the
chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him 648
with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes.
About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and [177]
San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Gov-
ernment, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of
his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future suc-
cessor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or [624]
no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed
that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exagger-
ated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held
in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moin, a little settlement on the
Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz
against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to
assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 81, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 428.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

[P. 37(B)]

614 582 [591] people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənʃtswa, ʒəʒəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənʃtswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [121] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogereek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[122] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

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accidental discovery at rare intervals, of a half-rotten trunk in the woods. 824
It is prized principally for its color, which is between that of old mahogany and rosewood, and which is probably in part due to seasoning, or to some change in the heart, consequent on the decomposition of the surface. When an Indian finds one of these sticks, he marks the spot, but dares not take possession immediately. He must purify himself by a [783]
three days fast before he can begin work on it. It is believed that these sticks are under the protection of a poisonous snake, and if the person has not properly prepared himself, the guardian will revenge the outrage by biting him.

The privileged classes, apart from the chiefs, are three. Two of these [565]
are hereditary. The *U-se'-ka-ra* is a sort of high priest, and is of nearly 793
as great importance in the eyes of the people as the chief. In fact, the time was, and not very long ago either, when the chiefs themselves made journeys to visit him as suppliants. The present incumbent is a youth of perhaps twenty-five years of age, and is not yet full fledged. His predecessor, his father, died recently, and, until after the funeral feast, he cannot enter fully into the exercise of his functions. The family lives far back in the hills of Cabecar, and, although a member of that despised tribe, has from time immemorial held undisputed sway over both it and the Iri-bris.

The former *U-se'-ka-ra* was very arrogant, and would hold no communication with foreigners. He claimed supernatural powers, and held frequent interviews with spirits. On these occasions he went alone to a cave, several miles from his house, and spent days together there. On his return he would not converse even with his own family. Nobody but his familiar, now a very old man, was allowed to serve him, or even to speak to him for a certain number of days after his return from one of these mysterious journeys. He rarely traveled about, or visited his neighbors. He lived by levying contributions on the people, or by voluntary presents. His only beverage was chocolate, and the cacao was contributed as voluntary gifts from people far and near. If he entered a house, and offered to buy, or expressed even admiration for anything, whether a chicken, a pig, or any other object, it was at once presented to him. It was considered as good as forfeited. If not presented, it would be sure to die anyhow, and his ill-will would be gained besides. In case of any public calamity, like an epidemic disease, or a scarcity of food from drought, the chief only must visit him, and beg his intercessions with the spirits. He would pay no attention to private appeals. In case he felt inclined to be gracious, he would retire to his cave, and in due time after order a fast. The young man who now holds the position, is one of the finest looking men in the country. He is tall and well formed, his good-natured looking face bears an expression of seriousness hardly in keeping with his youth; and his whole bearing is grave and impressive. I was forcibly struck by his manner, being so strongly in contrast with the light-hearted, talkative character of most of the people. When in

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[184] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
[423] or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
[643] Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

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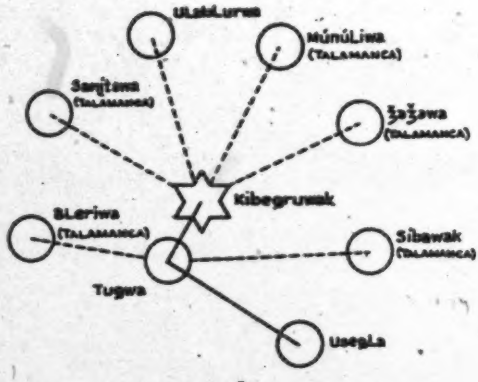
[P 36(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--Analysi]

614
177

manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614
463

Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine

● [565]

Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari

262
614

region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

[443]

[117] The *uLwak* and *tuwawiwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *kuparwak*.

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *dí*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--analysis]

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jewá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--analysis]

[192] [204] *dí* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

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dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same 766
manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened
calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, 535
around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, [534]
but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of
the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and
then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries
them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep
on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes im-
prompta, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," [533]
a series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, how-
ever, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall
have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the
funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an
hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chi-
cha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, 766
when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch,
that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These [534]
eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of
the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during
which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains,
several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been de-
voured, the *bi-ka-kru* or steward announced that the commissary had
given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according
to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished
guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where [123]
we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a
little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader [574]
in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line
facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried
from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the
principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their 533
rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, 766
which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other 775
world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators
lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path;
of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful preci-
pices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared
with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous
butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of
his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have
nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead 533
of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 766

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123 acquired the title of *Aseo*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-se'-ka-ra* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *ba-ka-ra'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *ba-ka-ra'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an
●574 extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461] the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
[273] man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

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axes, machetes, cotton cloth, &c. They never travel alone; always two or more going in company. This is a very prudent measure, since accidents are liable to happen, like snake-bites, or a bad fall, and a person alone and disabled in these wilds, would be more than apt to die before he would be discovered. The preparations for a trip into the forest are simple, but require time. If there are no plantains to be found in the neighborhood to which they are going, a large supply is collected. They are skinned, boiled, and dried hard in the smoke of a slow fire. This is to diminish the weight. A sufficient supply of corn is ground and made into a paste, either with or without the admixture of ripe plantain, for chicha. This is done up in bundles of about a gallon and a half in bulk, carefully wrapped in large leaves and tied with strips, torn from the footstalk of the plantain leaf. At last, all being ready, every person loaded with all he or she can carry, they start out, the loads done up in as compact a bulk as possible and carried on the back, suspended from the forehead by a strip of *mastate*, or bark cloth. Each person also carries in the hand a staff, four or five feet long, made of some tough wood. For ordinary purposes, the entire trunk of certain slender palm trees is used. This makes a stick about as thick as an ordinary civilized walking stick, but very strong, and sufficiently elastic to yield a little without breaking. The chiefs and a few other persons of consequence, like the priests, usually carry a stick of the red wood described above. This is neither so strong nor so light as the palm stick, but it is a privilege of rank, and is preferred in consequence. If the party is going on a trading trip—while the stronger members carry the load of sarsaparilla or rubber, still there are always some, either women or boys, who carry the inevitable bundles of chicha paste. Even when going from one house to another visiting, or to a dance, the chicha is not forgotten, unless the distance is so short that they are not liable to become thirsty on the road. On arriving at a house, the party enters without a word, and each person seats himself where most convenient, but as near the door as possible. The owner of the house, or in his absence, his wife or the next most responsible person approaches the new arrivals and salutes with, "You have come;" "I have come;" "Are you well?" "I am well, how are you?" "I am well." If a particular friend, or a person of consequence, he is invited to seat himself in a hammock. The people of less importance are allowed to take care of themselves. In a few minutes the women of the house approach with calabashes or vessels made of folded leaves full of chicha. If chocolate is to be had, it is prepared at once, and offered in place of chicha. This is a delicate attention, only shown to friends or persons of consideration. Common folks must be content with chicha. Whether chocolate or chica, it is served at least three times, at very short intervals, and at last, when you cannot swallow any more, the polite thing is to say to the person offering it, "drink it yourself," an advice usually followed, and which stops the supply. If the people are particularly inclined to be hospitable, and are fortunate enough to be well supplied, it is not uncommon for the

484 [251] [482] [481] [554] 574 [431]

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574 visitor to be overwhelmed with little presents of food. I have been pre-
[431] sented within half an hour, in one house, with five calabashes of choco-
late, at least half-a-dozen quarts of chicha, a dozen or more ears of green
corn, and a dozen ripe bananas. The little boys, with whom I made
[123] friends, fared sumptuously, for it wasn't polite for me to refuse any-
thing.

The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet
342 in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long
poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of
withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on
a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a
third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring,
if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not rest-
ing on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched
with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop
the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large,
squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes
made a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark.
Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular
form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and
the door is in one of the ends.

Formerly the Cabecar houses were built in the same style; but now
most of them are mere sheds, sloping to one side only and open at the
ends and in front. The most pretentious house I saw in Cabecar was a
roof sloping to both sides from a ridge pole to the ground, but open at
both ends. The Tiribi houses are simply a roof raised on short posts,
sloping both ways from the ridge but open all around below. Mr. Lyon
told me that formerly the Tiribis as well as the Cabecars had round houses
like the Bri-bris, but that the present style is due only to carelessness.
The tribes are dwindling so rapidly that they seem to have lost heart even
in so important a thing as building comfortable houses; and are content to
put up with any make-shift that will shelter them from the weather. The
Bri-bri houses are not only better constructed but are much better fur-
nished than those of their neighbors. Beds are placed around the house
352 in the space between the posts and the sloping sides. These are made
by planting in the ground two sticks, forked at the upper ends; cross-
sticks are laid on these, the other ends being lashed with vines to the
sloping rafters. Over these two horizontal sticks are placed boards made
of the outer shell of a species of palm; or wild cane is lashed close together.
In front of the beds are slung hammocks, between the posts, or to the ends
of horizontal sticks projecting a little beyond them. The fire is placed
354 opposite the door near the back side of the house. It is kept up by plac-
ing close together, the ends of three large logs which are pushed up as
they burn off. Over the fire is a barbacue or frame, sufficiently high to
let people pass under it. On it is placed food to keep it out of the way
of the dogs, pigs, chickens, and ants. The smoke of the fire is sufficient
protection from the latter

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" today. Here, various tribes, including the *Coto* were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the *Boruca*.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. As much as a year may pass without one going to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose their own culture and personality. The slow acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinearly to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caarka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

*539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to [888] as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

● 574 484 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, [576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

● 574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of
226 their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webĻa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsẹn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəŋẹ́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

[P.69(A)] Bribri Cabecar

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

476
574 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
273 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
[184] aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[534] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see* Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

*** Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

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6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 SA19
[P 72 (B)]

(27) WATER-JAGUAR[218]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
533

The water-jaguars want to eat.
Don't be afraid.
There are many jaguars who want to eat.
Don't be afraid of them.

(28) CHICHA SONG[219]

(*Bribri*)

What's the matter with the way you're thinking!
Is it that you think I cannot grind
either chicha or chilate?
Then take this as if it were like good chicha grinders make,
Not like a poor person holding a gourd,
Not like one who doesn't grind chicha,
And listen to what I have to say.

(29) FIGHTING SONG[220]

(*Bribri*)

The grasshopper and the alligator ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large snakes ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large alligator ate the grasshopper.
The large snake ate the grasshopper.
I am not afraid.

(30) CEMETERY SONG[221]

(*Bribri*)

We'll try to see if we can lift the stones and logs.
We'll put them on our shoulders as men.
We're going to try.
We'll lift the log as a tiger,
We'll lift the log as an alligator,
We'll lift the log as *serike*,
Drinking our chicha to get strength as men,
We'll sing all of us boys.

[154]
[578]

[218] This song is sung when one is angry and out of patience.

[219] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ɨnjjpɔk-tsé*. This song is in a sense a challenge to fight.

[220] *See* Linguistic Texts: *apú tsak*.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 102(B)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

643 648 capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

643 578 Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLwak* [669] clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

643 648 In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee [682] across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

643 As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old, Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was [644] Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept 173
up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as 721
many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a
handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the
Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the
right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the can- [622]
didate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been
exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in
the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris.
In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children
are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress [563]
and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and
while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a con-
quered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, [582]
and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them.

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule 619
of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family
holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning 622
chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not
in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible mem-
ber of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is
passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present
chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor,
who was in turn a cousin to his.

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The
principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social
than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock
for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, cho-
colate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But
in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the [411]
long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last
decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the 622
chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him 648
with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. [177]
About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and
San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Gov-
ernment, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of
his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future suc- [624]
cessor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or
no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed
that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exagger-
ated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held
in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moen, a little settlement on the
Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz
against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to
assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

of hygiene, and the universal negligence of the sick, on the part of the well, all contribute to shorten the average lifeterm of the people, so that very few old men or women are to be found, and the mortality is so great among the young that the deaths more than counterbalance the births. Unless some great change takes place, the whole of the tribes of Talamanca will have disappeared within two or three generations more. The Tiribis, who like the others have strict rules about marriage, within certain degrees of consanguinity, are now so reduced that several young men and women are to-day forced to remain unmarried for want of proper mates sufficiently removed in relationship. But at the beginning of this century they were powerful enough to give battle to the Bri-bris. The Changinas and Shelabas have disappeared and the fate of the other tribes requires no prophet to foretell. 165 [163] 582

Physically, the people of all the tribes bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are of short stature, broad shouldered, heavily built, full in the chest, with well-formed limbs, and well muscled throughout. Their color is similar to that of the North American Indians, or, if anything different, perhaps a little lighter. There seems to be but little, if any admixture of foreign blood among them. Their history would hardly lead us to expect it. They have lived very exclusively, and it has hardly been half a century since they have ceased to live in a state of open war with all intruders from the coast side. The Spanish occupation closed so disastrously over a century and a half ago, was of too short duration, and and the whites were too few, to make a permanent impression on a then populous country. 142 144

The following measurements taken from my servant, a full grown man, who is not more than an inch, if so much, under the average height, will give a fair idea of their build. He measures in height, 5 ft. 1½ in., circumference of chest, under the arms 35¾ inches; of hips 34 inches, of waist 33½ inches, length from axilla to tips of the fingers, 24½ inches; leg, from the groin to the ground, 29 inches. Both sexes are marked by an almost perfect absence of hair from all parts of the person except the head; where there is a dense growth of coarse, straight black hair. This the women plait with considerable taste. The men wear theirs cut moderately long and of an even length all round; or a few retaining an older fashion, have it a little over a foot long, apparently its entire natural length, and either let it stream loosely over the shoulders, gather it into two plaits, or twist it into a roll, bound with a strip of mastate, and coiled at the back of the head in a round flat mass. 141 142 302

The breasts of the women are not conical, as occurs with many, if not most of the Indian races; but are fully as globular as those of the European or African. Nor are they directed laterally. They are not generally large, though some marked exceptions occur to this rule. But they have one strongly marked peculiarity. The entire areolar area is developed into a globular protuberance, completely enveloping and hiding the nipple. The development of this part begins with, almost 142

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least [591] for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two 614 persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582 ●
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*šerí*) and amount to
approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near
[162] the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-
[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Analyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of
[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Analyst

[103] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz
[797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

872 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier [218] records the
782 [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
●582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
[224] stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[218] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[219] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

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[P.36(A)] Bribri Cabecar

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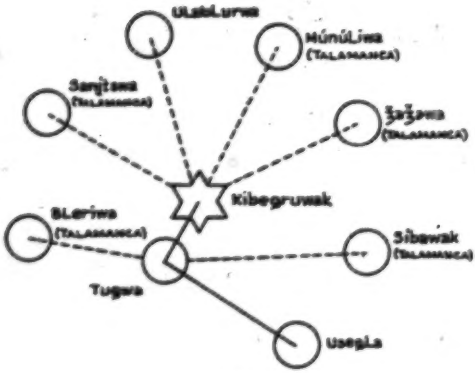

a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128] *Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica*

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--analysis]

614 177 manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614 463 Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine [565] Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing[117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari 262 614 region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

[143] [117] The *suLwak* and *sirruriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupewak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 36(B)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

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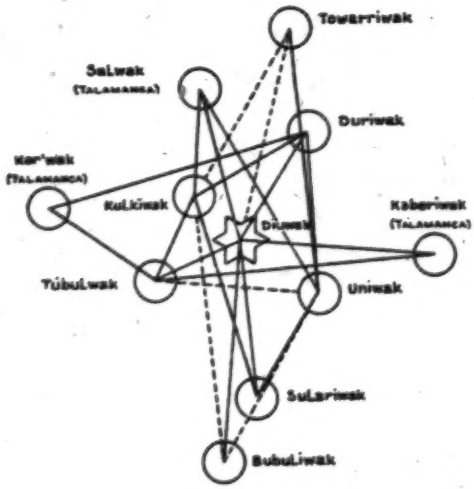
●582



b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séką́* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ką́* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *dítsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *suwəet* meaning "other group." [118]

[582]

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

[614]

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

101

[118] In the Cabécar, *dəsuwak* means "same group." *sébewetar* is "other group."

000 614 582 [591] people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənɟtswa, ǯə-ǯəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənɟtswa, ǯəǯəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [121] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[122] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

601

	Mo Da So	
	Mo Fa Fa	
ʒedusamj	Fa Mo Mo	
	So Mo	
	Da Mo	
	Da	(rarely used)
dusʒeke	Fa Fa	
	Fa Fa Br	
	Fa Fa Fa	
	Fa Mo Fa	
	Also signifies people one can marry, i.e., people who are not "our" family.	
ʒeʒe or ʒiʒé	Fa	Literally: *ʒi* or *ʒe* (my) *ʒé* (father); *ʒi* is used at times instead of *ʒe* because of sound. *be* (your) can be substituted.
ʒedusʒé	Fa Fa Fa	
	So	(rarely used in this sense)
ʒeʒékutí	Fa Si	
ʒeʒéeL	Fa Br	
éLie or éL	Fa Br So	
	Fa Si So	
	Distant male cousins	
kutí	Fa Br Da	
	Fa Si Da	
	Si	
Reference and Direct Terms		
duś[129]	Fa Fa	Reciprocal in all cases.
	So So	
	Da So	
	Da Da	
	So Da	
	Mo Fa	
	Mo Fa Fa	
duəLa[130]	Fa So Da	
	Fa Da So	
	Fa So So	
	Fa Da Da	
Direct address		
kaʒéke	Fa Si	
ʒé	Fa	
ʒéLa	Fa Br	
ésʒék	Fa Mo	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
duwə	Fa Fa	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
ʒeaLaʒéke[131]	Fa Br	

[129] No term for male side.
[130] Very rarely used as direct address.
[130] Used by paternal grandmother to grandchildren.
[131] Rarely used.

Both Lines

601 *Reference Terms*

aLabusi[183]	Da or girl
nauʒum	Si So Si Da Br So Br Da
kabo	Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate.
[192] akeʒeke	The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things.
aLa[183]	sibling (child) So
●[582] ɔɔʒámi	Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. *ɔɔ* (our).
ʒeaké	Si referring to Br (female ego).
ʒeeL	Reciprocal between sisters. Reciprocal between brothers. Reciprocal between brothers and sisters.
ʒekutí	Br referring to Si (male ego).
taʒe	Br referring to Si (very affectionate term). Cousins
kutaʒeke	Male referring to distant female cousins.
kutaie	Male referring to distant female cousins.

Direct Address

eL[184]	Br Si Mo Si So Mo Br So

Terms Denoting Sex

192

aLakerpa	woman (any age)
aLawebLa	man
aLaduLaken	boy
duLaduLa	youth, young (only applicable to males)

Non-Blood Relatives

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

nokii	Da Hu	Wi Fa
ʒák	So Wi	Wi Mo

[183] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.

[184] My child is *ʒeLa*.

[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is

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●584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

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There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The 582 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two 614 persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

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dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same 766
manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened 535
calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, [534]
around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing,
but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of
the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and
then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries
them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep
on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes im- [533]
promptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a
series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, how-
ever, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall
have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the
funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an
hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chi-
cha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, 766
when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch,
that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These [584]
eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of
the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during
which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains,
several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been de-
voured, the *bi-ka-kra* or steward announced that the commissary had
given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according
to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished
guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where [123]
we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a [574]
little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader
in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line
facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried
from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the
principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their 533
rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, 766
which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other 775
world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators
lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path;
of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precl-
pices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared
with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous
butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of
his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have
nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead 533
of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 766

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857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange
872 schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

● 584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

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841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kuikʃ·as* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

575 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

* Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

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●586 nowadays it does exist particularly amongst the Indians who have contact with the *ladino*-populated coast. Formerly, it was unknown, but today a man leaves a woman, or a woman a man, if they feel like it.

764 **Death.** Whatever ceremonies existed amongst the *Boruca* in regard to death have almost entirely disappeared. It is interesting that the *Boruca* do not cry at funerals. At the [556] wake, there is a feast the size of which depends upon the economic status of the deceased. Coffee and chicha are always served as drinks. The women put the body, at times with the hands folded as in prayer, on a long wooden bench or on wooden tablets, and cover it with any piece of cloth available. Three candles are placed alongside the body, one at each side of the face and one at the end. Sometimes, a candle is put by the feet. Prayers are recited all night during the wake. In the morning, men tie the body with fiber rope to the bench or planks, fastening to them two poles horizontally to serve as handles, and generally carry the whole to the church. Here an Indian, the warden, officiates in the absence of the priest. After the Mass, or the few prayers if there is no priest, the body still on the bench (see fig. 10, *a*), and still covered with cloth, is carried by the men to the cemetery, friends of the dead following. Here, bench and all, it is deposited in a shallow grave (about 4 feet), and very infrequently, leaves or flowers are scattered over or placed on it. When the deceased leaves no relative, his extra clothes are placed under his body and used as a bed in the grave. If the dead has enjoyed a good 766 position within the community during life, then a small tunnel is made in a side of the grave, and the body is placed there. This is called a "tomb." When a child dies, the body is tied in a white cloth and the one accordion in the village is played all the way to the graveyard. The whole town accompanies the body.

769 One year after the death of an individual, the *Boruca* celebrate what is known as the "birthday" of the death. Another feast is given at the house of the deceased. This feast must have a lot of chicha, and often lasts until the following morning or until the chicha disappears.

[p. 22-B]

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2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations.—Several native types of dwellings still survive among the Bribri. The more usual variety is sideless, rectangular or oval in ground-plan, with a convex or 342

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinearly to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *cəarkə* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

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[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

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In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

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614 people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar
582 married to a non-Cabécar does not live with
those of his own tongue. There were a number
[591] of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this
was true, and in one exceptional case, special
permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a
brupawak, or a woman belonging to the clan
of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənʲtswa, ǯəǯəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənʲtswa, ǯəǯəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [121] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[122] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1873, p. 497.

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamança SA19
Bribri

342 [592] We were told that these great houses were at one time inhabited by groups of related families.

Dr Gabb,[9] writing nearly fifty years ago, presented the following account of his observations regarding the houses of the Bribri of his time:

"The houses of the Bri-bris are usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar, to stop the leaks. There is but one aperture to the house, and this is a large, squarely cut door, left on one side. Over the door there is sometimes a little shed, to keep the rain out. The interior is always very dark. Sometimes, among the Bri-bris, instead of building the house in a circular form, it is elongated and has a ridge-pole, but the ends are rounded, and the door is in one of the ends."

482 The method of transporting the bundles of platanillo leaves used in house-building

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uron when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
[856] Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
863 crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in con-
nection with excretion are taught practically
from birth. The child is taken out of the house
and held up while he does his needs. He is not
allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling
itself.

● 593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
a father lie in a hammock with his small chil-
dren beside him. Parents pay attention to per-
sonal details, such as wiping a child's nose or
washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is
food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat
three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes
are taught to swim and help to make fires,
using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when
sitting on the low benches or on the ground
before the hearth. At the age of seven, they
begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and
cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt,
using small arrows for training. When the
adults are out in the fields or hunting, children
up to ten years old stay at home to tend the
fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for
example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water
when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no
school and all lore is learned by word of mouth
on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine
men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must
undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have
some connection with the handling of the dead
(*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line.
Often they play with mud daubers' nests or
similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

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SA19 Talamanca SA19

868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least [591] for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The
614 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are
582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar-
684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

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[P. 28 (B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

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[P.65(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

* 539 Humb. & Bonpl.), and the two kinds of what
[824] is commonly called wild cacao (*Theobroma angustifolium* D.C. and *Theobroma purpureum* Pittier) are formed from *spaLbu*, *soro*, and *tiṇə* respectively. Of these, only *siru* has won the hearts of all people, not alone of Talamanca, but of the entire world. And thus it is
[595] that as *sibu* had four wives, the Cabécar and the Bribri can have four also, but should not have more.

The Origin of the Whale

(*Bribri*)

A bad spirit disguised as man took up with a woman and she became pregnant. Eight days later she gave birth to twins who were crawling within four days and walking within the next four days. Still four days later, they began to kill birds with a blow gun.

It was then that the grandmother said to her daughter, "Your sons are not the sons of a man because they've grown so large. I am going to find out."

The twins heard their grandmother's remark.

When the old lady went to the forest where they hunted birds, instead of the boys she found two big snakes beside a wild fig tree. These serpents had birds.

The grandmother ran to the mother and cried, "Those two sons of yours are not human."

The boys, however, returned to the house as twins.

"You see," said the grandmother.

"Don't scold me so, mother," the woman replied. "Tomorrow I am going to see if it's true that they are not human."

The next morning the boys said to their mother, "We want you to go to the forest and pick up the birds we kill."

When the mother reached the woodland, she found that her twins were two large snakes. And they ate her.

The grandmother who was waiting at home, asked the boys at their return where their mother was.

"I don't know where she went, grandmother," one replied, "because she wasn't following us."

The next day, the twins said to their grand-

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 648 The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 597 [714] The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*broshi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield [187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 793 643 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
643 to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because of King *Berchí*[158] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[159] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was not baptized, but later he was and received
173 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
797 family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzán* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[157] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[158] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[159] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The 582 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two 614 persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 614 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child; for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Urun when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

614 582 [591] people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənʲtswa, ʒəʒəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənʲtswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

●601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [121] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogereek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[122] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

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Bribri
Cabecar

601 There are distinct designations for relatives depending upon which side of the family they belong: whether on the mother's or the father's side. However, there is more than one way by which to denote certain relationships.

Kinship Terminology

Bribri

Female Line

Reference Terms		
ʒeami	Mo	Literally: ʒe (my) *ami* (mother); *be* (your or you) can be substituted for ʒe in all cases.
ʒeʒéuị	Fa Mo Mo	Literally: ʒe (my) ʒé (father) *uị* (grandmother)
ʒeuiʒé	Mo Mo Fa	
nauʒum	Si So	
	Si Da	
	Br So	
	Br Da	
ʒeamjeL	Mo Si	
ʒeamjeke	Mo Br	
Reference and Direct Terms		
uị	Mo Mo	
ujami	Mo Mo Mo	
sibaʒem[125]	Mo So Da	
	Mo So So	
	Mo Da So	
	Mo Da Da	
naú	Mo Br	(rarely direct)
Direct Terms		
amiLa	Mo Si	
nauʒeke[126]	Mo Br	
	Cousins (male)	
amiLaʒeke[127]	Mo Si	
	Cousins (female)	
	Mo Br Wi	
taLá[128]	Mo Mo Br	

Male Line

Reference Terms	
ʒeʒéduś	Fa Wi Br
	Fa Si Hu
ʒemịduś	Mo So So

[125] Is term Mo Mo *or* Mo Mo Mo uses when she speaks to grandchildren.
[126] Rare.
[127] Also reference term.

●601	Mo Da So	
	Mo Fa Fa	
ʒedusamj	Fa Mo Mo	
	So Mo	
	Da Mo	
	Da	(rarely used)
duśʒeke	Fa Fa	
	Fa Fa Br	
	Fa Fa Fa	
	Fa Mo Fa	
[582]	Also signifies people one can marry, i.e., people who are not "our" family.	
ʒeʒe or ʒiʒé	Fa	Literally: ʒi or ʒe (my) ʒé (father); ʒi is used at times instead of ʒe because of sound. be (your) can be substituted.
ʒeduśʒé	Fa Fa Fa	
	So	(rarely used in this sense)
ʒeʒékuti	Fa Si	
ʒeʒéeL	Fa Br	
éLie or éL	Fa Br So	
	Fa Si So	
	Distant male cousins	
kuti	Fa Br Da	
	Fa Si Da	
	Si	
Reference and Direct Terms		
duś[129]	Fa Fa	Reciprocal in all cases.
	So So	
	Da So	
	Da Da	
	So Da	
	Mo Fa	
	Mo Fa Fa	
duaLa[130]	Fa So Da	
	Fa Da So	
	Fa So So	
	Fa Da Da	
Direct address		
kaʒéke	Fa Si	
ʒé	Fa	
ʒéLa	Fa Br	
úʒék	Fa Mo	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
duwa	Fa Fa	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
ʒeaLaʒéke[131]	Fa Br	

[129] No term for male side.
[130] Very rarely used as direct address.
[130] Used by paternal grandmother to grandchildren.
[131] Rarely used.

Both Lines

601 *Reference Terms*

aLabusi[183]	Da or girl
nauʒum	Si So Si Da Br So Br Da
kabo	Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate.
[192] akeʒeke	The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things.
aLa[185]	sibling (child) So
[582] ɔʒámi	Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. ɔ (our).
ʒeaké	Si referring to Br (female ego).
ʒeeL	Reciprocal between sisters. Reciprocal between brothers. Reciprocal between brothers and sisters.
ʒekuté	Br referring to Si (male ego).
taʒe	Br referring to Si (very affectionate term). Cousins
kutaʒeke	Male referring to distant female cousins.
kutaie	Male referring to distant female cousins.

Direct Address

eL[184]	Br Si Mo Si So Mo Br So

Terms Denoting Sex

192

aLakerɟa	woman (any age)
aLawebLa	man
aLaduLaken	boy
duLaduLa	youth; young (only applicable to males)

Non-Blood Relatives

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

nofki	Da Hu	Wi Fa
ʒák	So Wi	Wi Mo

[183] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.
[185] My child is *ʒeLa*.
[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is

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●601

aLakar	Wi
wam	Hu
ʒéʒike	Mo Hu (stepfather; rarely direct)
məLa	Br Wi (between women only)
dəbokar[185]	Wi Si Si Hu

Direct Terms

duá	Si Hu to Si Hu (reciprocal between brothers-in-law only)
aLaʒeke	Used by stepfather or stepmother for spouse's children.

Cabécar[186]

Female Line

Reference Terms

miku	Mo Mo
s mikú mina	Mo Mo Mo Mo
s ʒiba mina	So Mo my wife
aLagLə	Wi or woman
s ʒiba busí mina	Da Mo my wife
s mina kaga	Mo Fa
s miku kaga	Mo Mo Fa
s mina kuta	Mo Si
s mina eL	Mo Br
s mina	Mo
wajbə	Si Da
nujbə	Si So
tLa	Si Da ch Br Da ch
duəwa	Fa Si Da (are available for marriage with Mo Si So)
ʒís tachi jengəta[187]	Mo Fa

Male Line

Reference Terms

s kaga tachi	Fa Fa Fa Fa So So
juʒəguə	Fa Mo
miku[188]	Fa Mo
s kaga kuta	Fa Si
s kaga eL	Fa Br
kaga	Fa
s kaga kaga	Fa Fa
dəbai	Br So (also direct) Fa Br (reciprocal)

Reference Terms

eL	Br
kuta	Si (usually youngest)

reference term between male or female cousins.

[185] Reciprocal only between women.

[186] Throughout: *ʒís* or *s* alone signifies "my."

[187] *Jengəta* signifies "own."

[188] This is rarely used for father's side.

● 601 ʒís kibí	Elder Br
ʒís bacha	Youngest Br
ʒís kuta nuLej	Eldest Si
ʒís kuta tsisekek	Youngest Si
ʒís kuta bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Si youngest Da
ʒís eL bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Br youngest Da
sibaiba	Mo Mo So Mo Mo Da
ʒiba	Da So child
ʒibabusí[189]	Da young girl
Reference Terms	
ʒiba jiʒiʒi	So Hu of Da
dəbai	Stepson; Br of the uncle Stepdaughter; Si of the aunt
dəbə	Si Da Hu Br Da Hu
dəboguət	Br Wi, Hu Si } Reference and direct
dwa	Si Hu, Hu Br } Direct. Reciprocal between men.
mą	Br Wi, Hu Si } Direct. Reciprocal between women.
nuąki	Hu Fa Wi Fa
ʒak	Hu Mo Wi Mo
klawa	Cousins (female)
Direct Terms	
ʒís kaga	Fa
ʒís kaga eL	Fa Br
ʒís kaga tsisekek	Fa youngest Br
nuí	Mo Br Fa Br
kaʒigue	Fa Si (also reference) Mo Si
ʒís tsisekek	Youngest Br

Both Lines

Direct and Reference Terms	
eLwa	Fa Br sibling Mo Br sibling Fa Si sibling Mo Si sibling
tschi	Mo Fa (reciprcoal) Fa Fa

[192] [189] *busi* means "young" and is used only for the feminine sex.

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Bribri
Cabecar

601 tschiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife [429] remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[240]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[240] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

[P.88]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

*539

22. *itsǫ́*[882] (*Bribri*)

1. Then we are going to hear him sing.
We are going to bring *itsǫ́* from where we hid him,
To bring him again inside the house.
Then we are going to sing with *itsǫ́*.

23. Sister[883] (*Bribri*)

1. Sister where [are you] where [are you]?
Little ugly[884] sister,
Where did they hide the sick poor daughter?

2. *See* Linguistic Text.

3. Sister from what place do you come, come, come, angry [one], you come ugly [one].
From what place do you come? Where are you going?

---

22. itsǫ́

1. ɛ̨matá somj uiɛ̨tsɔ́k.[885]
somí itsǫ́ tsúk wɛ̨ so-rá ibLɔkwaɛ̨ ɛ̨,
itsɛ̨k mɛ̨Lɛ̨ demɛ̨Lɛ̨ wɛ̨́ke.[886]
étɛ̨ somj-ketké tsɔk itsǫ́ wós.

23. tale

1. tale wɛ́-La[887]-wɛ́?
sa[888]-tale-suLuLa,
Lá-suLɛ̨[889]-durkj siɛ̨e[890] ibLá-durkj?

2. ɛ̨steweste[891] westewe stewée,

3. a[892]-tale wɛ́ ká-wɛ́kj[893] iro-ro,[894] iro-ro, iro-ro, uLuLa, iro-suLú.
ká-iro-wé?[895] wó-La[896] iromi?

[601]

[882] *Itsǫ́* is the grandfather of *serike*.
[883] This is an affectionate term applied to cousins, brothers, sisters.
[884] This is an affectionate term. It can also mean "angry" in an affectionate sense.
[885] This signifies to pray and to sing. It is also pronounced *siétsuk*.
[886] *a* is house. *wóki* is "inside the house."
[887] For sound only.
[888] For sound only.
[889] This word also means "convalescent."
[890] This word signifies "poor in spirit." The word "poor" or *side* is usually accompanied by a noun which denotes what one is poor in, such as land, food, etc.
[891] This whole line is for the sound only.
[892] For sound only.
[893] Literally, "in what place."
[894] *ro* here and in the two following words is for sound only.
[895] For sound only.
[896] For sound only.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. T [132] [137] The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1700 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. T [191] The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. T 609 648 At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k·a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The
Boruca distrust in particular their neighbors 648
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[8] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 Land Tenure. The *Boruca* consider the
648 territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be
[609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3
311 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest cleared to start again. The village, as a whole,
423 has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church.
794 Each individual is required to do his share of
[476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on
[735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which
311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skęLi*		5 days after today *skęiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, certain prohibitions and laws continue, although [184] they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers. [609]

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such [753] a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkíwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak	mediwak
mogriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest
611 in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves members of their *father's* clan in spite of the
[851] fact that the father has married outside of his people.

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *tibor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the
648 visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into his own hands. On more than one occasion,
[434] he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria,
644 the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
• [613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Trisán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Trisán, 1922, p. 157.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The 614 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

CULTURAL POSITION AND ORGANIZATION

The Bribri, according to Sapper,[3] Brinton,[4] Thomas and Swanton,[5] and Pittier,[2a] belong to the South American rather than to the Mexican and North American culture group. According to Pittier, the tribe is divided into two groups, the Tubor-uak[6] and the Kork-uak or Djbar-uak. These moieties were exogamous and matrilineal, and were divided into the following clans: 101 614 616

TUBOR-UAK

Suritz-uak, Deer clan.
Dutz-uak, Bird clan.
Bokir-uak.
Dojk-uak.
Sark-uak, Monkey clan.
Dogdi-uak, Snail-shell-River clan.
Orori-uak, Ravine-of-the-Arari-River clan.
Kugdi-uak, Ravine-of-the-Uren-River clan.
Tkiut-uak, Flea-house-site clan.
Duri-uak, Bird-ravine clan.
Arau-uak, Thunder-house clan.
Urijk-uak, Ant-eating-Bear clan.

KORK-UAK, OR DJBAR-UAK

Djbar-uak.
Di-u-uak, Water-house clan.
Tkbiri-uak, Snake-ravine clan.
Kos-uak, Precipice clan.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

614 Kipirjk-uak, Edible fruit of a vine clan.
616 Amu-kir-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Tsiru-ru-uak, Ripe chocolatē-bean clan.
Uni-uak.
Sibri-uak, Forked post water or ravine clan.
Dauibri-uak, Ravine clan.
Amuk-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Akter-uak, Rocky-place clan.
Kur-ki-uak, Name of place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.
Kacha-ut-uak, Achiote clan.
Bobri-uak, Name of a place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.

776 Pittier, who has published a brief paper on the folklore of the Bribri and the Brunka,[2b] states that their primitive supreme god was named *Sibú*, and was surrounded by secondary divinities called *Sôrkurá*, *Jâburu*, and *Surá*, some of them good, others evil, both eternally tricking each
773 other. All men were born from seeds, over which the deities fought. The sacred seeds were kept in baskets which *Sibú* gave into the care of the benevolent gods. The evil deities, however, continually sought for the seeds, and this was the origin of a series of adventures which are still narrated by the surviving pagan Bribri. The skunk is the trickster of Bribri mythology.

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614] [114]

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [42] and Salitre (*Ʒeri*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-
[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Quelys]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[48] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of
[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Quelys]

[103] [42] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz
[797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange
872 schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and [765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis 764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri- ●614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pu* (*see* Funeral and Bone 764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pu* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper [775] articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches from rapine birds and beasts. After a year, 765 when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has [177] undertaken an educational program to in- [871] corporate the Talamancans into the Costa Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur*
clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the
elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that
they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrebué*, or
sinəbrwak groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next
to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests
heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by
the lower Coen and had a number of assistants
the highest of whom were called *ko*, and
apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that
elaborate preparation was necessary before the
title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in
keeping with the idea that their position was
hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the fol-
lowing clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*,
and *sənítswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths:
Protectors of Clans). Their name in this lan-
guage is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri,
calls attention to the fact that the songs of
stsukur were in a language which neither he
nor the uninitiated could understand. As
Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri
Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110]
according to his spelling and that of Pittier,
the *korrbué*. We use *korrebué* because this is
the pronunciation given by the Bribri today.
There is, nevertheless, another angle to this
problem, particularly if one accepts the state-
ment that the Bribri Singers could come from
one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
medicine men of both Talamancan peoples
[177] when singing and the adoption of foreign
songs even by the laymen. These aspects will
be discussed later under Curing and Songs,
respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setébrwak*
in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
184 man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *surí* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-501.
[114] Pinder, 1938.

[P. 35(A)]

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [Text continues top of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

●614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of
[177] Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *teru*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages; Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

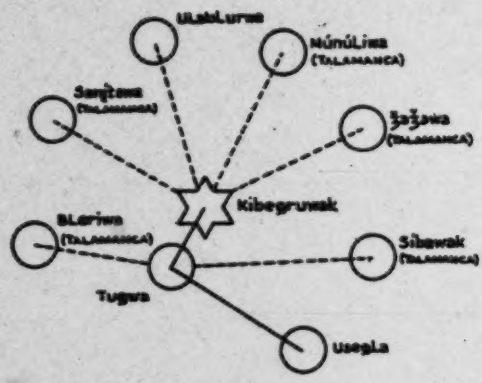
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

● 614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[184] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
[423] or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
[565] classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P 36(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar
614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[Text continues middle of P. 36(B)--Analysis]

manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614
177

Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

614
463
[565]
262
614
[643]

[117] The *saLwak* and *tsirruriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupawak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.36(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

614
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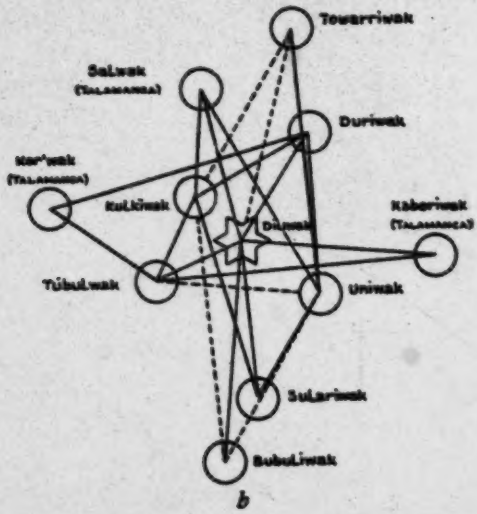

b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séké* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ké* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *ditsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *nuwaet* meaning "other group."[116]

[582]

[614]

101

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

[116] In the Cabécar, *dotawak* means "same group." *séberwetar* is "other group."

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkiwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubúLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak	mediwak
mogriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts
611 of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves members of their *father's* clan in spite of the
[851] fact that the father has married outside of his people.

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *síbor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

614 582 [591] people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənɟtswa, ʒəʒəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənɟtswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [122] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogereek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[123] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 40(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
Cabecar

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabé-
[614] car, an aspirant must belong to one of the following clans: túgwa, bLæriwa, síbawa, sənʃtswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred
[198] songs with words in an ancient or secret
[778] language unknown to the general public. These last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri
[754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and
[436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
776 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[144] Aguilar P., 1953.
[145] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Ozón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbuwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

[P. 49(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar
Bribri
Changuena

173 The Talamancan medicine man also used
726 his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[188] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured.
[103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Plataneres* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper
776 Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress
[103] and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited
[614] by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried
173 *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he
776 wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called
[103] *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[188] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 51(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cabecar
Bribri

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by
776 spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god,
776 had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
[614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ṇą* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tpmí* are guardians of animals. *Lạn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[1] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbś*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dinamí* in Cabécar and *díkuṇ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bík-namí* in Cabécar and *sirule* in Bribri.[161] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuṇ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

[1] [see category 116, p. 64. Analyst.]
[2] [see category 116, p. 56. Analyst.]

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Láraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 • 614 All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the [825] jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *síbawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

*539 *grunwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítsrua*.
614 The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítsrua*, where
[824] they lived, one of the first women in the world
[825] belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm
778 at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from
186 *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the
535 form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[779] [197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an
[177] interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

CULTURAL POSITION AND ORGANIZATION

The Bribri, according to Sapper,[3] Brinton,[4] Thomas and Swanton,[5] and Pittier,[2a] belong to the South American rather than to the Mexican and North American culture group. According to Pittier, the tribe is divided into two groups, the Tubor-uak[6] and the Kork-uak or Djbar-uak. These moieties were exogamous and matrilineal, and were divided into the following clans:

101

614
616

TUBOR-UAK

Suritz-uak, Deer clan.
Dutz-uak, Bird clan.
Bokir-uak.
Dojk-uak.
Sark-uak, Monkey clan.
Dogdi-uak, Snail-shell-River clan.
Orori-uak, Ravine-of-the-Arari-River clan.
Kugdi-uak, Ravine-of-the-Uren-River clan.
Tkiut-uak, Flea-house-site clan.
Duri-uak, Bird-ravine clan.
Arau-uak, Thunder-house clan.
Urijk-uak, Ant-eating-Bear clan.

KORK-UAK, OR DJBAR-UAK

Djbar-uak.
Di-u-uak, Water-house clan.
Tkbiri-uak, Snake-ravine clan.
Kos-uak, Precipice clan.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

614 Kipirjk-uak, Edible fruit of a vine clan.
Amu-kir-uak, Agave-patch clan.
616 Tsiru-ru-uak, Ripe chocolatē-bean clan.
Uni-uak.
Sibri-uak, Forked post water or ravine clan.
Dauibri-uak, Ravine clan.
Amuk-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Akter-uak, Rocky-place clan.
Kur-ki-uak, Name of place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.
Kacha-ut-uak, Achiote clan.
Bobri-uak, Name of a place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.

776 Pittier, who has published a brief paper on the folklore of the Bribri and the Brunka,[2b] states that their primitive supreme god was named *Sibú*, and was surrounded by secondary divinities called *Sôrkurá*, *Jâburu*, and *Surá*, some of them good, others evil, both eternally tricking each other. All men were born from seeds, over which the deities fought. The sacred seeds were kept in baskets which *Sibú* gave into the care of the benevolent gods. The evil deities, however, continually sought for the seeds, and this was the origin of a series of adventures which are still narrated by the surviving pagan Bribri. The skunk is the trickster of Bribri mythology.

773

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [text continues top of p. 35(B)--analyst]
825

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
[324] stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
luLkiwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

suLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak	mediwak
mogriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts
611 of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves members of their *father's* clan in spite of the
[851] fact that the father has married outside of his people.

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *sibor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them.

173 721 [622] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his.

619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moon, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

[411] 622 648 [177] [624]

[P. 11(A)] Bribri Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. ~~In Bribri~~, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ké* (*ké* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *hužiga* or, literally, *hu* (house) *žiga* (many), and town by *ka* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The belief persists that this tool was once a battle [411] weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by ..nes and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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173 came among them, I could get no more satisfactory answer than that they went to Cartago to buy them. I have been told a vague story, however, that long ago there were two bands living in the country now occupied by the Bri-bris. Those living in the valley, around the junction of the branches of the Tiliri were more powerful than the mountaineers, and forced the latter to pay tribute when they descended to hunt, or cut the material for their bark-cloth clothing. But gradually the lowlanders died out; the highlanders, becoming the more powerful, rebelled against these impositions, and eventually emigrated in such numbers to the country of the former, that the distinction became lost by an amalgamation of the two parties. Even now the Bri-bris, who occupy the lowlands [563] and most of the hill regions of the Sicsola, look down on their neighbors the Cabecars and treat them as inferiors. The Cabecars, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge even a social supremacy, and in a mixed party submit to assume the more menial occupations, like bringing water and wood; and are always obliged to wait until the last when food or drink is being served. Few of the Bri-bris speak the Cabecar language, but there are few of the Cabecars who do not speak Bri-bri, and they usually [622] use it in the presence of strangers. The Cabecars have no chief of their own, but are entirely under the rule of the Bri-bri chief, and have been, from time immemorial. Their subjugation is, in short, complete. At the same time they have the honor of religious supremacy, in so far as [793] that the high priest, the "*Usekara*," whose office will be explained further on, belongs to their tribe. The ordinary priests, the "*Tsugurs*," who, like the "*Usekara*," are hereditary, come from a group of families on the Coen River, but belong to the Bri-bri tribe.

About the beginning of this century there was a bitter war between the 173 Bri-bris and the Tiribis. The youngest members of the war parties are 721 now mostly dead, and the few remaining survivors are very old men. The last of the warriors proper, mature men at that time, died about 1800, at an extremely advanced age. I have heard the traditions from both sides the question, and of course each party throws all the blame on the other. The Bri-bri story is that some people, a whole family, living on the extreme eastern portion of the Uren district, were found murdered, and no clue discovered to the perpetrators of the act. Not very long afterwards other murders occurred in an equally mysterious manner, which threw the whole country into a state of excitement. Afterwards a small party was attacked by some unknown Indians, a portion killed and some left to tell the tale. The tracks of the strangers were followed through the woods, always keeping to the east, until they were lost. Following this clue, the chief of the Bri-bris sent out a party of armed scouts, who climbed to the summit of the dividing ridge, overlooking the Tilorio. From here they discovered for the first time that they had neighbors; seeing their houses and cornfields in the distance. A large war party was fitted out; they passed the mountains, and without warning descended on the unsuspecting

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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It seems that Marchena's plan was to put a creature of his own over the Indians, so as to gain access to the supposed rich mines and thereby benefit himself. Instigated by a "Christian," the savage, nothing loth, conspired with his people, but Santiago learned of it and made efforts to arrest him. Learning of this, he fled to the mountain fastnesses of Bri-bri where, broken down by disease and hardships he died, leaving, Indian like, his revenge as a legacy to his adherents. Santiago, who was a drunkard and, when intoxicated, a tyrant, gradually enstranged his people from him, and his relatives, Birche and Willie, placed themselves at the head of the opposition. The occasion sought for was not long in being found, and one morning Santiago was shot in the woods by an ambushed party, who at once took possession of the government, burnt their victim's house, appropriated his effects, including his three wives, and defied his friends. Birche, as the oldest of the two cousins and claimants to the chieftainship, took precedence and Willie became second chief. Mr. John H. Lyon, an American from Baltimore, who had lived in the country since 1858, had acted as secretary to Santiago, and only their respect for an upright man who had always treated them justly, coupled with the fact that he was not a "Spaniard," prevented them from venting their resentment on him, in common with the other friends of the murdered man. He remained at his house for some weeks despite the storm. But at last, thinking discretion the better part of valor, he left the country with his Indian family and remained absent some months. On his return he found matters settled after a fashion: the Birche party in power, but by no means secure against an outbreak from the friends of Santiago, who only wanted a leader. They urged Lyon to head them but his better council prevailed, and they perforce accepted the situation. I visited the country first in March, 1873, accompanied by the Commandante of Limon, Don Federico Fernandez. He then formally approved of Birche as chief, Willie as second, and re-appointed Lyon as Secretary. This was a great step in advance for Birche who now, for the first time, felt himself secure. The assassination of Santiago was practically ignored, but they were told "to be good and not do it again." This was succeeded by an infinite number of petty quarrels between the two chiefs; each disliking the other, and each wishing the other out of the way. By dint of constant interference on the part of the foreigners, they were prevented from coming into actual collision, although one attempt was made by the friends of Willie to kill Birche, Lyon, myself and my assistants at a blow by planting an ambush for us on one of our journeys. However, in December, 1873, business taking me to San José, I induced Birche to accompany me. On my advice, Don Vicente Herrera, the Minister of Interior, gave to Birche a formal commission as "Jefe Politico" of Talamanca, confirmed Willie as second chief, and appointed Mr. Lyon "Secretary and Director of the tribes," fixing suitable salaries for each. This was the first time that the tribe had formally submitted to the Costa Rican government. The action of Santiago was purely an in-

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dividual affair, and looked on with great disfavor by the tribe. Matters 622
went on very well for a few months under the new regime. But Birche, a 648
man of little capacity, at the same time a coward and a tyrant, could not be content with his position. He began a system of ill treatment against which the people grumbled, but which they feared to resent. At first both Lyon and myself tried to quiet the complaints, believing that punishment had been justly inflicted, and knowing that

> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With just opinion of the law,
> Or held with judgment orthodox
> His love of justice in the stocks."

But it soon became apparent that his majesty (they are always called king) was abusing his power. The Indians dared not quarrel with Birche, for fear of offending the government, but came to Lyon almost daily with complaints. At last we decided to effect a change. Birche went to Limon to draw his salary, and at the same time to complain of a purely personal quarrel with Willie, in which he had fared worst. I arrived there a few days later, having completed my exploration, and being on my way to the Capital. On being asked for information and advice by the Commandante, I told the story and urged his removal. This could only be done by the minister, but he was suspended until the decision of that officer could be obtained. In a few days I saw Mr. Herrera, and after a conversation he decided to endorse the Commandante's action. Birche was accordingly removed, Willie was given a nominal chieftainship, and Lyon instructed to assume all responsibilities. Thus in less than two years the people have, without knowing how it happened, been deprived of their hereditary chiefs, and a foreigner placed over them. Willie remains with the empty title of chief without even the power to issue an order or punish an offender, except when ordered by Lyon. This gentleman has their entire confidence and respect, and many of the Indians begged to have even the title taken away permanently from the "royal" family. I have been thus prolix on this branch of the subject, because I was an eye witness, a participator, in the latter part of the [123]
events I relate. Trivial as they are, they may interest some, throwing light on the manner in which one tribe after another is subdued.

A strange fatality seems to hang over these Isthmian Indians. Even 161
when not brought into contact with the debasing influences of civilization, the tribes are visibly diminishing. Less than two centuries ago, the population of Talamanca, as Costa Rica calls her southeastern province, was counted by thousands, now barely 1200 souls can be found. The Shelaba tribe is extinct; the Changinas are at the point of extermination, the Tiribis number but one hundred and three souls, and Lyon tells me that the Cabecars of the Coen have diminished fully one-half within the last seventeen years, while the decrease in the Bri-bris is hardly less rapid.

During my travels in Talamanca I collected in each district an accurate 124 161

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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to a stranger except when spoken to, and then reply in as few words as possible and with apparent bashfulness. 291

For ornaments, all wear necklaces. The favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they use great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman, and she was the envy of all her friends and neighbors. Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. Money is often worn by the women. On one occasion I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are also sometimes, though rarely used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [237]

The men sometimes wear head dresses made of feathers. The most highly prized are the white downy feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made from chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one head-dress made of the long hair from the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place. 237 301

Painting is somewhat in vogue, to assist in the adornment of the person, but is not confined to either sex. The commonest manner is to color each cheek with a square or parallelogram, about an inch across, either solid or made up of bars. This is done with the dark reddish-brown sap of a certain vine, and the pattern resists wear and tear, and water for a week or more. Anatto is also used, but more rarely, and is applied in bars or stripes to the face, according to the skill or taste of the artist. Besides, a hideous indigo-blue stain from a fruit, is sometimes smeared on the face or body, but even savage taste does not seem to approve of this, since it is very unusual. 302 386

Formerly the Tiribis tattooed small patterns on their faces or arms; but the younger people have not kept up the custom, and the Bri-bris and Cabecars say they never did it. The chiefs on great occasions wear gold ornaments, similar to those now found in the *Huacas*, or graves of Chiriqui. Whether these have been recovered from some of these graves, or whether they have been handed down from time immemorial is not known. There are but four or five in the tribe, and two of these belong 304 301 622

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [257] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) [224] tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

293 757 astringent properties said to be contained in the wood, and they are sometimes scraped and the scrapings drunk with water as a curative. It is supposed to stop bleeding and is also valued for intestinal ailments. [622] Formerly they may have been the property only of the headmen.

293 A stick once owned by Ramón's father, the old "king," was in the custody of Señor Alejo Jimenez, governor of Talamanca, who lives at Saporio. It was taken by the Bribri from a neighboring tribe, probably the Tiribi, in war, many years ago, and the Indians are very anxious lest it should pass out of their hands, since they say, "it cost us blood." This staff was seen by Gabb,[16] who states:

[532] "It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carv-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

ing, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it." 293

The stick, which was seen by the writer, is still unobtainable.

Gold Ornaments.—Pendants of gold were formerly worn as chiefs' insignia, and, it is said, were also given to successful partisans in the Tiribi war. They are now nearly a thing of the past, as the whites have long eagerly sought and purchased them. These ornaments were made in the form of eagles (sometimes double-headed), alligators, and frogs, and were worn as breast-plates or gorgets. They no doubt were entirely similar to the antique forms from the graves at Las Mercedes. Señor Ricardo Fernandez Guardia[17] reproduces a photograph of Antonio Saldaña, father of Ramón and last "king" of the Bribri, with several large gold eagles round his neck. These eagles are also noted by Gabb.[18] 301 [622]

As the Bribri believe that death will overtake the Indian owner who sells one of these gold ornaments, it may be that there are really more of them in existence than the 784 [763]

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly 311
because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own.

Property and Inheritance. The oldest 428
male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people.

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. 231
Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four [556]
inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are [439]
raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The [556
cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an 234]
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Social Organization. A few vestiges of an 476
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wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day [364]
a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot.

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is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 623

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
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437 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.**
426 The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of
175 trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Texabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things.*

[Continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

* See Informe, 1697.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them. 173 721 [622] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his. 619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moon, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe. [411] 622 648 [177] [624]

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

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[continued bottom of page 24-B]

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224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwəkri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
422 *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[681] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
[184] is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
[643] Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen. Tala-
177

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. [643] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

[177] It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

721 At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning. 628

643 There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[3] In July, 1867, the National Congress passed a law signed by the President of the Republic making the Talamancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians. 643 648

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148–49.

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 However, in 1605 there were two more
635 provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.[15] It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez
[175] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns
• [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9-39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The south-
131 ern littoral of this section is formed by the
133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail
133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail
487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUAYST]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca
103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town
[101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his
[35] own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUAYST]

[115] [2] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[3] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
5A19 Talamanca 5A19
[P.5(A)]

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614]
[114]

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

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> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.[16] It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[18] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez [176] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el *rio Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[18] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[19] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9–30.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

[P.6(A)]

101 **Peoples:** *Names and Location.* Such complicated terminology with respect to geographical extensions leaves little hope for too clear a presentation of the inhabitants of this area. [635] The ancient provinces of Duy and Guaymí included the northwestern section of Panama which was in part the home of the Térraba Indians. These people will be treated only in connection with history and tradition in this study in spite of the fact that in historic times there was a small group on the Zorquín River.[22] In the actual report, we use the term Talamanca as an all-inclusive word for the Bribri and the Cabécares. There are between [162] two and three thousand of these people on the Caribbean side, and approximately 1,595 on the Pacific.

Panamanian Border to the Coen River. Many names are listed in the documents pertaining to the area from the Panamanian border to the Coen River in Costa Rica. Among these, the commonest are: Ara, Ateo, Abicetaba, Blancos, Biceitas or Viceitas, Korrhué, Ucabarúa, and Valientes. To be sure, most of these terms are spelled in various ways according to the period and the author. These peoples were found between the Urén, Lari, and Coen rivers and in the plain of the Tiliri or Sixaola River, at least as far as Punta Cahuita.[23]

This entire group seems to have been closely related although they were not all one original people.[24] Collectively, they were the first to be known as Talamancas in the early 17th century, and today are called by this name or by that of Bribri.[25] It is interesting to examine these ancient designations because certain ones are associated with peoples now extinct, while others have a definite inference in modern terminology.

The groups that have now disappeared are

[103] [22] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 218. This is also a Mosquitia name. The Bribri term is Choli.

[23] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. We do not include here the Sicuas or Zeguas who were also found on the north coast. They were known to be of Mexican extraction. For an account of these people *see* Lothrop, 1944.

[24] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 219–20.

[25] *See*, e.g., the reports of the Franciscan fathers toward the end of the 17th century. The distinction is clearly made between Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas. *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 369–74.

174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[41] Stone, 1949.
[42] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present [643] era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

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At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

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[42] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

765 of an individual a year or more after death.
The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today
is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essen-
tial contribution to the cultural background
of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[184] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[656] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of
the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the
purpose of ceremonials in connection with
such burials. Here the bones are taken from the
leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the
Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the
deceased and all his actions, for example: how
he planted, worked, what he did, and where
he went. The song also gives the reason for
his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people
and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard.
Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near
the headwaters of a stream. Here are located
the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep,
round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called
suri in Cabécar) which does not rot easily.
The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but
the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The
Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar
in that the bones should not in any way touch
the earth. An additional plank is inclined over
the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to
inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The
Burier removes the planks of the grave and
puts the bone package in with his hands while
the medicine man sings, explaining that now
the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[184] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
[423] or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

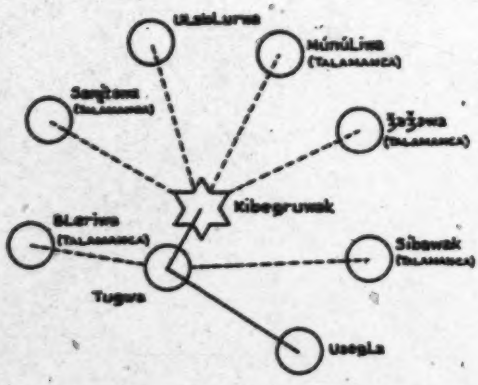
These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

[P 36(A)]

614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--Analysis]

614 manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan
179 does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614 Indeed, we found that the clans and the
463 professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine
[565] Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari
262 region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are
614
[643]

[117] The *sulwak* and *sirrwiwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupewak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri
[P. 50(A)]

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 648 The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 597 [714] The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*broshi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 798 643 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, frn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is why there are none today.
[754]

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because
643 of King *Berchí*[188] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[189] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was
173 not baptized, but later he was and received the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
797 family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzún* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[187] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[188] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[189] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

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At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148–49.

[P. 102(B)]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

643 648

capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

643 578

Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

[669]

But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLwak* clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

643 648 [682]

In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

643 [644]

As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old, Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301] [292] [293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648

The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the
648 visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into
[434] his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that
644 he married twice. His first wife was Oleria, the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

643 funeral feast. It is said that his death was due to having mistakenly drunk tincture of iodine. What is probably the truth is that he was poisoned because of personal hatreds. Kohkemper[11] recounts the version which seems most acceptable. He states that Antonio fell out with an Indian woman and she poisoned him and afterwards met the same fate.

José, the nephew, died a few days later. It is not known whether his death was due to natural or violent causes. With his passing, the kingship of Talamanca remained vacant.

[292] [301] Some years after this, the French traveler Périgny, found the insignias of royalty well preserved. These included a headdress of eagle

[11] Kohkemper, 1954, p. 60.

643 292 [301] feathers and the necklace with six large golden eagles, the remaining testimony of the last monarch in Costa Rica.

In 1957, a group of Bribri Indians from Talamanca brought a headdress of eagle plumes, fashioned in the same manner as the one used by King Antonio, to the National Museum of Costa Rica. They asked that it be placed near the portrait in oil, dating from 1892, of the deceased ruler (fig. 14). This hangs in one of the halls of the museum and shows [301] King Antonio Saldaña with his royal jewels. This gesture is evidence that the memory of the last king has not been forgotten and that in spite of his debilities he remains important in the traditions of his people.

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291
301
643
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a

b

a, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
b, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (*from* Fernández Guardia, 1913).

[END PLATE 13]

[P. 102(B)]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

643 648 capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

643 578 Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLwak* [669] clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

643 648 In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee [682] across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

643 As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old, Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was [644] Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the
648 government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into
[439] his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that
644 he married twice. His first wife was Oleria, the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce T [132] [137] a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1700 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. T [191] The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the T 609 648 country. At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them. 173 721 [627] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his. 619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moen, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe. [411] 622 648 [177] [624]

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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It seems that Marchena's plan was to put a creature of his own over the Indians, so as to gain access to the supposed rich mines and thereby benefit himself. Instigated by a "Christian," the savage, nothing loth, conspired with his people, but Santiago learned of it and made efforts to arrest him. Learning of this, he fled to the mountain fastnesses of Bri-bri where, broken down by disease and hardships he died, leaving, Indian like, his revenge as a legacy to his adherents. Santiago, who was a drunkard and, when intoxicated, a tyrant, gradually enstranged his people from him, and his relatives, Birche and Willie, placed themselves at the head of the opposition. The occasion sought for was not long in being found, and one morning Santiago was shot in the woods by an ambushed party, who at once took possession of the government, burnt their victim's house, appropriated his effects, including his three wives, and defied his friends. Birche, as the oldest of the two cousins and claimants to the chieftainship, took precedence and Willie became second chief. Mr. John H. Lyon, an American from Baltimore, who had lived in the country since 1858, had acted as secretary to Santiago, and only their respect for an upright man who had always treated them justly, coupled with the fact that he was not a "Spaniard," prevented them from venting their resentment on him, in common with the other friends of the murdered man. He remained at his house for some weeks despite the storm. But at last, thinking discretion the better part of valor, he left the country with his Indian family and remained absent some months. On his return he found matters settled after a fashion: the Birche party in power, but by no means secure against an outbreak from the friends of Santiago, who only wanted a leader. They urged Lyon to head them but his better council prevailed, and they perforce accepted the situation. I visited the country first in March, 1873, accompanied by the Commandante of Limon, Don Federico Fernandez. He then formally approved of Birche as chief, Willie as second, and re-appointed Lyon as Secretary. This was a great step in advance for Birche who now, for the first time, felt himself secure. The assassination of Santiago was practically ignored, but they were told "to be good and not do it again." This was succeeded by an infinite number of petty quarrels between the two chiefs; each disliking the other, and each wishing the other out of the way. By dint of constant interference on the part of the foreigners, they were prevented from coming into actual collision, although one attempt was made by the friends of Willie to kill Birche, Lyon, myself and my assistants at a blow by planting an ambush for us on one of our journeys. However, in December, 1873, business taking me to San José, I induced Birche to accompany me. On my advice, Don Vicente Herrera, the Minister of Interior, gave to Birche a formal commission as "Jefe Politico" of Talamanca, confirmed Willie as second chief, and appointed Mr. Lyon "Secretary and Director of the tribes," fixing suitable salaries for each. This was the first time that the tribe had formally submitted to the Costa Rican government. The action of Santiago was purely an in-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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dividual affair, and looked on with great disfavor by the tribe. Matters 622
went on very well for a few months under the new regime. But Birche, a 648
man of little capacity, at the same time a coward and a tyrant, could not be content with his position. He began a system of ill treatment against which the people grumbled, but which they feared to resent. At first both Lyon and myself tried to quiet the complaints, believing that punishment had been justly inflicted, and knowing that

> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With just opinion of the law,
> Or held with judgment orthodox
> His love of justice in the stocks."

But it soon became apparent that his majesty (they are always called king) was abusing his power. The Indians dared not quarrel with Birche, for fear of offending the government, but came to Lyon almost daily with complaints. At last we decided to effect a change. Birche went to Limon to draw his salary, and at the same time to complain of a purely personal quarrel with Willie, in which he had fared worst. I arrived there a few days later, having completed my exploration, and being on my way to the Capital. On being asked for information and advice by the Commandante, I told the story and urged his removal. This could only be done by the minister, but he was suspended until the decision of that officer could be obtained. In a few days I saw Mr. Herrera, and after a conversation he decided to endorse the Commandante's action. Birche was accordingly removed, Willie was given a nominal chieftainship, and Lyon instructed to assume all responsibilities. Thus in less than two years the people have, without knowing how it happened, been deprived of their hereditary chiefs, and a foreigner placed over them. Willie remains with the empty title of chief without even the power to issue an order or punish an offender, except when ordered by Lyon. This gentleman has their entire confidence and respect, and many of the Indians begged to have even the title taken away permanently from the "royal" family. I have been thus prolix on this branch of the subject, [123]
because I was an eye witness, a participator, in the latter part of the events I relate. Trivial as they are, they may interest some, throwing light on the manner in which one tribe after another is subdued.

A strange fatality seems to hang over these Isthmian Indians. Even 161
when not brought into contact with the debasing influences of civilization, the tribes are visibly diminishing. Less than two centuries ago, the population of Talamanca, as Costa Rica calls her southeastern province, was counted by thousands, now barely 1200 souls can be found. The Shelaba tribe is extinct; the Changinas are at the point of extermination, the Tiribis number but one hundred and three souls, and Lyon tells me that the Cabecars of the Coen have diminished fully one-half within the last seventeen years, while the decrease in the Bri-bris is hardly less rapid.

During my travels in Talamanca I collected in each district an accurate 124 161

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

121 THE following paper on the present-day *Boruca* Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not a complete ethnological study. In fact, it might well be termed an "introductory paper" on these people. It is the result of four short visits into Boruca territory. The first trip was made with the idea of becoming acquainted with these people, and the remaining three visits were made to study the conditions under which the greater portion of autochthonous Costa Ricans exist today. The purpose in mind was to understand the new problems created by the first steps in constructing the Pan-American Highway. The 177 line of the proposed highway goes between 648 *Térraba* and *Cabécar* Indian country, and indirectly affects the *Bribri* and the *Boruca*. With its start, came the flood of opportunists to claim lands that are actually occupied by [191] indigenous groups, many of whom do not even speak the national tongue, Spanish.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
5A19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

648 As a result of these field trips, the Costa Rican Government set up, on December 6, 1945, a *Junta* or Committee to form a long-term educational program and to demarcate various aboriginal zones to be used as reservations.

177 114 Little or nothing has been written about the *Boruca*, who are by far the most Europeanized of the southern Costa Rican tribes, and who, because of this, are fast losing their aboriginal characteristics. The report which follows is 121 a series of facts concerning the life of the actual *Boruca* Indians; facts which, in a few years, may be obsolete or unknown. For this reason, they are offered here as part of the record of our knowledge of man's cultural changes, and, as stated before, do not pretend to represent a thorough ethnological study.

DORIS STONE

San José, Costa Rica, 1946

[p. v-b]
[p. vi is blank]

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca*.[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[12] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" 101
today. Here, various tribes, including the 175
Coto were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the 197
Boruca.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the 101
Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The
Boruca distrust in particular their neighbors 648 ●
the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not 609
very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident.
The women seldom visit each others' houses. 574
As much as a year may pass without one going 521
to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping
and laughing, seated on their little four-footed [352]
benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose 177
their own culture and personality. The slow 648
acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature [132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no [363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap- [346] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and 177 church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture. [351 Although most of the houses have no fences, a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a 417] garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* [245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or 312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[804] [a] A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 648
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress,
even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are
located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis
River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense
forest and thickets. As a consequence, they
are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-
in, and, for many months of the year,
mosquito ridden. These villages have even
less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca.
Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly
hidden houses to the other. There are no
churches or schools, and perhaps there is one
fence in both communities. Water is obtained
from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river
bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the
town, but unlike the other river villages, the
community itself is open and free of the bush.
Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to
lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American
sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school,
several saloons and stores, the houses all with
fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets
connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its
indigenous characteristics in the still ample
space or gardens around the houses, and, of
course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[18] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence
is nearly always made with living posts, 417

386 threads, the Indians lamented to the writer that they had forgotten how to make many of the beautiful colors their ancestors knew. In particular, they wanted to know how to obtain a bright blue. As a consequence, the seeds [123] of the broad-leaf indigo were sent them for planting.

The colors still made by the *Boruca* are black, light yellow, pale blue, and purple. Light brown is obtained by using the natural colored cotton, as stated before. Formerly, red was made by boiling the leaves of the sangrilla tree which is called *rus kra'* in Boruca, and is abundant in the neighboring forests. At present, they do not make this dye, as they seem to think it too much trouble. A fast jet black is procured by cooking the bark of a tree called *carbonero* (*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.) in Spanish, and *grifin-kra'* in Boruca, and combing the liquid with a black clay found in the vicinity. Light blue is made from a narrow-leaf indigo (*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.) which abounds by the river. The leaves are boiled for dye. Purple is obtained on the sea coast near Punta Mala and Dominical. Here a mollusk (*Purpura patula* Gould), called *la morada*, is gathered at low tide off the rocks which jut out of the water along the shore. Formerly, the Indians swam out to the rocks with the cotton thread on top of their head 237 to collect the animal.[26] The *Boruca* have no 386 tradition of any of this. At the present time, they gather the mollusk when the tide is out from the shore, and from the rock they can reach by wading. Great pain is taken not to let the creature die. On obtaining the mollusk, they first turn over the shell so that the sea water runs out. Then they blow into the shell, holding the thread in front. The angry animal spits out a fluid on the thread, after which he is thrown back into the sea. This fluid is at first a greenish-yellow, but when dry, becomes deep purple.[27] They say that the ink is best when the moon is full, and no good when the moon is new. At other times, the color is not so strong, nor does it dye evenly. [648] This dye has long been prized not only by the

[26] See Cockburn, 1779, p. 112.

[27] According to Dr. W. J. Clench, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University, this dye is a drug used by the snail to anesthetize its victim.

[28] See Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 353–54; Cock-

237 Indians, but also by the Spaniards who de-
386 manded purple thread, during the Conquest
[648] and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 The actual weaving is done by the women
[462] seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*).
[531] Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced
[171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[115] [30] Information given to the writer by Professor Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

[p. 17-B]

841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kuikʃ·as* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

575 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

[a] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 648 **Land Tenure.** The *Boruca* consider the territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be [609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 311 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest 423 cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church. 794 Each individual is required to do his share of [476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on [735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which 311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

Pittier[38] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*. 438 175

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b–2*, *4*, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral. 438 648 [317 263]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of 796

[38] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

842 One of the most important functions of the witch doctor appears to be the control of birth. The *Boruca* have long been famous for having children only when they feel like it, not using an abortive, but a preventive or a provocative, as the case might be. They are very reticent [648] to admit even the existence of such a practice, however, through fear of the priest and of the Costa Rican Government, which in the past has persecuted the Talamancan peoples for this, as we shall see further on.

Both processes are brought about by taking certain liquid preparations given by the witch doctor. The sterilization process is called a *curada*, and when a woman has one or two children, the Indians say quite frankly that she is *curada*. It appears possible to be *curada* and then go to the *curandera* and become pregnant when one wants. Both remedies are drinks made from certain leaves, fungi, roots, and ferns. The sterilizing brew must be taken for fifteen days, stopped for fifteen days, and taken again for fifteen days. If badly prepared or taken too consistently without the interval in between, the drink is said to kill by causing hemorrhages. The neighbors of the *Boruca* all have, at least, the remedy to stop conception. The *Térraba*[30] do not practise it so often [177] today, as the Roman Catholic Church has apparently had more influence on them. The *Térraba* claim that their population has decreased violently since the past century because their women made themselves too sterile, and both sexes began to live together in any manner. They add that because of this, a curse has been put on them and they are dying out. It is a pity there is no census record to serve as comparative material. All of the remaining Talamanca peoples, such as the *Bribri*, the *Chirripó*, and the *Cabécares*, seem also to know this custom. In an unpublished report of Fathers Vincente Krautwog and Augustín Blessing of several trips made by them to the missions of Talamanca in the years 1894 to 1902, the originals of which are in the parochial archives in Limón, Costa Rica, the following statements are significant:

The women of the Estrella (valley) have very few children, because of certain remedies which they take

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they 304
get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which 554
they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear.

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is 142
that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is [438] there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the re- 166
peated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mos-* 648
quitos in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * *

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among 161
those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy.

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is 175
to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are 648
embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

175 648 level lands of the great river *Estrella*,[14] where it joins the river *Coén*,[15] which comes down from *Cabécara*, and the *Arari*, which comes down from *Viceita*.

175 648 797 Its destruction, according to the copy referred to, was in the month of August of the tenth year of the last century, and at the end of it. In the year 1689, the conquest and subjection of the heathen Indians of that province was undertaken by the venerable servant of God, the Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, founder of this College, who had good results in his apostolic work, for in a few years he succeeded in teaching and baptizing so great a number of Indians that they already made up sixteen settlements. But at the end of 1709, those barbarous tribes rebelled, together with those who were taught, baptized and settled, and they killed two out of the three friars who were there. There were Fray Pablo de Rebullida and Fray Antonio de Zamora, and nine or ten of the soldiers who were in the garrison, together with a woman and a boy, burning the churches and profaning the sacred vessels and the furniture thereof. Yet by the orders and the measures taken by the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia or Captaincy-General of this Kingdom, assisted by the good conduct of the Governor of the Province of *Costa Rica*, who at that time was Don Lorenzo de la Granda Balbín, and the military officers who accompanied him, and the Rev. Padre Fray Antonio de Andrade, a disciple of this College, who was saved out of that insurrection, they were successful in penetrating into the mountains and cap-

[114] [14] Among the papers relating to the foundation of the city of *Santiago de Talamanca* it appears that it was founded upon the banks of the *Tariro*, eight leagues from its mouth. Fray Manuel Urcullu is not mistaken as regards the site, but he falls into the same error already noted in the other reports of the missionaries, of calling the *Tariro*, *Tiliri* or *Siraola*, the *Estrella* river. The latter is the one now designated the *Changuena* on some maps, *Changuinola* upon others and, finally, the *Tilorio* river. The latter is the real *Estrella* river, discovered and made known in 1564, by Juan Vázquez de Coronado. Its course, instead of running towards the coast of the Sea of the Antilles, as it does today, turned at nine and a half degrees of North latitude and continued towards the East in a line almost parallel to the said coast, until it emptied into the Bay of *Almirante*. The ancient channel of the river is well known by explorers, and in particular by Don José María Figueroa, who traced it upon the map of Costa Rica. Note by M. M. de Peralta.

[15] The river *Coén* is a tributary of the river *Tariro*.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

turing fifteen hundred Indians who had risen, with their *cacique*, and justice was done to the latter as well as to the others, and the holy vessels and the furnishings were recovered. As the rebels continued more insolent and were bound together in their disobedience and apostasy, the zeal of the said Reverend Padre Andrade and of the other friars who were under him could not re-establish this conquest and subjection; but now, extricated from the difficult and even impossible situation in which the enterprise then was, it should be restored to this College.

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174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[40] Stone, 1949.
[41] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

[p.5(B)]

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
● 648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and
101 Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709,
[797] which resulted in the destruction of the Franciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish
[177] men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 10 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically distinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation. [177]

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their 131 geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. 489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent 491 and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- 177 quest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the 648 republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.10(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the
● 648 valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna lmd.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for
101 distinctions in beliefs and living habits between one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

[P. 11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional
361 Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the
[648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Tala-
[412] manca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging
[824] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the
[415] waist (fig. 2, *c*)* and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The
[411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope,
[412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It
249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

* [See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

Cabécar
Terraba
Changuena

173 Cabécares, and only a very few managed to
726 escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[181] cleaned
[727] them, and used them for cups. They cooked the heads and dried them well and then put them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive
[727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

[172] [181] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[148] [188] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

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He slept near her and told her that if she saw a large jaguar or a large alligator in a pool, it would be him. Knowing that some *usegLa* had fled in the forest, the uncle further advised her to search for her relatives.

It happened as the uncle said, and the girl told all about it later.

Vengeance for the Cabécares

(*Cabécar*)

During the same war, the Terribís climbed trees to look for the Cabécares and Bribri. They would spot a *palenque* (house) and then sleep near it so as to make a surprise raid and kill everyone in the early morning. One day the Terribís went to the upper Estrella River without seeing a soul as all the people along the way had fled. Twenty-five Terribís paused on a hilltop and spotted a large *palenque*. They surrounded the dwelling and some guarded the roads to see where the people were.

Time passed. They heard the cocks crow but they didn't see a single person. This made them think that all the people were within the house. *Palenques* only have one door, so the whole twenty-five entered along with a large wasp which killed them all.

Thus it happened that when another Terribí, who had stayed behind to gather rope for hanging the heads the band expected to collect, tried to find his companions he failed. The truth was that there had never been a *palenque* at that spot on the upper Estrella, nor were there roads. It was part of a scheme of *sibu* against the Terribís. It was he who had sent the wasp to avenge the Cabécares.

The War of the Changuinas[152] with the Talamancas

(*Cabécar*)

The war between the Changuinas and the Cabécares was fought for such a long time that

[648] Changuina River, a tributary of the Diquís or Río Grande de Térraba. Here they had a tremendous battle with the Borucas and Cabécares of Ujarrás as the graveyards in the vicinity testify. *See* Stone, 1958, p. 45, fig. 1. Today, legend holds that the Changuinas are still at the upper reaches of this tributary, but that they disappear when one arrives.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 50(A)]

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 648 The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 597 [714] The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*broshi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 793 643 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. [643] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

[177] It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

721 628 At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

643 There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the 643 National Congress passed a law signed by the President of the Republic making the Tala- 648 mancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148–49.

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643 capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the
● 648 authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

643 Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate
578 the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLwak*
[669] clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

643 In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the
648 power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee
[682] across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

643 As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old,
Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was
[644] Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P103(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301] [292] [293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648

The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the
● 648 government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into
[439] his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria,
644 the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

[P.31 (B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

767 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is
764 common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must
[273] plant the maize to be used for the chicha at the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has
[756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former
[775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This
[768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the
● [656] geographical location. Government and eccle-
[797] siastical authorities have prohibited the fundamental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767 533] tion between *sini* and *sinąbwak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[108] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.
[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[765] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *piy*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

[p. 8(B)]

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
C48 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish
[177] men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

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[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier [118] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)—Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
●673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)
[177]

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *teriu*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages; Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
756 Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
422 *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
692 usual method is for the family of the culprit
to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[681] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
184 is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
184 the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
422 watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two 614 persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Sí-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zí-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zú-bo'* and by the Boruca, *Sí'-bûh*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio. never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered ● [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to 534 them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
[184] is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

[P. 49(A)]

Changuena
Cabécar
Bribri

173 726 the medicine men of Ujarrás went to Talamanca to look for the best medicine man there.[153] He was known by the name of "He who taught medicine men." The medicine man converted himself into a combination of a jaguar-rat. The warriors, who accompanied him, brought arrows and joined those of Ujarrás. The great medicine man who appeared as a rat had his companions from Talamanca carry him in a cage over the cordiliera. The people from Ujarrás met him and all went well armed, including females.

They met the Changuinas who had joined with the inhabitants of Cabagra (Bribri) on the other side of Buenos Aires[154] and had a terrific battle. The medicine man from Cabécar was more powerful than the one from Changuina, however, and the Cabécares kept winning.

[712] The wounded Changuinas and Cabagras (Bribri) went into a large underground house made of cut stone which served as a fort. The enemy followed them and made them march ahead while another encounter with the Changuinas and Cabagras was prepared.

The medicine man from Talamanca went ahead of everyone and his enemies allowed him to sit down. He sat on a wooden bench which immediately broke, so he sat on a stone one which did the same. The medicine man of the Changuinas seeing this grew afraid. He withdrew into the underground fortress. There was a saw which the Changuinas and Cabagras used to cut off heads of the people from Talamanca and Ujarrás. Then they gathered the blood and drank it calling it cacao. The medicine man of the Changuinas wanted to cut off his Talamancan colleague's head but he was not powerful enough.

It was then that the warriors from Talamanca and Ujarrás moved in. Seeing their medicine man seated on sticks and stones instead of a gold seat, such as the Changuinas had, they proceeded with such fury that the enemy became frightened. The Changuina's medicine man grabbed a gold seat in the shape of a horse and through magical means made it fly with him through a door which was in the center of the large building.

[153] Cabécar, in Talamanca, is still the "seat of learning" for medicine men. (*See* Medicine Man.)

[154] *I.e.*, south of Buenos Aires, above where the

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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411 front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is [22] shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio, never more [227] than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered [691] the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun [223] is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this [713] century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

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[P. 50(A)]

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 648 The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[156] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 597 [714] The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*broshi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[157] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 793 643 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[156] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
643 to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because of King *Berchí*[188] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[189] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was not baptized, but later he was and received
173 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
797 family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batsión* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[188] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[189] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[189] *sáL* is "monkey," *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

173 came among them, I could get no more satisfactory answer than that they went to Cartago to buy them. I have been told a vague story, however, that long ago there were two bands living in the country now occupied by the Bri-bris. Those living in the valley, around the junction of the branches of the Tiliri were more powerful than the mountaineers, and forced the latter to pay tribute when they descended to hunt, or cut the material for their bark-cloth clothing. But gradually the lowlanders died out; the highlanders, becoming the more powerful, rebelled against these impositions, and eventually emigrated in such numbers to the country of the former, that the distinction became lost by an amalgamation of the two parties. Even now the Bri-bris, who occupy the lowlands [563] and most of the hill regions of the Sicsola, look down on their neighbors the Cabecars and treat them as inferiors. The Cabecars, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge even a social supremacy, and in a mixed party submit to assume the more menial occupations, like bringing water and wood; and are always obliged to wait until the last when food or drink is being served. Few of the Bri-bris speak the Cabecar language, but there are few of the Cabecars who do not speak Bri-bri, and they usually [622] use it in the presence of strangers. The Cabecars have no chief of their own, but are entirely under the rule of the Bri-bri chief, and have been, from time immemorial. Their subjugation is, in short, complete. At the same time they have the honor of religious supremacy, in so far as [793] that the high priest, the "*Usekara*," whose office will be explained further on, belongs to their tribe. The ordinary priests, the "*Tsugurs*," who, like the "*Usekara*," are hereditary, come from a group of families on the Coen River, but belong to the Bri-bri tribe.

About the beginning of this century there was a bitter war between the 173 Bri-bris and the Tiribis. The youngest members of the war parties are now mostly dead, and the few remaining survivors are very old men. 721 The last of the warriors proper, mature men at that time, died about 1860, at an extremely advanced age. I have heard the traditions from both sides the question, and of course each party throws all the blame on the other. The Bri-bri story is that some people, a whole family, living on the extreme eastern portion of the Uren district, were found murdered, and no clue discovered to the perpetrators of the act. Not very long afterwards other murders occurred in an equally mysterious manner, which threw the whole country into a state of excitement. Afterwards a small party was attacked by some unknown Indians, a portion killed and some left to tell the tale. The tracks of the strangers were followed through the woods, always keeping to the east, until they were lost. Following this clue, the chief of the Bri-bris sent out a party of armed scouts, who climbed to the summit of the dividing ridge, overlooking the Tilorio. From here they discovered for the first time that they had neighbors; seeing their houses and cornfields in the distance. A large war party was fitted out; they passed the mountains, and without warning descended on the unsuspecting

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them. 173 721 [622] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his. 619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moon, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe. [411] 622 648 [177] [624]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Biceyto;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Changuen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymi.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[859] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Téjar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[40] Stone, 1949.
[41] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

[P. 11(A)] Bribri
Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ké* (*ké* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- • [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *buǯiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *ǯiga* (many), and town by *ka* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan
[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--analyst]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--analyst]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. [643] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

[177] It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

721 628 At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

643 There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the 643 National Congress passed a law signed by the 648 President of the Republic making the Talamancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148–49.

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
sią is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu* who sends *duLær*, his messenger, with the answer. *duLær* is very special, however. No one, not even the greatest medicine man, has ever seen him. He confers with the stone and disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some medicine men say that they have heard his presence in the sense that in the dead of night, when waiting for an answer, there is sometimes a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost importance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes *bukLú* and if it is his bad luck to return ill, then it is very dangerous. The only way to remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all around the house, touching it with a stick, and then to do the same to everything inside. The Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and *kɔiɔk* (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[843] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
[783] or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
[752] should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

[825] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
● 926 between legend and actual history. Events are reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men of the Cabécares still recount their version of war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150] The following is an Indian account of this event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítsiwa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, and *ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
● 726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

Cabécar
Terraba
Changuena

173 Cabécares, and only a very few managed to
● 726 escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[181] cleaned
[727] them, and used them for cups. They cooked the heads and dried them well and then put them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive
[727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

[172] [181] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[648] [182] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

173 He slept near her and told her that if she
●726 saw a large jaguar or a large alligator in a pool, it would be him. Knowing that some *usegLa* had fled in the forest, the uncle further advised her to search for her relatives.

It happened as the uncle said, and the girl told all about it later.

Vengeance for the Cabécares

(*Cabécar*)

During the same war, the Terribís climbed trees to look for the Cabécares and Bribri. They would spot a *palenque* (house) and then sleep near it so as to make a surprise raid and kill everyone in the early morning. One day the Terribís went to the upper Estrella River without seeing a soul as all the people along the way had fled. Twenty-five Terribís paused on a hilltop and spotted a large *palenque*. They surrounded the dwelling and some guarded the roads to see where the people were.

Time passed. They heard the cocks crow but they didn't see a single person. This made them think that all the people were within the house. *Palenques* only have one door, so the whole twenty-five entered along with a large wasp which killed them all.

Thus it happened that when another Terribí, who had stayed behind to gather rope for hanging the heads the band expected to collect, tried to find his companions he failed. The truth was that there had never been a *palenque* at that spot on the upper Estrella, nor were there roads. It was part of a scheme of *sibu* against the Terribís. It was he who had sent the wasp to avenge the Cabécares.

The War of the Changuinas[152] with the Talamancas

(*Cabécar*)

The war between the Changuinas and the Cabécares was fought for such a long time that

[648] Changuina River, a tributary of the Diquís or Río Grande de Térraba. Here they had a tremendous battle with the Borucas and Cabécares of Ujarrás as the graveyards in the vicinity testify. *See* Stone, 1958, p. 45, fig. 1. Today, legend holds that the Changuinas are still at the upper reaches of this tributary, but that they disappear when one arrives.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 49(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Changuena
Cabécar
Bribri

173 726 the medicine men of Ujarrás went to Talamanca to look for the best medicine man there.[183] He was known by the name of "He who taught medicine men." The medicine man converted himself into a combination of a jaguar-rat. The warriors, who accompanied him, brought arrows and joined those of Ujarrás. The great medicine man who appeared as a rat had his companions from Talamanca carry him in a cage over the cordillera. The people from Ujarrás met him and all went well armed, including females.

They met the Changuinas who had joined with the inhabitants of Cabagra (Bribri) on the other side of Buenos Aires[184] and had a terrific battle. The medicine man from Cabécar was more powerful than the one from Changuina, however, and the Cabécares kept winning.

[712] The wounded Changuinas and Cabagras (Bribri) went into a large underground house made of cut stone which served as a fort. The enemy followed them and made them march ahead while another encounter with the Changuinas and Cabagras was prepared.

The medicine man from Talamanca went ahead of everyone and his enemies allowed him to sit down. He sat on a wooden bench which immediately broke, so he sat on a stone one which did the same. The medicine man of the Changuinas seeing this grew afraid. He withdrew into the underground fortress. There was a saw which the Changuinas and Cabagras used to cut off heads of the people from Talamanca and Ujarrás. Then they gathered the blood and drank it calling it cacao. The medicine man of the Changuinas wanted to cut off his Talamancan colleague's head but he was not powerful enough.

It was then that the warriors from Talamanca and Ujarrás moved in. Seeing their medicine man seated on sticks and stones instead of a gold seat, such as the Changuinas had, they proceeded with such fury that the enemy became frightened. The Changuina's medicine man grabbed a gold seat in the shape of a horse and through magical means made it fly with him through a door which was in the center of the large building.

[183] Cabécar, in Talamanca, is still the "seat of learning" for medicine men. (*See* Medicine Man.)

[184] I.e., south of Buenos Aires, above where the

173 The Talamancan medicine man also used
726 his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[188] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured.
[103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper
776 Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress
[103] and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited
[614] by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried
173 *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he
776 wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called
[103] *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[188] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [251] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

301 [435] golden eagles formerly common among them, the latter being much easier to make.

Headdress.—Pl. XXI represents a man's headdress made of the tail-down of an eagle, as described by Gabb. The pure white, fluffy feathers are attached in clusters to a woven cotton head-band of white with red stripes.

Pl. XXII shows another warrior's head-gear, the foundation of which is trade cloth, upon which, in front, are gummed alternate [237] rows of blue and red feathers, with a crest of yellow.

Pl. XXIII, *a*, illustrates an old head-band consisting of a canvas fillet on which are mounted half a dozen long, draggled feathers of the red macaw.

While the Bribri wear no nose or cheek plugs, they say that this custom is still in vogue among some of the neighboring tribes. These ornaments are said to be made of tapir bone, and are three or four inches long, slender and cylindrical. When ● [727] taken by the Bribri from a slain enemy, they are highly valued as war trophies.

000 *Bark and Fiber Articles.*—Besides the

[P. 48(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cabécar
Terraba
Changuena

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The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

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[648] [182] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen
[184] today outside of upper Talamanca.

Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

really happens to them is that they are eaten by the water-jaguar.

oLobəsią becomes aware that *dínamą́* has gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

(10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

(*Cabécar*)

The river flows downward and reaches the mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

(11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

(*Cabécar*)

óknamą́ is a spirit who protects men. He lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *sią́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrasén*, and Linguistic Texts: *dí-namą́*.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 648 **Land Tenure.** The *Boruca* consider the territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be [609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 311 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, 423 has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church. 794 Each individual is required to do his share of [476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on [735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which 311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikawa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

449 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [457] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[457] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[Text continues top of P. 41(B)—Analyst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[Text continues bottom of P. 41(B)—Analyst]

[495] [1] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[2] Usually 100 pounds.

844 tier,[35] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-krá*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
[178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuíkſ·as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

881 Puberty. There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikſ·as* to drink so that they will not grow per leg.

[35] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [476] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [231] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark [824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own [237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days,
bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid.
756 The medicine man talks for two nights and
passes a variety of leaves, including *silk*
846 (*Araceæ* sp.), over her and the new born babe
[824] who is also washed with leaves which sup-
posedly have protective powers. These leaves
[751] include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*);
leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and
leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day,
[783] there is a purification ceremony during which
the medicine man blows smoke over the mother
and child. He then eats in front of the house-
hold so that all can see nothing is wrong and
then offers some of the same food to the
mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay
isolated for three days and the cleansing cere-
mony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have
much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé-
756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however,
the medicine man appears and orders the
woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the
[783] purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the
child and puts a little water mixed with
chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye*
palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands
with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid
in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf,
repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she be-
comes pregnant again, or at least from one
and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to
the practise of not naming a boy but allowing
him to choose his own appellation when he
reaches puberty. For the most part, the names
were taken from individuals who caught their
fancy even though not known personally, such
as a president, general, etc. These names were
frequently changed by whim. This custom is
still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a
[756] secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps
the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[101] This is called the *papakusk* ceremony. *pa* in this
[192] instance is "taba" or "thing that is not touched." It

278 842 sembling that of Castoreum remained. This odor is possibly derived from glands of some tropical animal since beavers do not occur there.

The tannins would indicate that some bark or barks were used in the preparation. Microscopical examination of the residue did not give any clues.

[171] A few places where such practices as these are known are Africa, the Fiji Islands, and Ecuador.

278 757 The following is a list of the more generally known cures used by the *Boruca* and usually prescribed by the *curandera*.

Malaria is treated by drinking the liquid left from cooking the bark of a tree called *hombre grande* (*Quassia amara* L.), and sometimes, from boiling the fruits of the *cedrón* (*Simaba Cedron* Planch.)

For stomach-aches, a vine called in Boruca *so-kra'* (*Philodendron* sp.) is boiled with the ever useful *Kuikʃ·as* (*Piper* spp.), and drunk.

Dysentery in adults is treated by boiling the bark of the María tree, the guava tree, the leaves and the yuca-like root of the *contrayerva* (*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.), and the ripe vanilla pod (*Vanilla fragrans* [Salisb] Ames).

Rheumatism is treated by rubbing the afflicted parts with the oil of the copaiba tree.

To stop boils, the leaves of the *kana kra'* (*Conostegia extinctoria* [Bonpl.] D. Don.) are used in combination with a lard made from the marrow of the leg bones of a cow and lemon juice. The lard helps to keep the leaves in place, and is supposed to aid in drawing out the poison.

752 278 For snake bites, some Indians, but not all, as the majority go to a *sukia* for this, use the leaf of the *guaco* (*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.). They mash the leaf, soak it in water, and then put it on the afflicted parts. Another remedy for snake bites is to use the bulb or root of the *Strychnos* or *curarina* vine (*Strychnos toxifera* Schonb. ex Benth.). This is cut into pieces and mixed with the *guaco* leaf and boiled very well. The resulting liquid is drunk. The most effective remedy for snake bites, however, seems to be the resin from the *caraña* tree (*Protium* spp.). This tree grows on the coast, particularly near Dominical. The resin is mixed with honey and is both drunk and applied to the bite.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

Bribri
Cabecar

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann [147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hík-namú* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

[P. 47 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
sią is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
kəiək (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[843] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
[783] or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
[752] should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

[825] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
726 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

775 When I asked an Indian where it went, he responded, to the country of *Si-bu'*, and in reply to the question; where is that? he pointed unhesitatingly to the zenith. On inquiring where the road was, he told me it was invisible to the eyes of the living, but that the spirit (*wig'bru*) could see it.

In the other world there are no troubles, no cares. There is plenty to eat and to drink, of those things that the Indian loves most here. Plantains and corn are never wanting; meat and chicha are always to be had; and chocolate, the luxury, *par excellence* of the Costa Rican Indian never runs out, or becomes scarce as, alas too often, it does in Talamanca. He needs all his arms and implements, but it does not seem that he will be obliged to work. These little discrepancies, the wisest *Tsu-gur* does not attempt to explain. After death, the soul remains wandering about near the corpse until the burial feast. Then, by means of the songs of the *Tsu-gurs* or priests, it makes its journey to the "promised land."

789 Their superstitions are however, somewhat more definite and tangible since they affect their every day actions. There are two classes of uncleanness, *nyu* and *bu-ku-ru'*. Anything that is essentially filthy, or that was connected with the death of a person is "*nyu*," anything unclean in the Hebraic or Hindu sense is *bu-ku-ru'*. But *bu-ku-ru'* is even more powerful than it is supposed to be by the Orientals. It suffices not only to make one sick, but even kills. In a party where *bu-ku-ru'* is excited, it does not affect all alike, but only attacks the weakest. *Bu-ku-ru'* emanates in a variety of ways; arms, utensils, even houses become affected by it after long disuse and before they can be used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a long time, the custom is to beat them with a stick before touching them. I have seen a woman take a long walking stick and beat a basket hanging from the roof of a house by a cord. On asking what that was for, I was told that the basket contained her treasures, that she would probably want to take something out the next day and that she was driving off the *bu-ku-ru'*. A house long unused must be swept and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short, every accessible part of the interior. The next day it is fit for occupation. A place not visited for a long time or reached for the first time, is *bu-ku-ru'*. On our return from the ascent of Pico Blanco, nearly all the party suffered from little calenturas, the result of extraordinary exposure to wet and cold and of want of food. The Indians said that the peak was especially *bu-ku-ru'*, since nobody had ever been on it before. Even we foreigners were sick from it, and had any of them gone to the summit, they would have surely died. On one occasion, while buying some implements, I pulled down off a rack, two or three "blow guns" that, from the dust on them, must have lain there undisturbed for weeks, perhaps months. As I reached out my hand, I heard the warning cry of "*bu-ku-ru'*" from all around; laughingly disregarding it, and telling them that *bu-ku-ru'* couldn't hurt us, I began examining them.

[753]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tribi, *Auk* in Terraba, and *Ku-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bri-bris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these in-
776 habit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are
778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who
[753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Uron, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-juma*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *bu-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to
776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Asna* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck,
[226] breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

324 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak
[293] further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent
[481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fish-
ing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves;
bright feathers from birds, in particular the
oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers;
[237] sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal
skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers
for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers
for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the
Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs
of all houses and are for sleeping as well as
resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves
are placed on the ground by the fire and are
used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs
and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on
the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are
common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a pro-
truding head and tail. The women sit on them
while cooking, or people while talking, in
order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the
men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLɔ* in
Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden
mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas,* and
basketlike containers (*dęku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold
chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to
protect them from animals. Large earthen
chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all
the big circular houses of the Bribri and in
some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a
Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true
even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils
are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of
their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skfLi*		5 days after today *skfiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require [756] the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [184] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [609] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb[98] and Pittier[99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned
a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[770] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
[172] which are obviously ceremonial have been
found in caches associated with the Highland
archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano
[171] (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American
trait and are still used by medicine men among
the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the
Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and
medicine man staffs were carved as late as
the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish,
the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11,
c) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red
wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood.
There is a mystical connection between the
medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact
benevolent spirits who help him cure. In
Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally
translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to
the songs of the medicine man in the night;
kər = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine
men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used
756 for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves
with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, cer-
tain spirits called *siku* or *sikuʒeké* (*see* Theo-
logical Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey,
a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects
seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are
the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside
the ill person whose hand is held by the curer
or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms
part of this ceremony.

Stones are another very special part of the
756 equipment, the origin of which is also bound
778 up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs).
A medicine man may have any number of
stones but there are two principal ones with
a covering name which is sometimes mistaken
by laymen as a third stone. This collective

It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[146] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

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839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 A medicine for snake bites is made from 824 *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítrwa* and *mínúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *mínúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, and *ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 51(A)] Cabecar Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[100] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking 775 of them. The good and bad people all go to *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything 772 from beneath the earth to make place for the 776 Indians there. In this underground domain, there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one 753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals them- [756] selves. This is one reason why the medicine man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-

776 [100] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wimbLu* who are souls of the dead. There is more than [774] one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wimbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLǎǯibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLǎǯibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [161] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ki* in Bribri and *namí* in Cabécar.
[160] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

*539 *gra* and *karpimina*. The medicine man has to
821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
776 make rain or to stop the rain. September is
756 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
[241] the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds will not be washed away. It is then that the *jawá* chants:

> Let the sun come clear.
> Let him raise above the sea.
> Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
> Put on his clothes.
> Come!
> When he puts on good clothes,
> The sun looks good;
> But when he has on dirty ones
> He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

> *karpiblégra, karpimina*
> Come here,
> Come rain storm,
> To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [176]

(*Bribri and Cabécar*)

When *bukubLaxe*, the bad spirit (*see* Taboo), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [178]

(*Cabécar*)

*589 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
● [753] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[176] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sajé zinbinal.* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2–4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibi* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakua* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgua*. For this reason, the *túgua's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *sbawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLerina*, the third to the *kibe-*

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [154] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kī-kēg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maíz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

FOLKLORE

773 Very little remains in the field of legends or myths. Certain ones, told as recently as the time of Pittier, for example, "El Encanto,"[40] are now forgotten. The tales which are still told appear for the most part to be unfinished, half-remembered stories, and are, to a great extent, crude and unsatisfactory. The writer found that the telling of legends was similar, in a measure, to the gathering of language data. Few people remembered details, and no [124] two people agreed on all details. The fundamental note in the tales collected is the im- [154] portance placed on witchcraft, in spite of the fact that the *Borucas* like to give the impression that they no longer believe nor remember anything about witchery. The following are four myths which are still told by the *Boruca* Indians.

539 **The "Mamram."** These are two bewitched women. They were orphaned girls who were from Boruca, and who used to fish the crabs and the crayfish in the creek which runs through the town. Each day, as they exhausted one spot, they moved a bit further along the water course, until one day they disappeared completely and did not return.

The shamans, however, found the girls, and tied them up, then moved them to Barranco. You know they are there today, because you can see the stones of their hearth. Their bodies are covered with hair, and they are ugly, not only in appearance, but also in character. They are very mean, and have bothered people so much in the vicinity, that more than one community has had to move. The last place they destroyed was Camakrán by Paso Caracol.

The Grandfather of the Volcano. A long time ago, the grandfather of the volcano fell in love with a girl and took care of her. She became pregnant. He brought her partridges, wild turkeys, *paweeles*, wild hogs, wild pigs, and deer. The girl had a son, and she took care of him and raised him until he was six. Then the father came with a great wind and took the boy from his mother, and carried him to his house.

The father continued to visit the mother nightly, however, bringing her dried meat.

[40] Pittier, 1941, pp. 93-94.

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabécar, an aspirant must belong to one of the [614] following clans: túgwa, bLeriwa, sibawa, sonſtswa, ʒɔʒɔwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred [198] songs with words in an ancient or secret language unknown to the general public. These [778] last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. [754] Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and [436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
776 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[444] Aguilar P., 1953.
[445] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Orón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
643 to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because of King *Berchí*[188] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[189] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was
173 not baptized, but later he was and received the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
999 family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzán* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[187] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[188] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[189] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the 756
Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take for- 791
eign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. 789
He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, [276]
calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford; one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather. He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Cartago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success, and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he had the effrontery to calmly claim it as his doing! They also claim to "blow" a proposed route of travel, so as to drive away snakes and bring good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming 755
away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sick- [123]
ness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are used, and are said to be equally efficacious.

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt for a day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addi- 756
tion to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmities. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic [778]
merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend, who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One purported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamorphic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction. My little knowledge of medicine, and a moderately well-supplied medi- 123
cine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain [755] cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every-[824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

[p. 25-B]

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned
a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[770] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
[172] which are obviously ceremonial have been
found in caches associated with the Highland
archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano
(fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American
[171] trait and are still used by medicine men among
the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the
Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and
medicine man staffs were carved as late as
the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish,
the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11,
c) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red
wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood.
There is a mystical connection between the
medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact
benevolent spirits who help him cure. In
Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally
translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to
the songs of the medicine man in the night;
kər = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine
men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used
756 for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves
with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuʒeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are
the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside
the ill person whose hand is held by the curer
or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms
part of this ceremony.

Stones are another very special part of the
756 equipment, the origin of which is also bound
778 up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs).
A medicine man may have any number of
stones but there are two principal ones with
a covering name which is sometimes mistaken
by laymen as a third stone. This collective

[144] It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[145] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 term is *sjá* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are
called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
778 *swa*. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves.
Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to
the medicine man on special occasions, or are
handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan.
When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish
to give his own stones to a young professional,
his brother or clan keeps them until a new
doctor has need of them.

[155] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without
these two stones although other ones are also
used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild
pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the par-
ticular animal when one hunts and it is for this
reason the Indians say that medicine men never
lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aik* (*Aracea*
sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing
paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf
is used more as an indication of magic power
than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during
childbirth. Other articles which compose a
medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a
lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the
feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quet-
zals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and
shells of which three are of particular impor-
tance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose
and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no
fixed time required for preparing to become a
medicine man, it usually takes from two to
six years, depending upon the capacity of the
novice's memory. The first six months are
intensive. The apprentice goes for three days
without eating. He makes a lean-to in the
woodland out of all the herbs he can gather,
edible and non-edible, and stays there for two
days so as not to see the sun. At night he can
go outside. During this period, the medicine
man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After
two days and two nights the teacher and his
pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the
hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hák-namé* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *pepalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

[P. 47 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
siɨ is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLər*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLər* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
kəiək (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[845] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[783] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
[752] should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

[825] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
926 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *kor'ehué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sɜ̃ṭswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *síbawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

*539
538

Sacred Songs

(18) SINGER'S SONG[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsó*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

(19) *dikúswa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755] [787] This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúswa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúswa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúswa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúswa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

Lay Songs

(20) THE MONKEY DANCE[211]

(*Bribri*)

[535] This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:
Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsua* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

[756] [209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *bi3ɔbLɔ-kɔk-keLi*. This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.
[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúswa*.
[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLɛakuLe*.
[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLeɛɔ; also* The Arts.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539 2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

Sacred Songs

18. The Staff of the Thinkers[291] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsɸ* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsɸ*.

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2. "anaą," iuebškaLa,[292] "mą-ueša." duá-bité, duá-ąLowa[293] iriria.[294]

17. šipo

1. ę́ tsą́ kąLę́isúk,[295] etą sibu kirínawą. étą sibutə šipo kié ébuaǫ́k[296] męLę. étą sibutə šipo patkęmj. ę́ tsą́ kąLę́itsúk.

2. šipo mią i-tsą́ kąLę́isúk. étą i-mią [illegible] emę kéwą iujchenę, tə[297] i-ruówami. luLame-tą sibutə ichake i-ąte, "šo-ruówąmi?"

3. šipo iąté, "tó bo-ruówąmi." ę́ kuągj sibutə šipo jkə́ tuwą i-wəbLar kąchak.

18. bišəbLə-kar-keLi[298]

1. ęmatą́ samj́ uiąchó.
samj́ itsǫ́ tsąk wę sará ibLókwą,
ę itsąk męLę.

2. dé-męLę węlke,[299] étą samíketkę́ tsak itsǫ́ wóa.

[195] [756]

[291] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."
[292] Medicine man's term.
[293] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.
[294] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *ikə́t* means "land" or "earth."
[295] This word is a combination of *kąLę́* (to cure) and *itsə́k* or *itsə́t* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.
[296] This only means to cure.
[297] The lay word "to sing" is *tsə́t* or *tsak*.
[298] *o* here in front of *i* signifies "if."
[299] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."
[300] *a* is "house." This word means "within the house."

[195] [753] [533] [756]

[P. 86]

*539

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

19. *dikáswa*[201] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikáswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikáswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikáswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[202] You will never die." (*Z*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikáswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *káswa*], dance [of *káswa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

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19. dikáswa

1. ɖtsɨ́ kɨLɨ́,[203] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[204] patkçmj ɖtsɨ́ kɨLɨ́-i-tsúk. buLáme-tɨ, sibu-tə dikúswa ichakz, "Su-ruówami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iɖtɨ́, "kɨ́ bu-ruókua. be-çə emç. kɨ́ be-ruókwɨ́ ɨ̨ɨtę.[205] (*Z*) ɨ́-kuegj sibu-tə dikúswa[206] meɨt-sɨ́ buɨ́nmeLe.

20. buLtakuLe[207]

1. kuggg[208] kuegɨ́ jaegaange[209] kuanjé jaggggg.
kuanjé egange kuanjé.

2. ta-kueɨ,[210] kuen-dí,[211] ta-kuen-dí, Lɨn[212]-dí,
ta-soLoLa soLori,
ta-dse-donchi.
jɨ[213]-iberke ikutsɨ́, jɨ́-iberke jɨ́n.

3. kuanjejɨ́[214] jekua jéeɨ́.

[755] [203] This is the medicine man's song against sickness. [204] I.e., that you are sick.
[552] [205] *kɨLɨ́* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kɨLɨ́*.
[778] [206] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cayuco.
[207] This also means "nothing."
[208] The connotation is that the bird, *dikáswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikáswa*.
[197] [209] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[172] [210] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[211] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[212] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[213] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle. [214] *See* Theological Beliefs.
[215] *jɨ́* and *jɨ́n* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *káswa*.
[216] These sounds signify adornment.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace [124] of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

767 Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, 793 and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular; but many of the seems are peculiar. *Si-bu*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they knew. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

756 Finally come the *Awas*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profes- 791 sion, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take foreign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford; one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather. He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Cartago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success, and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he had the effrontery to calmly claim it as his doing! They also claim to "blow" a proposed route of travel, so as to drive away snakes and bring good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sickness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are used, and are said to be equally efficacious. 756 791 789 [276] 755 [123]

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt for a day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addition to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmities. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend, who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One purported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamorphic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction. My little knowledge of medicine, and a moderately well-supplied medicine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon 756 [778] 123

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Gabb[8] speaks of three classes of shamans—the *usékara*, or "high priest"; the *tsûgur* (*tsuku*), who has charge of the ceremonies for the dead; and the *awa*, doctor or sorcerer, who cures diseases and controls the rain. He says that these latter treat diseases by making passes over the body of the patient with a sloth, opossum, alligator, or even a chicken. Their powers are based on the magic potency of calculi declared to be extracted from the viscera of animals. They bleed their patients with small lancets and give a counter irritant by beating the affected part with nettle leaves. 756 [791] [767]

Polygyny was practised in Gabb's time. The husband, he says, went to live with his father-in-law, or, if not, he bought his release with presents of live-stock in lieu of his services. 595 591

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations.—Several native types of dwellings still survive among the Bribri. The more usual variety is sideless, rectangular or oval in ground-plan, with a convex or 342

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

756 *Curanderas* or female witch doctors, for whom no word exists in the Boruca language, are part of the community. However, the lore is handed down from mother to daughter, with the result that the women of certain families are famous for curing powers, whereas other women of the community have none of this learning. Along with a more than general knowledge of herbs, roots, and plant life, the witch doctor must have a therapeutic sense combined with an instinctive knowledge of psychology. For this reason, in spite of the fact that the witch doctor passes her secrets on to all of her daughters, only the one or ones who are lucky enough to have such qualities practise. At times, when there is no female offspring, or when none is suited to practise, the *curandera* has been known to adopt a girl and train her to follow in her trade.

The witch doctors do not receive the same reverence that the *sukias* receive, even though the witch doctors are *Boruca* Indians and have more opportunity to practise on the people. This, and the fact that the witch doctors are women, while the *sukias* are male, may, of course, be the very reason why they are not feared. At times, however, the *sukia* has been known to teach the witch doctor some of his secrets, and it is certain that the *curandera* is highly respected by both sexes. Although the *curandera* is principally interested in female sicknesses, both men and women consult her.

Strangely enough, the most intimate details of the life of a patient are discussed openly with the witch doctor, even in the presence of a member of the opposite sex. Unlike the *sukia*, the *curandera* will accept pay for her services.

787 In addition to her use of plants, the witch doctor sometimes employs some form of sorcery to impress her patients. A favorite method is to tie a thread, preferably a silk one, around the little stones called *sukia stones*, which are found in the ancient graves, and to hang them from the hand or from the ceiling of the house. The *curandera* reads the answers to the questions asked her by the patient from the manner in which the stones swing.

* See Pittier, 1891, p. 93.

[p. 26-A]

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skfLi*		5 days after today *skfiki*
6 days past *tkrik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Qualyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb[98] and Pittier[99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--Qualyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid. The medicine man talks for two nights and 756 passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik* 846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe [824] who is also washed with leaves which supposedly have protective powers. These leaves [751] include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day, [783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabécar. After the fourth day of birth, however, 756 the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the [783] child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps [756] the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[101] This is called the *papakuk* ceremony. *pa* in this [192] instance is "taba" or "thing that is not touched." It

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*tašẽ*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense* [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[824] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is common and they are weaned anywhere from
[862] one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
192 [169] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[169] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
[856] crawl and they are given anything they cry for. It is interesting to note that habits in con-
863 nection with excretion are taught practically from birth. The child is taken out of the house and held up while he does his needs. He is not allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
854 a father lie in a hammock with his small children beside him. Parents pay attention to personal details, such as wiping a child's nose or washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes are taught to swim and help to make fires, using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when sitting on the low benches or on the ground before the hearth. At the age of seven, they begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt, using small arrows for training. When the adults are out in the fields or hunting, children up to ten years old stay at home to tend the fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no school and all lore is learned by word of mouth on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have some connection with the handling of the dead (*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line. Often they play with mud daubers' nests or similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
[178] that certain vestiges of traditional customs persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.**
764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ʒarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókıpm* in Bribri and *kerí* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [965] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty-[362] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) [262] and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were
[775]

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur*
clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the
elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that
they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrebué*, or
sinębwak groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next
to the *usegLə* in importance. Pittier suggests
heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by
the lower Coen and had a number of assistants
the highest of whom were called *ko*, and
apprentices known as *sini*.[108] He adds that
elaborate preparation was necessary before the
title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in
keeping with the idea that their position was
hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the fol-
lowing clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*,
and *sənitswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths:
Protectors of Clans). Their name in this lan-
guage is *səgLə*.

Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri,
[198] calls attention to the fact that the songs of
stsukur were in a language which neither he
nor the uninitiated could understand. As
Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri
Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110]
according to his spelling and that of Pittier,
the *korrbué*. We use *korrebué* because this is
the pronunciation given by the Bribri today.
There is, nevertheless, another angle to this
problem, particularly if one accepts the state-
ment that the Bribri Singers could come from
one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples
when singing and the adoption of foreign
songs even by the laymen. These aspects will
be discussed later under Curing and Songs,
respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéhuwak*
● 756 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
184 man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

767 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is
764 common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must
[273] plant the maize to be used for the chicha at the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has
[756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former
[775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This
[768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the
[656] geographical location. Government and eccle-
[797] siastical authorities have prohibited the fundamental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] tion between *sini* and *sinębwak?* (*See* Social Organiza-
[533] tion.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.
[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who [756] was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [177] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

6

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[765] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pij*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [Text continues top of p. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
224 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the
[177] Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protectors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[423] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[692] usual method is for the family of the culprit
[681] to take matters into their own hands. In extreme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[184] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
[423] is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land tenure by individual clans disappears. Three or two groups, as the case may be, settle in a given section such as Cabagra or China Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[423] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King" and tradition holds that there were two clans of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable. Only one clan of these remains today (*see* Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were passed from the "King" to him for decisive action. On such occasions, he retired to a secret and sacred cave which had much *pita* (*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[457] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 41(B)—QUALIST]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

● 756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 41(B)—QUALIST]

[495] [144] In 1979: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[145] Usually 100 pounds.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

● 756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
484 Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[143] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabécar, an aspirant must belong to one of the [614] following clans: túgwa, bberiwa, síbawa, sənítswa, ʒəʒəwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred [198] songs with words in an ancient or secret [778] language unknown to the general public. These last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri [754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and [436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
776 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[144] Aguilar P., 1953.
[145] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Ozón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned
[770] a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[172] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs which are obviously ceremonial have been found in caches associated with the Highland archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano
[171] (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American trait and are still used by medicine men among the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and medicine man staffs were carved as late as the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish, the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11, *c*) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood. There is a mystical connection between the medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact benevolent spirits who help him cure. In Bribri it is called *biǯəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally translated means: *biǯəbLə*, a term applied to the songs of the medicine man in the night; *kər* = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

756 There is still another wooden object used
755 for curing when the patient is in the last stages of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuǯeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside the ill person whose hand is held by the curer or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms part of this ceremony.

756 Stones are another very special part of the
778 equipment, the origin of which is also bound up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs). A medicine man may have any number of stones but there are two principal ones with a covering name which is sometimes mistaken by laymen as a third stone. This collective

It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[146] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 term is *sią* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
778 *swa*. They resemble small river stones and are [172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves. Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to the medicine man on special occasions, or are handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan. When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish to give his own stones to a young professional, his brother or clan keeps them until a new doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without these two stones although other ones are also used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the particular animal when one hunts and it is for this reason the Indians say that medicine men never lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose a medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kuę́;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This [787] is extremely important because without a staff contact with the spirit, *duLar*, the messenger [776] of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLar*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLar* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, [825] quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis Episcopus Disconus* Lessom), hawk, paraquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ékéké*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *ṣíkure*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *ṣíbko*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

756 head man placed five folded carrying bags,
[352] one with a stone inside belonging to the novice; a paper package; two stones; and the basket with the feathers. These stones were not part of the *sią́* and were handed to the chief medicine man by his wife. As each object was put on the bench, every medicine man and the aspirant had to put a hand on it. The principal medicine man took the basket and put it first on the stool and then on the earthen floor of the house and announced that it was time to rest. All got up.

At this point, the first wife of the head man handed him a gourd lined with banana leaves and filled with hot chocolate (unsweetened). He took it and all left the main house, singing, and went to a smaller one where there was a kitchen. There they said to two women who were cooking by the fire, "*iękeǯicbərką*" (here many people do not fit), and "*sią́ tsurú ibaą sią́*" (*sią́* chocolate heat for *sią́*).

[824] Then they took a pile of *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) leaves from a *tabanco* and brought it to the first house saying, "*ǯəbi* (this stands for *sią́*) *dibaLa* (chocolate hot; if *ǯəbi* were not before this word, it would mean water hot, but the name for the stones changes the meaning) *meką* (put)." This is a phrase used ceremoniously. Freely translated it signifies, "They are going to heat chocolate for *ǯəbi*."

The witnesses answered, "*ékéké*" (good).

The medicine men brought in the chocolate in an iron pot and placed it on the floor beside the bench with the stones, another bunch of leaves, and leaf-wrapped packages of white maize chicha. The *bijaguas* were to be used as cups for the chocolate. They said to those present, "Wait. We are going to serve the feast." All replied, "Good."

They brought in more leaves and a child came with water in a gourd. This was immediately taken by a medicine man and was placed on leaves on the floor beside the bench.

The first wife of the head medicine man and another woman sat on a long bench. They were to serve the feast. All women who participate in this ceremony must be old or at
[887] least middle-aged. The men sat opposite on another long bench and the chief one began to chant, "*milkadioǯək*" (let's drink this). Each medicine man, always holding his staff and

● 756 sitting on the bench, repeated this chant and as he did so, the principal one passed him chocolate in a leaf cup. More women joined the others on the women's bench facing the men. One woman then commenced to serve the drinks from the pot while a man stood and passed cups, holding his staff all the time. He started to sit down but all yelled at him and he jumped up as if he realized what was wrong. He then changed each cup from the left hand of one person to the right hand of the next person as they sat on the bench. In this way, each person received his neighbor's cup. It was important that this be done because the ceremony referred to *sibu*, and, therefore, the cup must be held in the right hand. Now all drank the chocolate and some even emptied part into the cups of those who drank faster.

As the standing man drank, the novice rose and offered him a drink, then he did the same to each man, the first wife continuing to pour the chocolate. While this was going on the head man sang.

Next chicha was passed in fresh cups of leaves in the same manner as the chocolate. This time the head man took a sip and divided the rest in his cup among the other men. The standing medicine man poured some of his into the women's cups. The novice repeated with chicha the same rite he had performed with the chocolate.

At this stage, the head man emptied all the carrying bags on the bench. Some had little ones inside and all had stones wrapped in cotton. There were as many as thirty stones including an opal. The head medicine man sang over them and exchanged some with the aspirant. There was one large marble over which the head man sang and then touched his own foot, knee and other parts of his body, telling the novice that he must sing to each part when one is sick as well as to the important stones and to the spirit who must talk to *sibu*.

A discussion over the merits of certain stones and an exchange took place among the medicine men, each one piling up his own heap. After the argument, every owner sang over his own stones. Meanwhile, the chief man sang over each stone in the center of the bench and as he touched one he sang to the novice. All the medicine men had to do likewise, facing

● 756 the largest stone on the bench. Most of the songs referred to certain birds in the woodland. As the aspirant cannot touch the stones until they have been put into his hands, each medicine man took the stones from the center and placed them in the hands of the novice.

[354] It was quite dark, so the first wife made a candle from beeswax, rolling it long, and tore a strip of cloth to wrap around it. When finished, it appeared very much like a licorice whip. She put this candle on the side of the bench so that it lit up everything on it.

The aspirant had had to fast all day within his room. Now two ears of white maize and one raw palmito (which is white) was put inside the room for later use.

At 2:45 A.M. the same ceremony with first chocolate and then chicha was held. This must be done four times during the night. The [801] number four is bound up with all semireligious acts as it is intimately connected with certain histories of *sibu* (*see* Legends). The head man put two pieces of cotton on top of a carrying bag. Then all went to the kitchen house and brought back a white chicken and a white rooster saying, "We are going to serve the feast" to each person. The witnesses answered, "Good." An iron pot containing bananas and palmito was brought in and the same statements were repeated. The first wife took another bundle of leaves from the *tabanco* and the women served rice and chicken in them. Again there followed the ceremony of the cup being changed from left to right.

At 4:00 A.M., two medicine men, including the chief one, went to the kitchen house with the novice, taking some *silk* leaves. They were followed by the first wife carrying a sick child. This was one of the important steps in the initiation because it showed the aspirant how to go about curing an ill person. The head medicine man took the novice by the hand and together they drew the leaves over the fire so as to soften but not burn them. They fanned the child with the leaves. During this process there was not a whimper from the patient. This was done four times and then the novice repeated it four times alone. The chief man stayed beside the pupil, however, and warned him not to burn the leaves. When [787] they crackled and popped as they were being drawn over the fire, it was considered a good

● 756 [787] sign and that the novice would turn out to be a good curer.

After the fanning, the group returned to the main house and once more partook of the chocolate, food, and chicha. This time the aspirant took the place of the medicine man who passed the cups and was coached by the chief man.

The head man took a piece of cotton and picked up the pebblelike stones of the aspirant and sung over them. He wrapped them in cotton and put them in a small carrying bag with the largest of the stones on top. He placed this carrying bag in a bigger one and tied it up for the novice. He took another bag and lectured over it to one of the medicine men and then put it around his own neck. The other *jawá* picked up his stones and put them in the two carrying bags from whence they had come, while the chief man did the same with the stones of the others. Finally, he hung the bag belonging to the aspirant around the latter's neck.

A medicine man, acting as assistant, brought the head man five leaves of *poró-poró* (*Cochlospermum vitifolium* [Willd.] Spreng.) who shaped one of them into a cup and put it on the small bench. He put a pinch of Honduras bark, *cáscara amarga* (*Sweetia panamensis* Bénth.), on each of the other leaves piling them on top of one another. The rest of the medicine he tied up in a leaf and gave to the aspirant who put it in a carrying bag hanging on the wall. Both then moved to the entrance of the house and the novice went outside. The chief man poured water from a small special gourd into the *poró-poró* cup and the novice had to mix the bark from one of the leaves in it and wash out his mouth. This had to be repeated until the contents of each leaf was used. The medicine left in the carrying bag was to be used in the same way after four days, with the chief medicine man present. On that occasion, the new doctor must talk to the stones also. [824]

When the mouth washing was over, the head man took the carrying bag of the novice from the wall and put it over the latter's shoulder so that it hung down his right side. He proceeded to give the young man two new low benches made of white balsa wood and a white blanket which he wrapped around [352]

756 him. Both benches had four feet, but one had a protruding tail and head with a red spot. [352] The two men then went outside and the chief [532] doctor closed the door to keep others away. From within, one could hear the elder man's voice in a song which gradually became louder and louder.

According to custom, they sat on benches in front of the house and the head man sang to the novice. Two of the assistant medicine men went out to watch for the sunrise so that they could warn the chief that it was time to put the novice back in the hut.

When they came in, the aspirant took off his white blanket. The head medicine man took the feathers from the first carrying bag which was still on the low bench, some stones, a staff, [534] a jaguar skin, a long reed flute (*kuLu*) which only the medicine men can make and put these things in the leaf room. The two new benches were not included. Then the head man entered with the aspirant to arrange the details. When he came out, he said to the novice who remained inside, "You do not have permission to sleep, not even a little."

The aspirant had to stay in the room all the following day without sleeping because to be a doctor he must show his power of self control. In fact, this endurance test was explained by a simple question: if a medicine man were to have a very sick patient and fell asleep, what would happen?

The drinks and food were now passed for the fourth time with the same ceremony as [534] before. Then the head man blew a conch-shell horn right by the novice's wall and pushed the leaves. This was to be certain that he was not dozing. The aspirant was forbidden to talk, but he answered by blowing at times a conch-shell horn and at others a flute. Every now and then the other medicine men would poke their staffs at the wall and receive a blown attestation of his wakefulness or a knock. This continued throughout the day.

At night the ordeal ended and the novice could leave his leaf compartment and take his stones. However, he had to wait four days before he could finish the mouth-washing ceremony and become in truth a *jawá*.

758 **Sickness.** On the Caribbean side, but less often on the Pacific, a lean-to for a sick person is made of *pejibaye* leaves at one end of the

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 51(A)]
Cabecar
Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[160] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking of them. The good and bad people all go to 775 *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything 772 from beneath the earth to make place for the 776 Indians there. In this underground domain, there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one 753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals themselves. This is one reason why the medicine [756] man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-
776

[160] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa*; one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

There are also spirit lords of places and fish. 776 None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLáʒibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLáʒibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [161] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ká* in Bribri and *namá* in Cabécar.
[162] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

sibu arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[173] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

Lightning

(*Cabécar*)

*539 821 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuṇban*.

The Rain

(*Cabécar*)

● [756] The father and mother of rain are *karṇibiké-*

[825] [173] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybides* Fam.).

[174] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

*539 *gra* and *karpimina*. The medicine man has to
821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
776 make rain or to stop the rain. September is
●756 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds
[241] will not be washed away. It is then that the
jawá chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

karpibikégra, karpimina
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [174]

(*Bribri and Cabécar*)

When *bukubLute*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
[753] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tsinkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2–4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

*539 *anus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
823 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
[825] lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
821 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamą* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamą*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamą* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jəwá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jəwá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamą* (*bák namą*) couldn't drown the people.

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large
103 rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
[133] caused by nature which with the help of the imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

* 539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *łəwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *łəwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

(14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave.

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *kɨʒuLu namɨ* (hunt jaguar).

[778]

*539 At night, they were given a large jug for a bed.

One of the prisoners noticed that the head of the house would go out to hunt but as soon as he left, the roar of a jaguar was heard. He spied on the man and discovered that outside of the house he was a jaguar but, by shaking himself, his hide fell off and he became a man who went into the forest.

The watching prisoner crept up to the jaguar skin and carried it off. When the man returned and did not find his jaguar skin, he became furious and began to eat the people.

One old woman, seeing the awful things that were happening, heated an earthen rod and stuck it in the mouth of the man-jaguar while he slept. Then she quickly hid in a little tunnel she had prepared beforehand. This is how the people in Alta Talamanca were rid of such a terrible scourge.

The Medicine Man's Stones

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

*539 When *sibu* made the first eight medicine men, he died for four days. Three of these men
● 756 predicted that he would not stay dead but
778 would go to the sky. One of these was *díkúswa* who was once a water bird and when he said that *sibu* would never die he was made into the most powerful of the *sią* or medicine man's three principal stones. All medicine men know when they themselves are going to die as
[763] *díkúswa* disappears or divides himself in half. He is so powerful that only the most powerful doctors dare to use *díkúswa*. The majority rely on *sorkuswa*. All the *sią*, however, communicate with *sibu* and the medicine men in a
[198] "sacred" or private language unknown to the layman.

(15) The Sacred Stones[195]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

There is a spot in Talamanca where there are large boulders. Here live the *sią*, the medicine men's stones. A new medicine man, if it is possible, goes there and leaves grains of white maize on the rocks at night. The next morning the stones appear.

[195] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sią*.

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *sibawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

*539
533

Sacred Songs

(18) Singer's Song[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsǫ́*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

(19) *dikúswa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755
787] This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúswa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúswa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúswa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúswa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

Lay Songs

(20) The Monkey Dance[211]

(*Bribri*)

[535] This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:
Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsua* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

[756] [209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *biʒəbLə-kək-keLi*. This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.

[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúswa*.

[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLɪakuLe*.

[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLeɪə; also* The Arts.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

534

2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

Sacred Songs

18. The Staff of the Thinkers[291] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsę́* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsę́*.

---

2. "anaą́," iseebĩ̃kaLa,[292] "mą-suẽso." duá-bitę́, duá-ąLowa[293] iriria.[294]

17. Ĩipo

1. ę́ tsá kąLę́isúk,[295] etą sibu kirínawą. étą sibutə ĩipo kié ébuaąk[296] męLę. étą sibutə ĩipo patkęmi. ę́ tsá kąLę́itsúk.

2. Ĩipo mią i-tsá kąLę́isúk. étą i-mią tsak.[297] emę́ kéwą injchenę, tə[298] i-ruówami. buLame-tą sibutə ichake i-ą́tə, "Ĩə-ruówąmi?"

3. Ĩipo iąté, "tə́ bu-ruówąmi." ę́ kuęgi sibutə ĩipo jkə́ tuwą i-wobLar kąchak.

18. biĩobLo-kar-keLi[299]

1. çmatą́ semą́ uiąchó.
semą́ itsę́ tsąk wę́ sará ibLąkwą,
ę itsąk męLę.

2. dó-męLę wę́lke,[300] étą semíketkę́ tsak itsę́ wés.

[195]
[756]

[291] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."
[292] Medicine man's term.
[293] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.
[294] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *itsá* means "land" or "earth."
[295] This word is a combination of *kąLę́* (to cure) and *itsák* or *itsák* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.
[296] This only means to cure.
[297] The lay word "to sing" is *tsąk* or *tsak*.
[298] *ə* here in front of *i* signifies "if."
[299] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."
[300] *e* is "house." This word means "within the house."

[195]
[755]
[533]

[756]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

133
491

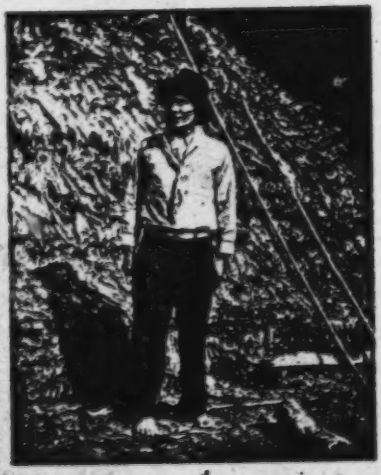
415
764

a

b

291
342
756
778

c



d

a, Vine bridge, Alto Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alto Coen. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

Peabody Museum Papers
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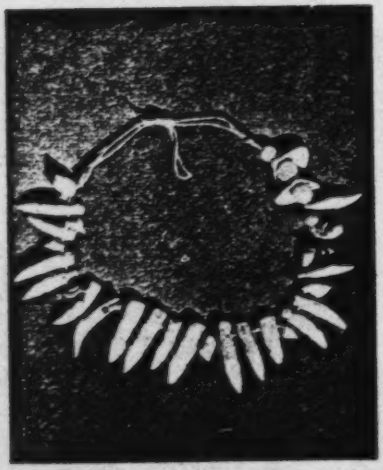
532
756
778
[172]

a

b

301
789
411



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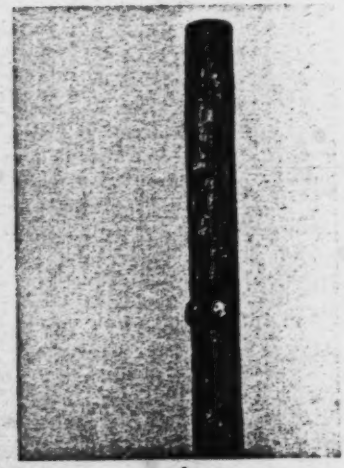

d

a, Ceremonial staff from cache on slopes of Irazú volcano, Central Plateau. *b*, Ceremonial staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Orón Jiménez L.). *c*, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bone, and beads to ward off evil (property of Don Julio Calleja T.). *d*, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beads sights.

[END PLATE 11]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A frame-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*si*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-was'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may result with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

757 to apply to the traders for medicines for fever. All go to Mr. Lyon in case of snake-bite, and when taken in time, he says he has never failed to cure a case with either ammonia or iodine, as seemed to be indicated. It may be interesting to note that after obtaining no relief with one of these medicines, he has given the other, and with immediate good results. He gives the iodine in the form of alcoholic tincture in 10 to 15-drop doses, every 10 to 15 minutes. Some of them seem to believe in the incantations of the *Asias* or doctors, but foreign medicines are gradually gaining ground over sorcery. For rheumatic pains, headaches, &c., there are two remedies used. The simplest is counter-irritation by whipping with nettle leaves. The other is bleeding. The lancet is made usually from the tongue of a jew's-harp, broken off at the angle and sharpened to a point. This is set at right angles in a little stick for a handle, and is used by holding it over the affected part and striking it briskly with a finger. They never regularly open a vein and draw off a quantity of blood, but every stroke makes a separate puncture, from which only a few drops exude. At Borubeta I saw a man bled to relieve the aching of fatigue in his arms. He had been scraping *agave* leaves, to extract the fibre for hammocks. He had at least fifty punctures made over his two arms.

222 439 314 The natural products of the country are principally sarsaparilla root and India rubber. The sarsaparilla vine is green, angular, and covered with thorns. It grows very long and climbs over bushes and even trees in the more open parts of the forest. At short distances it is jointed, and if it touches the ground every joint sends out a new set of roots. The leaves are large and acuminately oval and have three longitudinal ribs, the midrib and two parallel ones, half way between the middle and the edge. The fruit is round and grows in a cluster something like grapes. The vine has a tap-root, and besides sends out a large number of horizontal roots near the surface of the ground, and from six to ten feet long. The sarsaparilla hunter first clears away carefully all the bushes and undergrowth with his machete. He then, with a hooked stick, digs into the ground at the base of the vine until he loosens the earth and finds where the best roots are. The tap-root is never disturbed, and it is customary to dig up only half the roots at a time, to avoid killing the vine. Having selected those that look most promising, he places his hand under one or two and gently lifting them, follows their course with his hooked stick, loosening the soil and lifting them out, following them to their ends. They are then cut off, the dirt carefully replaced around the vine, and the roots laid in the sun, or hung up to dry. A vine yields generally from four to nine pounds of green roots. When dry they are tied into cylindrical rolls a foot long and four or five inches thick, weighing about a pound.

India rubber is obtained by scoring the bark of the trees obliquely. Several cuts are placed one above another and in pairs converging downwards; the sap being directed in its flow by a leaf placed at the bottom, which serves as a spout, to direct it into the vessel placed to receive it.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

sometimes used. This is scraped over the rings with a large hard bean-like seed. It at least helps to add to the noise, if it does not contribute melody. A little flute, about as musical as a penny whistle, is sometimes added to the concert, though it seems rather to be looked upon as a toy. These flutes are made of a bone of some bird, perhaps a pelican. The bone has half-a-dozen holes drilled in it, and the end is plugged with wax, so as to direct the air to the larger aperture near the end. I bought one from a Tiribi made of a deer's bone. 534

"On very solemn occasions a curious box is also used. It is about eight inches long by four square on the end. It is carved out hollow, with a long tongue on one face, isolated by a U-shaped slit. A heavy handle is attached to one end, also carved out of the same block. When used, it is simply struck on the above mentioned tongue with a bone or piece of hard stick. This is only used on the death of a chief. There is but one in the tribe, and no bribe that I could offer sufficed to buy it."

Cacique Sticks.—These are long, cane-like staves, made of a dark, hard, heavy, reddish-brown wood called "cacique". As a rule they are entirely plain, but pl. XVII, *b*, exhibits an example of a type, now said to be obsolete, that has the figure of a man rudely carved on the handle. These canes are highly regarded, because of certain 293 [532] [757]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

293 astringent properties said to be contained
●757 in the wood, and they are sometimes scraped and the scrapings drunk with water as a curative. It is supposed to stop bleeding, and is also valued for intestinal ailments.
[622] Formerly they may have been the property only of the headmen.

293 A stick once owned by Ramón's father, the old "king," was in the custody of Señor Alejo Jimenez, governor of Talamanca, who lives at Saporio. It was taken by the Bribri from a neighboring tribe, probably the Tiribi, in war, many years ago, and the Indians are very anxious lest it should pass out of their hands, since they say, "it cost us blood." This staff was seen by Gabb,[16] who states:

[532] "It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carv-

252 palms are boiled and fried. Another generally liked food is the tender leaf of the bean vine. This is prepared either with eggs or in soup.

Meat, fowl, and fish are frequently wrapped in the leaves of the *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen). Another *Calathea* known as "black *bijagua*" is used interchangeably with the first kind. The food wrapped in the leaves is roasted on the hearth stones. There are various ways, however, of preparing different meats. Armadillo is often boiled or fried. Domestic and wild pig and venison are placed on top of three or four sticks over the hearth stones and roasted. Sometimes the flesh of these animals [251] is sun-dried and salted, or is smoked for preservation. Beef is almost never eaten, as the cattle the *Boruca* possess are not numerous and are in the hands of a very few; besides, since they are used for traction, they are economically too important to eat (see p. 23). Posole is a common dish and is made of dried meat, usually wild pig. The meat is chopped fine and cooked with corn. The combination is then ground. If this is boiled every night, it keeps for many days.

Shell fish is boiled, but fish, other than shell fish, is seldom eaten fresh. When it is, however, it is put into a soup, or roasted in leaves, or fried. As a rule the fish is cut into three [251] pieces and salted to be eaten when needed. If salt is not available, the fish is smoked and saved. Smoked fish is said to be excellent for [757] diarrhea.

372 **Fire-making.** The majority of the *Boruca* use matches, although a few of the older people occasionally use two sticks to start a fire. This is accomplished by taking a stick of pejibaye and rubbing it around and around in a small hole in a stick of *guácimo* (*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.), until sparks set the *guácimo* on fire. Some of the elders still talk of the stones which were formerly rubbed together to start fire, using a piece of cotton as a wick. These are not seen today.

In the bush, or in the fields, fire, which is all important among the *Boruca* for clearing purposes, is kept in an old tree trunk from day to day. This is done by throwing ashes over and around the fire to keep the embers hot and alive, much as is done in New England fireplaces at present.

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[296] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing
[412] agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[15] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[77] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tɔʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[83] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[84] following Pit-

[83] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[84] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

278 842 sembling that of Castoreum remained. This odor is possibly derived from glands of some tropical animal since beavers do not occur there.

The tannins would indicate that some bark or barks were used in the preparation. Microscopical examination of the residue did not give any clues.

[171] A few places where such practices as these are known are Africa, the Fiji Islands, and Ecuador.

278 757 The following is a list of the more generally known cures used by the *Boruca* and usually prescribed by the *curandera*.

Malaria is treated by drinking the liquid left from cooking the bark of a tree called *hombre grande* (*Quassia amara* L.), and sometimes, from boiling the fruits of the *cedrón* (*Simaba Cedron* Planch.)

For stomach-aches, a vine called in Boruca *so-kra'* (*Philodendron* sp.) is boiled with the ever useful *Kuikʃ·as* (*Piper* spp.), and drunk.

Dysentery in adults is treated by boiling the bark of the María tree, the guava tree, the leaves and the yuca-like root of the *contrayerva* (*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.), and the ripe vanilla pod (*Vanilla fragrans* [Salisb] Ames).

Rheumatism is treated by rubbing the afflicted parts with the oil of the copaiba tree.

To stop boils, the leaves of the *kana kra'* (*Conostegia extinctoria* [Bonpl.] D. Don.) are used in combination with a lard made from the marrow of the leg bones of a cow and lemon juice. The lard helps to keep the leaves in place, and is supposed to aid in drawing out the poison.

752 278 For snake bites, some Indians, but not all, as the majority go to a *sukia* for this, use the leaf of the *guaco* (*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.). They mash the leaf, soak it in water, and then put it on the afflicted parts. Another remedy for snake bites is to use the bulb or root of the *Strychnos* or *curarina* vine (*Strychnos toxifera* Schonb. ex Benth.). This is cut into pieces and mixed with the *guaco* leaf and boiled very well. The resulting liquid is drunk. The most effective remedy for snake bites, however, seems to be the resin from the *caraña* tree (*Protium* spp.). This tree grows on the coast, particularly near Dominical. The resin is mixed with honey and is both drunk and applied to the bite.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from
484 the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected
757 magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[142] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hák-namá* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 312 ● 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

* 539 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO[200]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiṇə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiṇə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

756 him. Both benches had four feet, but one had
[352] a protruding tail and head with a red spot.
[532] The two men then went outside and the chief doctor closed the door to keep others away. From within, one could hear the elder man's voice in a song which gradually became louder and louder.

According to custom, they sat on benches in front of the house and the head man sang to the novice. Two of the assistant medicine men went out to watch for the sunrise so that they could warn the chief that it was time to put the novice back in the hut.

When they came in, the aspirant took off his white blanket. The head medicine man took the feathers from the first carrying bag which was still on the low bench, some stones, a staff,
[534] a jaguar skin, a long reed flute (*kuLu*) which only the medicine men can make and put these things in the leaf room. The two new benches were not included. Then the head man entered with the aspirant to arrange the details. When he came out, he said to the novice who remained inside, "You do not have permission to sleep, not even a little."

The aspirant had to stay in the room all the following day without sleeping because to be a doctor he must show his power of self control. In fact, this endurance test was explained by a simple question: if a medicine man were to have a very sick patient and fell asleep, what would happen?

The drinks and food were now passed for the fourth time with the same ceremony as
[534] before. Then the head man blew a conch-shell horn right by the novice's wall and pushed the leaves. This was to be certain that he was not dozing. The aspirant was forbidden to talk, but he answered by blowing at times a conch-shell horn and at others a flute. Every now and then the other medicine men would poke their staffs at the wall and receive a blown attestation of his wakefulness or a knock. This continued throughout the day.

At night the ordeal ended and the novice could leave his leaf compartment and take his stones. However, he had to wait four days before he could finish the mouth-washing ceremony and become in truth a *jawá*.

• 758 **Sickness.** On the Caribbean side, but less often on the Pacific, a lean-to for a sick person is made of *pejibaye* leaves at one end of the

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

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[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

783 [262] [761] [843] [689]

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

[262] [834]

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zi-bo'*, by the Torrabas *Zü-bo'* and by the Borucas, *Si'-bük*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

776

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skęLi*		5 days after today *skęiki*
6 days past *sérik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb[98] and Pittier[99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okupn* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [761] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.* These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

* [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will
[264] die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and
[262] pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then, [583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

583 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple live from eight days to one year in trial mar-
591 riage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives [595] a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against trial marriages is at times evidenced by the [184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their [177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair
591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase of the life cycle as far as ceremony and
● 761 prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many
764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

*539 *anus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
823 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
[825] lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
821 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dinamą* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dinamą*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dinamą* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jəwá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jəwá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dinamą* (*bák namą*) couldn't drown the people.

The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[184]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

* 539 776 823 *dínamą* is an evil spirit. When the river water is white or milky, it's because *dínamą* has colored himself white. When it becomes a muddy red, it means that he has changed his color. If the rising or flood river is red, however, and not a muddy red, it is because the mother of the river *díminą* is menstruating. There is more than one water-jaguar and they function below large pools or waterfalls or when the rivers are high. Their fangs are large and red, and they have two tails. When a water-jaguar bites trees, as happens in flood times, the trees dry up from the heat of these fangs. When they bite people, they drag them [761] down in the water, drown them, and eat them. It is easy to tell when a water-jaguar has caused a person's death. Their method of killing is to break the front of the skull in two places, and to bite them on the forehead and on the knees.

The first *dínamą* was the grandson of an old woman named *díkú witché*. She was so bad that *sibu* did not allow her to live on earth. Therefore, her home is under the sea where she lives together with her grandson. *dínamą* inherited much of his grandmother's meanness, and she keeps an eye on him. When the surf thunders, it is a sign that he is about to leave the sea and go up the rivers after people. It is his grandmother who makes this noise because she is afraid that he will not return, and she watches at the river mouths to punish him.

(9a, b, and c) The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[185]

(*Cabécar*)

This river flows and goes and where it ends *oLobəsią* is watching that animals do not pass who eat men. When *oLobəsią* grows careless, however, the water-jaguar who eats men [761] passes. It is then that people drown. What

[184] Known also as: *dínamą*, *bák-namą*, *ják namá tsiruse*, and *díkun* or *díkum*.

[185] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ják namą* (stone-jaguar) *dínamą* (water-jaguar). Also see The Myth of *óknamą* and Linguistic Texts: *ók-nam-qse*.

* 539 776 823 [761] really happens to them is that they are eaten by the water-jaguar.

oLobəsią becomes aware that *dínamą́* has gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

(10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 821 [731] The river flows downward and reaches the mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

(11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 761 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *sią́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrawén*, and Linguistic Texts: *di-namą́*.

*539 make him sleep. It is then that the water-
776 jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He
searches for cacao, and when he discovers a
823 well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is
●761 when people drown because the water-jaguar
goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink
cacao with him. Wise people refuse because
they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamị́* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamị́*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 (*Cabécar*)
776
761 When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes
up and down inviting people to drink cacao
[823] with him. Most people refuse, but he always
gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar
drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after
[825] people, is warned by the cormorant and king-
fisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar
is drowning people by drinking their blood for
cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas
103 through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires
[133] to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on al-
[487] most all the maps of Costa Rica, from the
earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamịte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namị́ tś* (jaguar print).

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Cabecar
Bribri

* 539
825

The Grandmother of the Toad

(*Bribri*)

buké winchké is the grandmother of the toad. She lives where the sun sets and is a helper of *sibu*. When he gives her his hand, amoebas come. Therefore, it is impossible to cure them. He who is born to die of amoebas, must do so.

[761]

Why the Toads Have Ugly Buttocks

(*Bribri*)

Long ago the toads liked to dance the Monkey Dance (*see* Dances). This disgusted *sibu* so when they sat down, he partially dried their buttocks making them thinner than the rest of their body.

The Alligator[201]

(*Cabécar*)

The alligator lived in a large pool where he had a balsa (raft). He had a beard and a long tongue to catch whatever he wanted. When he saw people, he would stick out his tongue and pull them in.

sibu was annoyed with this and sent a man to pull the tongue out, giving him his staff to help with the task. The man put the staff on the alligator's tongue and pulled it and the beard out, both of which he gave to the sun to make its rays.

The Iguana

(*Cabécar*)

sibu heard a cry from afar. He told the iguana to find out from whence the cry came. The iguana, however, refused to do *sibu's* bidding. As a punishment, *sibu* beat him. Then the iguana cried, "If you put me in the river, I'll die."

He was put in the river, but he was content, because there he found the alligator, the serpent, and the crab. All were his friends and he liked to stay with them.

[136]

[201] There are no alligators in Costa Rica, only crocodiles.

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ing, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it." 293

The stick, which was seen by the writer, is still unobtainable.

Gold Ornaments.—Pendants of gold were formerly worn as chiefs' insignia, and, it is said, were also given to successful partisans in the Tiribi war. They are now nearly a thing of the past, as the whites have long eagerly sought and purchased them. These ornaments were made in the form of eagles (sometimes double-headed), alligators, and frogs, and were worn as breast-plates or gorgets. They no doubt were entirely similar to the antique forms from the graves at Las Mercedes. Señor Ricardo Fernandez Guardia[17] reproduces a photograph of Antonio Saldaña, father of Ramón and last "king" of the Bribri, with several large gold eagles round his neck. These eagles are also noted by Gabb.[18] 301 [622]

As the Bribri believe that death will overtake the Indian owner who sells one of these gold ornaments, it may be that there are really more of them in existence than the 784 [763]

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Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

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763 it must be burnt to destroy the influence of evil spirits, and the place must be abandoned. After the death, a certain officer called the *oko* is called in, he being the only person who can handle the dead without being defiled. The *oko* wraps the corpse in bark blankets and plantain leaves, and places with it the hammock in which the deceased breathed his last, as well as any other household objects associated with him at death. The *oko* then removes the body to a small platform in the woods, surrounded by a fence built to keep out animals, and roofed with thatch. Some of the natives also declared that this scaffold is densely covered with thorny vines, trained to grow over it. In this temporary tomb the body remains for five years, when it is removed to the communal house of the dead.

764 [767]

Quenching the Fire.—Nine days after the death, a ceremony called *Apagando el fuego*, or "Quenching the Fire," is held, which lasts only one night. The women of the family prepare chicha, cacao, and other materials for a feast, and the *tsúku*,

*539 At night, they were given a large jug for a bed.

One of the prisoners noticed that the head of the house would go out to hunt but as soon as he left, the roar of a jaguar was heard. He spied on the man and discovered that outside of the house he was a jaguar but, by shaking himself, his hide fell off and he became a man who went into the forest.

The watching prisoner crept up to the jaguar skin and carried it off. When the man returned and did not find his jaguar skin, he became furious and began to eat the people.

One old woman, seeing the awful things that were happening, heated an earthen rod and stuck it in the mouth of the man-jaguar while he slept. Then she quickly hid in a little tunnel she had prepared beforehand. This is how the people in Alta Talamanca were rid of such a terrible scourge.

The Medicine Man's Stones

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

*539 756 778 When *sibu* made the first eight medicine men, he died for four days. Three of these men predicted that he would not stay dead but would go to the sky. One of these was *díkúswa* who was once a water bird and when he said that *sibu* would never die he was made into the most powerful of the *ṣiá* or medicine man's three principal stones. All medicine men know when they themselves are going to die as [763] *díkúswa* disappears or divides himself in half. He is so powerful that only the most powerful doctors dare to use *díkúswa*. The majority rely on *sorkuswa*. All the *ṣiá*, however, communicate with *sibu* and the medicine men in a [198] "sacred" or private language unknown to the layman.

(15) The Sacred Stones[195]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

There is a spot in Talamanca where there are large boulders. Here live the *ṣiá*, the medicine men's stones. A new medicine man, if it is possible, goes there and leaves grains of white maize on the rocks at night. The next morning the stones appear.

[195] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ṣiá*.

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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

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764 768 The custom of burying or otherwise placing with the dead all of his valuables, evidently existed at one time with these people. The Tiribis, who bury their dead, did so, up to within the memory of persons still living, and all matters that could not be buried, like live stock, fruit trees, &c., were ruthlessly destroyed. A more practical method has grown up [428] with the present generation, and they now divide the property of the defunct among the heirs, with as much avidity as in more enlightened communities. So do the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but these compound with their consciences. Whether the Teribis have a similar custom, I am not prepared to say, not having seen a funeral, and having no information that I consider sufficiently trustworthy.

766 The next step after lighting the fire, was for the master of ceremonies, appointed by mutual consent, to cause to be collected some small scrapings of a peculiar wood, called Palo Cacique by the Spaniards. It is a wood used only for walking sticks, and will be again referred to in that connection. He also obtained a large lump of cotton wool, some seeds of a species of pumpkin, and a small root of sweet yucca. All the male friends of the deceased present, seated themselves on low benches in a double line, facing each other, with another bench between. A part of the cotton, spread out so as to make a bulk about the size of a man's hand, was placed in front of the principal person, who then began in a sing-song tone between a recitation and a chant, to relate the merits and deeds of their departed brother. As he proceeded, and mentioned for instance that he had planted much corn, he laid carefully on the cotton a piece of shaving which he said was the "planting stick" used in that operation. Another laid aside of it a piece of pumpkin seed, which represented the corn. Another taking up the song, related how he had shot fish, and another shaving was the arrow. An impromptu string a couple of inches long, twisted out of the cotton, and stained red with the powder from some annatto seeds, was a rope with which he had led a cow, bought years before in Terraba. This lasted for an hour, until every tool or weapon he had ever used was represented by a little pile of seeds and shavings on the cotton. But he was a great man and his "eagle" was not to be forgotten. A very rude imitation of it was cut out of the skin of the yucca root and placed on top of all his other property, and then the edges of the cotton were doubled over making all into a ball. This was placed on his breast, next his body, and he was thus armed and equipped with all he had used or owned in this world, ready for use in the other; and his heirs none the poorer.

The body was then enveloped in the piece of "mastate" or bark cloth that he had used as a blanket, together with the hammock in which he swung. A quantity of "platanillo" leaves, a leaf not unlike that of the plantain, but only half the size and much tougher, were placed on the ground, two or three deep. The bundle was laid on this, the edges of the leaf envelope, doubled over, and dexterously tied by strips of bark string and the whole turned out a very respectable Egyptian mummy done in

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green. By means of three strings, this was swung under a pole, ten feet long, raised on the shoulders of two men, who trotted off unconcernedly to the woods a mile or so distant. They were accompanied by two or three more, armed with machetes. 766

A little boy whom I had for a servant for a few months, died on one of my journeys. We watched by him and did all in our power to save him, and were assisted by two of our men, one of whom was an "*awa*" or doctor. As soon as we saw that he was dying, and I had given up the last hope, the *awa* took charge. He motioned us all off. From that moment the moribund becomes unclean and only the *awa* can touch him. As soon as we pronounced him dead, the doctor covered him up. Next morning, the death taking place about midnight, without ceremony he was bundled up in his blanket and the usual leaves, and carried off in the same manner to the bush. But he was of no consequence. Only a boy who was nobody and had done nothing. I mention this case to show the difference in treatment, according to the person. 764

Next to a woman in her first pregnancy, the most *bu-ku-ru'* (unclean) thing is a corpse. An animal that passes near one after it is placed in its temporary resting-place, is defiled forever, and must be killed, as unfit for food. Accordingly, an unfrequented spot is selected, where tame pigs or cattle never go. Here a low bench is made of straight sticks, about the size of a coffin, raised a foot or two from the ground; it is carefully fenced in; the corpse is laid on it, and the whole is then covered with another horizontal layer, making a sort of box, carefully bound together with vines. Over all, a pile of branches and brush-wood is thrown so that buzzards and other carrion-eating animals cannot obtain access to the body. The body remains here about a year, to allow complete decomposition. 764 783

In the meantime, the family, or next of kin, on whom devolves the responsibility, proceeds to secure a sufficient number of animals, pigs, or beeves, according to the importance of the defunct. He also plants a corn-field, to supply the material for the chicha. About a year, more or less, after the death, one or more priests are engaged. Generally one is sought and he selects his assistants. For an ordinary person, one is sufficient; while for a chief, or person of distinction half-a-dozen are hardly enough. The chief fixes the time when he will be ready. Another official, a steward, called *Bi-ka'-kra* is also engaged. This latter personage takes entire charge as commissary and master of ceremonies. Under his direction, the corn is ground for the chicha. The number of bunches of plantains that he orders, is obtained; the animals are killed and cooked as he directs; and the food and drink are served to whom, and in what quantities he designates. The host resigns all to him and becomes thenceforth merely a guest, until all is over. 764

When the day approaches, a party goes to the place where the body was deposited. One person, set apart for similar unclean work, opens the package, cleans and re-arranges the bones and does them all up in a

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764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

[123] I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an observer are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one
534 or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and
535 the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

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The final disposal of the remains is a matter of great care. The whole of the tribe goes to the district of Bri-bri for this purpose. The receptacle is a square pit, about four feet deep and ten feet square. This is paved on the bottom with stones, and is roofed over from the weather, by a series of heavy hewn slabs of a very durable wood, open on the front and ends, and sloping to the ground at the back. Each family possesses one of these pits and here, after the funeral feast, the bundle of bones is carried and deposited. After the rest, the remains of Santiago were carried to the "royal" pit and deposited without further ceremony. 764

The Cabecars, according to Mr. Lyon, have about the same ceremony, but their pits are mere holes, not paved, and covered by planks laid on the ground level.

The Tiribis have a death feast, but it differs in some respects from the others. The body is buried immediately after death, but no longer with the property of the deceased, and, of course, the defunct is not present at his final feast, as with the Bri-bris.

Mr. Lyon, to whom I owe much of the information in the present memoir, has described to me one circumstance, in connection with these death feasts, that I have not witnessed. The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribis were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with "old man's beard" moss, sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a "tree calabash," properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy of this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian museum. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, "to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm." Neither Lyon nor the Indians could give me a very clear account of what spirit, whether good or evil, this represented. But the people seemed to regard him as rather of the malevolent sort; to be classed under the general head of "*Bi*" or Devil. Doubtless this, at one time had a distinct meaning, now lost. 766 [532]

No strictly religious belief can be said to exist among these Indians, in the sense that it is usually understood among us. They have, however, a series of ideas or beliefs which affect their daily lives and are never lost sight of. In connection with the funeral feast, described above, I have referred to their idea of a future state. 771

During the year that the body lies in the woods, the disembodied spirit prowls around, living on wild fruits, of which the wild cacao is the only one of which I know the name, although others were also pointed out to me. At the end of that time, when the funeral fire is kindled, the spirit is thus attracted to the feast, whence it departs on its final journey. 775

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763 it must be burnt to destroy the influence of evil spirits, and the place must be abandoned. After the death, a certain officer
•764 called the *oko* is called in, he being the only
[767] person who can handle the dead without being defiled. The *oko* wraps the corpse in bark blankets and plantain leaves, and places with it the hammock in which the deceased breathed his last, as well as any other household objects associated with him at death. The *oko* then removes the body to a small platform in the woods, surrounded by a fence built to keep out animals, and roofed with thatch. Some of the natives also declared that this scaffold is densely covered with thorny vines, trained to grow over it. In this temporary tomb the body remains for five years, when it is removed to the communal house of the dead.

Quenching the Fire.—Nine days after the death, a ceremony called *Apagando el fuego*, or "Quenching the Fire," is held, which lasts only one night. The women of the family prepare chicha, cacao, and other materials for a feast, and the *tsûku*,

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or "doctor," who "owns" the ritual for this rite, is summoned. When the *tsûku* appears, he sings certain secret songs, accompanied by the calabash rattle, without the aid of an assistant. He next makes a ceremonial fire, lighting it by means of a fire-drill rolled between the palms of his hands. The *tsûku* then scrapes some powder from a "caçique" stick and puts a pinch on various utensils which had belonged to the deceased and which are still in the house. At each application of powder he sings and shakes his rattle. Later he puts some of the powdered *caçique* in a package and places it on a wooden stool before him, while he sits on another seat and chants. When this rite is finished, the *tsûku* gets some water in plantain leaves and pours it on the fire, ending the ceremony. After this, say the Indians, the relatives of the dead "have no fear of the fire."

764

Bone Dance.—A ceremony called *Baile de los Huesos*, or "Bone Dance," is held five years after the corpse is put away on the little scaffold in the jungle, when the flesh is completely gone. The ceremony

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Bribri

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lasts from fifteen to twenty-two days. The family of the deceased spend all they can on the feast. Chicha and cacao are prepared in large quantities, and animals are killed. The *oko* who "owns" this function is sent for, and the *tsúku* is hired to sing, accompanied by two attendants. All three of these latter bear rattles, while various others, the number of whom is not specified, beat drums. All day long the *tsúku* and his attendants make music while the guests and mourners feast. On the last day all the guests leave, and the *oko* and the mourners remove the skeleton from its temporary grave in the woods and wrap it in a bark blanket. The bundle is carried out into the woods a short distance from the camp, where a private ceremony is held, of which details could not be gathered. After this rite the bones are taken to the dead-house, situated far off in the mountains.

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This dead-house is made of a durable wood called *madera del campo santo*, "cemetery wood," which, even in the tropical jungles, is well-nigh imperishable. This

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

house, according to the informants, is divided into four rooms, each reserved for one of the four geographical groups of the Bribri, residing on the Lari, Tiliri, Uren, and Coen rivers—four upper tributaries of the Sixaola. The roof of the charnel house is not thatched; but it was not certain, from the description of the natives, whether it was otherwise roofed. What they said was that it is completely made of *madera del campo santo*, which may mean that the house has a puncheon roof. The bones of the dead are stored in the room appropriate to their local band, and with them are placed bows, arrows, and various utensils.

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Gabb,[20] who was able to witness the Bribri mortuary ceremonies personally, gives an excellent account, not differing materially from the data furnished by the writer's informants. He states that the funeral fire was kept burning for nine days, and during that time it could not be used for any purpose. At the end of the allotted period only the *tsŭku* could extinguish it, and then with a calabash of chocolate. Gabb adds that instead of sacrificing the

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2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

764 actual implements of the deceased, cacique-wood powder was placed on crude models of his property, including his golden eagle, and these were wrapped up in cotton wool and placed with the body, to symbolize his earthly possessions. The body was then enshrouded in a bark blanket and the dead man's hammock, and the whole enveloped in platanillo leaves, swung under a pole, and carried out to a previously prepared scaffold in the jungle.

The next of kin then commenced gathering material for the bone feast, and a year or less (not five years, as said by my informants) thereafter the ceremony was held. An official called *bikakra* took charge of the feast, and a party was sent to collect the bones. Here a specially appointed person, who was apparently absolved from the taint of touching the dead, opened the bundle, cleaned and rearranged the bones, and rewrapped them in a cloth of native make and decorated in an allegorical manner.

"These cloths," says Gabb, "about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite." 764

The bones were kept in the house on a rack of cane during the ceremony for two weeks or more. The final rites consisted of a ritualistic chant, by the shaman, describing the journey of the deceased to the other world, the dangerous rivers he had to cross, beset by alligators, by great serpents which lay in his path, and by fearful precipices. But the journey was not to be altogether dreadful, for beautiful birds, butterflies, and flowers were to be encountered, the song closing with a description of final arrival of the departed and reception in the Hereafter, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself in the realm of the god *Sibú*. The fire was then extinguished, and the skeleton ceremonially conducted to its final resting place, amid a partial destruction of the property of the deceased, after which the bones were taken to the death house. 764 775 764

586 nowadays it does exist particularly amongst the Indians who have contact with the *ladino*-populated coast. Formerly, it was unknown, but today a man leaves a woman, or a woman a man, if they feel like it.

764 Death. Whatever ceremonies existed amongst the *Boruca* in regard to death have almost entirely disappeared. It is interesting that the *Boruca* do not cry at funerals. At the [556] wake, there is a feast the size of which depends upon the economic status of the deceased. Coffee and chicha are always served as drinks. The women put the body, at times with the hands folded as in prayer, on a long wooden bench or on wooden tablets, and cover it with any piece of cloth available. Three candles are placed alongside the body, one at each side of the face and one at the end. Sometimes, a candle is put by the feet. Prayers are recited all night during the wake. In the morning, men tie the body with fiber rope to the bench or planks, fastening to them two poles horizontally to serve as handles, and generally carry the whole to the church. Here an Indian, the warden, officiates in the absence of the priest. After the Mass, or the few prayers if there is no priest, the body still on the bench (see fig. 10, *a*), and still covered with cloth, is carried by the men to the cemetery, friends of the dead following. Here, bench and all, it is deposited in a shallow grave (about 4 feet), and very infrequently, leaves or flowers are scattered over or placed on it. When the deceased leaves no relative, his extra clothes are placed under his body and used as a bed in the grave. If the dead has enjoyed a good 766 position within the community during life, then a small tunnel is made in a side of the grave, and the body is placed there. This is called a "tomb." When a child dies, the body is tied in a white cloth and the one accordion in the village is played all the way to the graveyard. The whole town accompanies the body.

769 One year after the death of an individual, the *Boruca* celebrate what is known as the "birthday" of the death. Another feast is given at the house of the deceased. This feast must have a lot of chicha, and often lasts until the following morning or until the chicha disappears.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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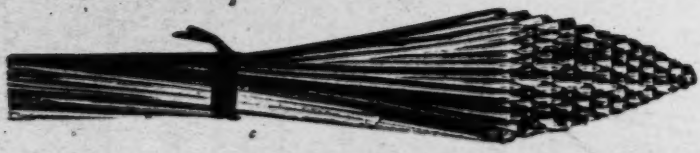


a, Funeral of a woman. b, Mask used in New Year's celebration. c, Screw measure (⅔ actual size). d, Rattles or measure with bone handles. e, Remains of contour agriculture on the savanna.

[p.60]

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then, [583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

583 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple live from eight days to one year in trial mar-
591 riage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives [595] a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against trial marriages is at times evidenced by the [184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their [177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair
591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase
761 of the life cycle as far as ceremony and prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many
764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and [765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis 764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri- 614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pu* (*see* Funeral and Bone 764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pu* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper [775] articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches from rapine birds and beasts. After a year, 765 when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has [177] undertaken an educational program to in- corporate the Talamancans into the Costa [871] Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
[178] that certain vestiges of traditional customs persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.**
764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ʒarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókum* in Bribri and *keri* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *sibawak*, *korrehué*, or *sinąbwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *sibawak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənítswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

● 764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setélwwak*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

767 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is
● 764 covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at
[273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has
[756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former usage. Things must be prepared for the soul
[775] of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This
[768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the
[656] geographical location. Government and ecclesiastical authorities have prohibited the fundamental part of the ancient rites, that is, the
[797] keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] tion between *sini* and *sinąbwak?* (*See* Social Organiza-
[533] tion.)

[108] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.
[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

764 (*see* Fibers). They cover the bark cloth with the leaves of white *bijagua* (*murksí*) and tie it again with the special string. Leaves of the [824] white *bijagua* are essential for the dead. They [264] are not used to wrap or serve food as is the black *bijagua* (*bikuLəka*) because they have a faint taste and odor. After the feast the bundle is "buried" in the forest. In effect, it is covered with briar bushes and branches or is even placed in a shallow grave.

Gabb [112] gives a description of two deaths he witnessed among the Bribri in the second half of the past century.

In 1947, the writer had the opportunity to be present at a ceremony for a little girl in Cabécar, the account of which follows. When we arrived at the house, a small ceremonial fire called *hamburu* had been made and beside it the *já* had placed a gourd filled with water. As we entered, they put another gourd filled with *chilate*, a preparation of ground maize, ripe bananas, and water, on a white *bijagua* leaf by the fire as well as a cotton burr and a little raised-rim grinding stone with a pestle on top.

Some cotton without seeds was tied with *pita* to a stick. There was also a *mochila* or net carrying bag with two small gourds filled with ground cacao and ground maize, respectively (fig. 11, *b*). The belief is that the soul goes 775 below where the sun comes from. When the sun rises, the soul goes along with it to the sky but always returns below. The food set by the fire is needed for this journey.

764 The *bika'kra* or Organizer of the Feast put this food on the raised shelf where the body was lying hidden by a banana leaf screen made with a pole frame. Then he undertook the task of seeing that there was enough food for the people present.

The grieved mother, a widow, remained apart from everyone, sitting at the very edge of the house, grimly silent. As long as the dead was there, custom decreed that she could not do a thing, neither eat, except to drink chocolate, nor talk at length. She also had to be bathed with hot water by a woman after the body was removed. Meanwhile the Organizer of Feasts arranged the banquet which various women were preparing over a big fire inside the house. He also fixed the raised shelf which was rather fragile.

[112] Gabb, 1875, pp. 497-99.

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

●764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a profes- [767] sional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

•764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burio*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the [775] ceremonial one which had the food for the dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the [825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as [775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the [775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[777] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
[184] ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are the only persons to touch the body, however. The preparations, including a funeral feast and the blocking of cross roads on the main trail, are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves or a cloth were the usual procedures on the Pacific side before placing the dead in the grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for the first time. The school gave the planks and nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture. A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed mattress, a sack which was over the bed and upon which she lay, were removed by the Burier. On this occasion there were three Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped body and the planks for the cover were nailed on.

During this whole procedure, the family disappeared and none of the stand-bys would look at what was happening. When the coffin was ready, a girl took branches which had been cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretching from both doors of the house to the main trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery, blocking any opening in the path with branches. When a river had to be crossed, branches were placed on the rocks and at the shallow edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house from the grave. The Buriers followed with the coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté ɨrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the world. The task of the Singer was performed [767] by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[765] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
• [964] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xamboxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539

30. Cemetery Song (*Bribri*) (Version 1)

1. [206] [like] a man
Let's try,
Let's not worry, brave says,
Boy for whom.

2. In the afternoon, in the morning,
Like an alligator,
A strong boy.
In the afternoon, like a jaguar,
Like an alligator,
Let's try,
Like *serike*, *serike*.

3. [like] a jaguar, like he himself,[206]
Let's try,
Boy let's not worry,
Don't be afraid
For whom do you come?

4. When *serike*, man, boy,
To bring stones,
Now man, now for whom boy like a man,

---

30. apú tsak

1. jóikíjóojó* webLasţ jó*
amąó-ao, jóreigeLa* jó*
ká-aaéndiar, diLo jó* chege,
jó* aLa-webLa jó* ĩiçurą, jó*

2. tłąL-jtą, jó* bLuLáme jójójó,*
toLók-eţ jó*,
aLa-igeLa jó*.
tłąL-jtą jó*, nąmu-eţ, jó*
toLók-eţ jó*,
mąţ-ao jó*,
tserkea-eţ serike jó*.

3. nuj-namą[207] jó* wak-eţ jó*,
ąmąu-ao jó* jójó* kirigi* jójó*,
aLa-webLa jó* ká-ędiar jó*,
ká-euar jó*
ĩiçrwa jó* ídą jó*?

4. serke jó* miktą jó*, webLa jó* kebinjó*, aLa-webLa,
jó* ják sík jó*,
webLa igę, jó* ĩiçrwa jó* aLa-webLa igę jó* webLa-eţ jó*,

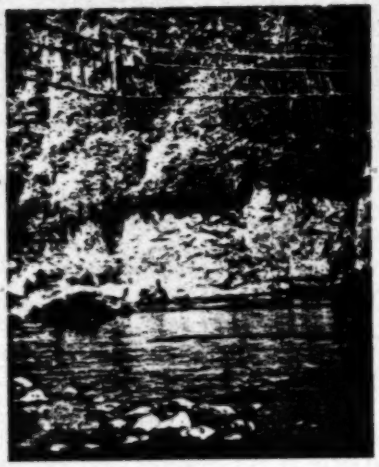
[764] [206] This is a song used for carrying or hauling heavy logs or stones to the cemetery. Almost every other word is an exclamation. Such words are indicated in the linguistic text by an asterisk.
[206] La, the jaguar.
[207] A Cabécar manner of saying *di-namą*.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

133
491

415
764



a

b

291
342
756
778

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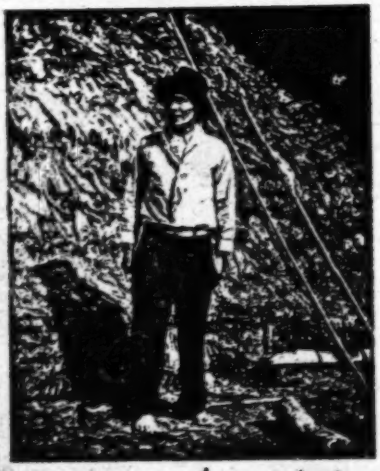

d

a, Vine bridge, Alta Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alta Cocos. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and
[765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis
764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri-
614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pu* (*see* Funeral and Bone
764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pu* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in
[775] *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches from rapine birds and beasts. After a year,
765 when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has
[177] undertaken an educational program to in-
[871] corporate the Talamancans into the Costa Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however, that certain vestiges of traditional customs [178] persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a [765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.** 764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one [784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person [783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the [756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ʒarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priesthood, but do have a decided social position [554] because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókụm* in Bribri and *kerí* in Cabécar. They are [756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are [825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to [767] resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *tibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[118]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[652] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[119] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pq*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *nrí* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[273] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[118] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[119] Pittier, 1938.

[P. 35(A)]

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[115] records the
782 [text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
224 stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages; Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[115] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[116] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
756 Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
422 *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[692] usual method is for the family of the culprit
to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[681] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
184 is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
184 the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
[643] Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

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[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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764 768 The custom of burying or otherwise placing with the dead all of his valuables, evidently existed at one time with these people. The Tiribis, who bury their dead, did so, up to within the memory of persons still living, and all matters that could not be buried, like live stock, fruit trees, &c., were ruthlessly destroyed. A more practical method has grown up [429] with the present generation, and they now divide the property of the defunct among the heirs, with as much avidity as in more enlightened communities. So do the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but these compound with their consciences. Whether the Teribis have a similar custom, I am not prepared to say, not having seen a funeral, and having no information that I consider sufficiently trustworthy.

766 The next step after lighting the fire, was for the master of ceremonies, appointed by mutual consent, to cause to be collected some small scrapings of a peculiar wood, called Palo Cacique by the Spaniards. It is a wood used only for walking sticks, and will be again referred to in that connection. He also obtained a large lump of cotton wool, some seeds of a species of pumpkin, and a small root of sweet yucca. All the male friends of the deceased present, seated themselves on low benches in a double line, facing each other, with another bench between. A part of the cotton, spread out so as to make a bulk about the size of a man's hand, was placed in front of the principal person, who then began in a sing-song tone between a recitation and a chant, to relate the merits and deeds of their departed brother. As he proceeded, and mentioned for instance that he had planted much corn, he laid carefully on the cotton a piece of shaving which he said was the "planting stick" used in that operation. Another laid aside of it a piece of pumpkin seed, which represented the corn. Another taking up the song, related how he had shot fish, and another shaving was the arrow. An impromptu string a couple of inches long, twisted out of the cotton, and stained red with the powder from some annatto seeds, was a rope with which he had led a cow, bought years before in Terraba. This lasted for an hour, until every tool or weapon he had ever used was represented by a little pile of seeds and shavings on the cotton. But he was a great man and his "eagle" was not to be forgotten. A very rude imitation of it was cut out of the skin of the yucca root and placed on top of all his other property, and then the edges of the cotton were doubled over making all into a ball. This was placed on his breast, next his body, and he was thus armed and equipped with all he had used or owned in this world, ready for use in the other; and his heirs none the poorer.

The body was then enveloped in the piece of "mastate" or bark cloth that he had used as a blanket, together with the hammock in which he swung. A quantity of "platanillo" leaves, a leaf not unlike that of the plantain, but only half the size and much tougher, were placed on the ground, two or three deep. The bundle was laid on this, the edges of the leaf envelope, doubled over, and dexterously tied by strips of bark string and the whole turned out a very respectable Egyptian mummy done in

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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green. By means of three strings, this was swung under a pole, ten feet long, raised on the shoulders of two men, who trotted off unconcernedly to the woods a mile or so distant. They were accompanied by two or three more, armed with machetes. 766

A little boy whom I had for a servant for a few months, died on one of my journeys. We watched by him and did all in our power to save him, and were assisted by two of our men, one of whom was an "*awa*" or doctor. As soon as we saw that he was dying, and I had given up the last hope, the *awa* took charge. He motioned us all off. From that moment the moribund becomes unclean and only the *awa* can touch him. As soon as we pronounced him dead, the doctor covered him up. Next morning, the death taking place about midnight, without ceremony he was bundled up in his blanket and the usual leaves, and carried off in the same manner to the bush. But he was of no consequence. Only a boy who was nobody and had done nothing. I mention this case to show the difference in treatment, according to the person. 764

Next to a woman in her first pregnancy, the most *bu-ku-ru'* (unclean) thing is a corpse. An animal that passes near one after it is placed in its temporary resting-place, is defiled forever, and must be killed, as unfit for food. Accordingly, an unfrequented spot is selected, where tame pigs or cattle never go. Here a low bench is made of straight sticks, about the size of a coffin, raised a foot or two from the ground; it is carefully fenced in; the corpse is laid on it, and the whole is then covered with another horizontal layer, making a sort of box, carefully bound together with vines. Over all, a pile of branches and brush-wood is thrown so that buzzards and other carrion-eating animals cannot obtain access to the body. The body remains here about a year, to allow complete decomposition. 764 783

In the meantime, the family, or next of kin, on whom devolves the responsibility, proceeds to secure a sufficient number of animals, pigs, or beeves, according to the importance of the defunct. He also plants a corn-field, to supply the material for the chicha. About a year, more or less, after the death, one or more priests are engaged. Generally one is sought and he selects his assistants. For an ordinary person, one is sufficient; while for a chief, or person of distinction half-a-dozen are hardly enough. The chief fixes the time when he will be ready. Another official, a steward, called *Bi-ka'-kra* is also engaged. This latter personage takes entire charge as commissary and master of ceremonies. Under his direction, the corn is ground for the chicha. The number of bunches of plantains that he orders, is obtained; the animals are killed and cooked as he directs; and the food and drink are served to whom, and in what quantities he designates. The host resigns all to him and becomes thenceforth merely a guest, until all is over. 764

When the day approaches, a party goes to the place where the body was deposited. One person, set apart for similar unclean work, opens the package, cleans and re-arranges the bones and does them all up in a

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764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

[123] I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an ob-
534 server are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one
535 or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

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dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same 766
manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened
calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, 535
around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, [534]
but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of
the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and
then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries
them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep
on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes im- [533]
promptu, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a
series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, how-
ever, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall
have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the
funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an
hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chi-
cha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, 766
when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch,
that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These [584]
eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of
the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during
which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains,
several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been de-
voured, the *bi-ka-kra* or steward announced that the commissary had
given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according
to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished [123]
guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where
we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a [574]
little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader
in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line
facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried
from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the
principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their 533
rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, 766
which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other 775
world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators
lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path;
of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precl-
pices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared
with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous
butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of
his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have
nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead 533
of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 766

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766 in part unintelligible to the uninitiated. At the end of each stanza was
[533] a chorus, where the priests, who during the stanza kept time with their rattles, now gave a peculiar twirl, and the lay singers joined in the chorus.

As the song approached its end, the leader was furnished with a big gourd of steaming chocolate, holding about a quart. As he finished, landing the dear departed safe beyond further troubles, he announced it with a most unearthly yell, in which all hands joined; he at the same time turning the chocolate over the fire, totally extinguishing it. The party at once arose and for a minute or two all was bustle and confusion of preparation.

A person, whose office it is to handle the dead, endeavored to lower the
[767] bundle but it was a little out of his reach. Nobody else could touch it
for fear of defiling himself. To lend a hand would have cost an Indian
[783] three days of purification. I drew my long knife, which all learn to carry in this country, as an actual necessity; and with a couple of blows cut the fastenings and brought the little cane rack, bundle of bones and all, tumbling into the outstretched arms of the official, with much more haste than solemnity. Nobody seemed shocked, and being a foreigner, and
[123] withal a medicine man, who had made cures where their best doctors had failed, I was of course impregnable to *bu-ku-ru'*. The aforesaid official now lashed the package to its stick, and two long slender strings of loosely twisted cotton were tied to the head of the package.

Santiago had had three wives. One of them had re-married to his suc-
[587] cessor; but there were two remaining in widowhood. A procession was formed. First came the priests with their rattles. Next the chorus singers with their drums. Next the corpse, borne by two men, and preceded by the two widows, each holding the end of one of the cotton strings, leading the dead, as it were, to his final resting-place. Next ourselves, as the most distinguished persons present, and escorted by the two chiefs. Behind us came the older men, and following them the usual rag, tag, and bob-tail of young men, women, boys, and persons of no account generally. Some of the boys however, true to boy nature, were as usual irrepressible, and instead of keeping decorously in place, skirmished ahead, and on the flanks of the procession, mounting stumps, logs, or other commanding points to take in the general effect of the pageant. As the procession filed out of the house, some old chicha jars
[768] were carried out and ostentatiously broken; but I observed that nothing of real value was destroyed. As soon as the line got fairly under way, the priests struck up another song which was kept up until the procession halted.

Everybody had been on so long a debauch that it was decided to take a rest of three or four days before the party started off. But it was necessary that the bones should be removed from the house. A temporary ranch had therefore been built a few hundred yards distant; and to this the remains were carried and deposited until the bearers were in a fit condition to proceed.

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The final disposal of the remains is a matter of great care. The whole 764
of the tribe goes to the district of Bri-bri for this purpose. The receptacle is a square pit, about four feet deep and ten feet square. This is paved on the bottom with stones, and is roofed over from the weather, by a series of heavy hewn slabs of a very durable wood, open on the front and ends, and sloping to the ground at the back. Each family possesses one of these pits and here, after the funeral feast, the bundle of bones is carried and deposited. After the rest, the remains of Santiago were carried to the "royal" pit and deposited without further ceremony.

The Cabecars, according to Mr. Lyon, have about the same ceremony, but their pits are mere holes, not paved, and covered by planks laid on the ground level.

The Tiribis have a death feast, but it differs in some respects from the others. The body is buried immediately after death, but no longer with the property of the deceased, and, of course, the defunct is not present at his final feast, as with the Bri-bris.

Mr. Lyon, to whom I owe much of the information in the present 766
memoir, has described to me one circumstance, in connection with these death feasts, that I have not witnessed. The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribis were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with "old man's beard" moss, sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a "tree calabash," [532]
properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy of this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian museum. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, "to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm." Neither Lyon nor the Indians could give me a very clear account of what spirit, whether good or evil, this represented. But the people seemed to regard him as rather of the malevolent sort; to be classed under the general head of "*Bi*" or Devil. Doubtless this, at one time had a distinct meaning, now lost.

No strictly religious belief can be said to exist among these Indians, in 771
the sense that it is usually understood among us. They have, however, a series of ideas or beliefs which affect their daily lives and are never lost sight of. In connection with the funeral feast, described above, I have referred to their idea of a future state.

During the year that the body lies in the woods, the disembodied spirit 775
prowls around, living on wild fruits, of which the wild cacao is the only one of which I know the name, although others were also pointed out to me. At the end of that time, when the funeral fire is kindled, the spirit is thus attracted to the feast, whence it departs on its final journey.

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784 *Tabu.*—On going into Bribri houses we frequently were earnestly warned by the Indians not to handle certain objects, as they were *bukurû* or tabu. On inquiry it was learned that it was customary for an Indian who wished to leave home to pronounce certain charms over his valuables, which then became *bukurû*, or tabu, not only to others but to himself, until a shaman was summoned to remove the spell by blowing upon them and singing to the time of his

586 nowadays it does exist particularly amongst the Indians who have contact with the *ladino*-populated coast. Formerly, it was unknown, but today a man leaves a woman, or a woman a man, if they feel like it.

764 **Death.** Whatever ceremonies existed amongst the *Boruca* in regard to death have almost entirely disappeared. It is interesting that the *Boruca* do not cry at funerals. At the wake, there is a feast the size of which depends [556] upon the economic status of the deceased. Coffee and chicha are always served as drinks. The women put the body, at times with the hands folded as in prayer, on a long wooden bench or on wooden tablets, and cover it with any piece of cloth available. Three candles are placed alongside the body, one at each side of the face and one at the end. Sometimes, a candle is put by the feet. Prayers are recited all night during the wake. In the morning, men tie the body with fiber rope to the bench or planks, fastening to them two poles horizontally to serve as handles, and generally carry the whole to the church. Here an Indian, the warden, officiates in the absence of the priest. After the Mass, or the few prayers if there is no priest, the body still on the bench (see fig. 10, *a*), and still covered with cloth, is carried by the men to the cemetery, friends of the dead following. Here, bench and all, it is deposited in a shallow grave (about 4 feet), and very infrequently, leaves or flowers are scattered over or placed on it. When the deceased leaves no relative, his extra clothes are placed under his body and used as a bed in the grave. If the dead has enjoyed a good
● 766 position within the community during life, then a small tunnel is made in a side of the grave, and the body is placed there. This is called a "tomb." When a child dies, the body is tied in a white cloth and the one accordion in the village is played all the way to the graveyard. The whole town accompanies the body.

769 One year after the death of an individual, the *Boruca* celebrate what is known as the "birthday" of the death. Another feast is given at the house of the deceased. This feast must have a lot of chicha, and often lasts until the following morning or until the chicha disappears.

[p. 22-B]

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

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793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace [126] of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, •767 and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like 793 the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular, but many of the nouns are peculiar. *Si-bu*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they know. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

Finally come the *Awas*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profes- 756 sion, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges 791 and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

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Gabb[8] speaks of three classes of shamans—the *usékara*, or "high priest"; the *tsûgur* (*tsuku*), who has charge of the ceremonies for the dead; and the *awa*, doctor or sorcerer, who cures diseases and controls the rain. He says that these latter treat diseases by making passes over the body of the patient with a sloth, opossum, alligator, or even a chicken. Their powers are based on the magic potency of calculi declared to be extracted from the viscera of animals. They bleed their patients with small lancets and give a counter irritant by beating the affected part with nettle leaves. 756 [791] [767]

Polygyny was practised in Gabb's time. The husband, he says, went to live with his father-in-law, or, if not, he bought his release with presents of live-stock in lieu of his services. 595 591

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations.—Several native types of dwellings still survive among the Bribri. The more usual variety is sideless, rectangular or oval in ground-plan, with a convex or 342

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763 it must be burnt to destroy the influence of evil spirits, and the place must be abandoned. After the death, a certain officer called the *oko* is called in, he being the only 764 person who can handle the dead without [767] being defiled. The *oko* wraps the corpse in bark blankets and plantain leaves, and places with it the hammock in which the deceased breathed his last, as well as any other household objects associated with him at death. The *oko* then removes the body to a small platform in the woods, surrounded by a fence built to keep out animals, and roofed with thatch. Some of the natives also declared that this scaffold is densely covered with thorny vines, trained to grow over it. In this temporary tomb the body remains for five years, when it is removed to the communal house of the dead.

Quenching the Fire.—Nine days after the death, a ceremony called *Apagando el fuego*, or "Quenching the Fire," is held, which lasts only one night. The women of the family prepare chicha, cacao, and other materials for a feast, and the *tsúku*,

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
[856] Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
863 crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in con-
nection with excretion are taught practically
from birth. The child is taken out of the house
and held up while he does his needs. He is not
allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling
itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
a father lie in a hammock with his small chil-
dren beside him. Parents pay attention to per-
sonal details, such as wiping a child's nose or
washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is
food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat
three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes
are taught to swim and help to make fires,
using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when
sitting on the low benches or on the ground
before the hearth. At the age of seven, they
begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and
cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt,
using small arrows for training. When the
adults are out in the fields or hunting, children
up to ten years old stay at home to tend the
fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for
example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water
when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no
school and all lore is learned by word of mouth
on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine
men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must
undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
lengthy manner to those who want to have
[767] some connection with the handling of the dead
(*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line.
Often they play with mud daubers' nests or
similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
that certain vestiges of traditional customs
[178] persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra.
When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same
grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.**
764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jɑwá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ǯurichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókum* in Bribri and *kerí* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact with the human hand. One of the tests is for 787 the novice to go with the teacher at three 767 o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) [262] and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were [775]

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrehué*, or *sinąbrwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *sini*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənítswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri,
[198] calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéšrwək*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17-18. Could there be a connec-

767 764 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at [273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has [756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former usage. Things must be prepared for the soul [775] of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This [768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the [656] geographical location. Government and ecclesiastical authorities have prohibited the funda- [797] mental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] [533] tion between *sini* and *sinębwak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.

[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a profes- • [767] sional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hɨrwək* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* [825] (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

784 825 [779] [224] tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals have a plant name which is used when a hunt is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquizque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the protector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated with a distinct animal and is believed to be sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* Death) are the only persons who can touch buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sanitsiwa* and *mímúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *mímúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, and *ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

[776] 753 825 [776] [756] 784 825 614 262 [767] [775]

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 726 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers. 582 684

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity. 837 684 [848]

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations. 601

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion. 593 768

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a person of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation. 764 766 [372] [784]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

764 768 The custom of burying or otherwise placing with the dead all of his valuables, evidently existed at one time with these people. The Tiribis, who bury their dead, did so, up to within the memory of persons still living, and all matters that could not be buried, like live stock, fruit trees, &c., were ruthlessly destroyed. A more practical method has grown up [428] with the present generation, and they now divide the property of the defunct among the heirs, with as much avidity as in more enlightened communities. So do the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but these compound with their consciences. Whether the Teribis have a similar custom, I am not prepared to say, not having seen a funeral, and having no information that I consider sufficiently trustworthy.

766 The next step after lighting the fire, was for the master of ceremonies, appointed by mutual consent, to cause to be collected some small scrapings of a peculiar wood, called Palo Cacique by the Spaniards. It is a wood used only for walking sticks, and will be again referred to in that connection. He also obtained a large lump of cotton wool, some seeds of a species of pumpkin, and a small root of sweet yucca. All the male friends of the deceased present, seated themselves on low benches in a double line, facing each other, with another bench between. A part of the cotton, spread out so as to make a bulk about the size of a man's hand, was placed in front of the principal person, who then began in a sing-song tone between a recitation and a chant, to relate the merits and deeds of their departed brother. As he proceeded, and mentioned for instance that he had planted much corn, he laid carefully on the cotton a piece of shaving which he said was the "planting stick" used in that operation. Another laid aside of it a piece of pumpkin seed, which represented the corn. Another taking up the song, related how he had shot fish, and another shaving was the arrow. An impromptu string a couple of inches long, twisted out of the cotton, and stained red with the powder from some annatto seeds, was a rope with which he had led a cow, bought years before in Terraba. This lasted for an hour, until every tool or weapon he had ever used was represented by a little pile of seeds and shavings on the cotton. But he was a great man and his "eagle" was not to be forgotten. A very rude imitation of it was cut out of the skin of the yucca root and placed on top of all his other property, and then the edges of the cotton were doubled over making all into a ball. This was placed on his breast, next his body, and he was thus armed and equipped with all he had used or owned in this world, ready for use in the other; and his heirs none the poorer.

The body was then enveloped in the piece of "mastate" or bark cloth that he had used as a blanket, together with the hammock in which he swung. A quantity of "platanillo" leaves, a leaf not unlike that of the plantain, but only half the size and much tougher, were placed on the ground, two or three deep. The bundle was laid on this, the edges of the leaf envelope, doubled over, and dexterously tied by strips of bark string and the whole turned out a very respectable Egyptian mummy done in

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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766 in part unintelligible to the uninitiated. At the end of each stanza was
[533] a chorus, where the priests, who during the stanza kept time with their rattles, now gave a peculiar twirl, and the lay singers joined in the chorus.

As the song approached its end, the leader was furnished with a big gourd of steaming chocolate, holding about a quart. As he finished, landing the dear departed safe beyond further troubles, he announced it with a most unearthly yell, in which all hands joined; he at the same time turning the chocolate over the fire, totally extinguishing it. The party at once arose and for a minute or two all was bustle and confusion of preparation.

A person, whose office it is to handle the dead, endeavored to lower the
[767] bundle but it was a little out of his reach. Nobody else could touch it
for fear of defiling himself. To lend a hand would have cost an Indian
[783] three days of purification. I drew my long knife, which all learn to carry in this country, as an actual necessity; and with a couple of blows cut the fastenings and brought the little cane rack, bundle of bones and all, tumbling into the outstretched arms of the official, with much more haste than solemnity. Nobody seemed shocked, and being a foreigner, and
[123] withal a medicine man, who had made cures where their best doctors had failed, I was of course impregnable to *bu-ku-ru'*. The aforesaid official now lashed the package to its stick, and two long slender strings of loosely twisted cotton were tied to the head of the package.

Santiago had had three wives. One of them had re-married to his suc-
[587] cessor; but there were two remaining in widowhood. A procession was formed. First came the priests with their rattles. Next the chorus singers with their drums. Next the corpse, borne by two men, and preceded by the two widows, each holding the end of one of the cotton strings, leading the dead, as it were, to his final resting-place. Next ourselves, as the most distinguished persons present, and escorted by the two chiefs. Behind us came the older men, and following them the usual rag, tag, and bob-tail of young men, women, boys, and persons of no account generally. Some of the boys however, true to boy nature, were as usual irrepressible, and instead of keeping decorously in place, skirmished ahead, and on the flanks of the procession, mounting stumps, logs, or other commanding points to take in the general effect of the pageant. As the procession filed out of the house, some old chicha jars
[162] were carried out and ostentatiously broken; but I observed that nothing of real value was destroyed. As soon as the line got fairly under way, the priests struck up another song which was kept up until the procession halted.

Everybody had been on so long a debauch that it was decided to take a rest of three or four days before the party started off. But it was necessary that the bones should be removed from the house. A temporary ranch had therefore been built a few hundred yards distant; and to this the remains were carried and deposited until the bearers were in a fit condition to proceed.

767 764 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at [273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has [756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

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[767 533] tion between *sini* and *sinąbwak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[110] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.
[111] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[112] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are
[184] the only persons to touch the body, however.
The preparations, including a funeral feast and
the blocking of cross roads on the main trail,
are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar
with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in
Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves
or a cloth were the usual procedures on the
Pacific side before placing the dead in the
grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for
the first time. The school gave the planks and
nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture.
A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick
was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
● 768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed
mattress, a sack which was over the bed and
upon which she lay, were removed by the
Burier. On this occasion there were three
Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and
mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the
sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the
Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of
the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with
yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped
body and the planks for the cover were nailed
on.

During this whole procedure, the family
disappeared and none of the stand-bys would
look at what was happening. When the coffin
was ready, a girl took branches which had been
cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretch-
ing from both doors of the house to the main
trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a
litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the
girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery,
blocking any opening in the path with branch-
es. When a river had to be crossed, branches
were placed on the rocks and at the shallow
edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house
from the grave. The Buriers followed with the
coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted
wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and
an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

586 nowadays it does exist particularly amongst the Indians who have contact with the *ladino*-populated coast. Formerly, it was unknown, but today a man leaves a woman, or a woman a man, if they feel like it.

764 Death. Whatever ceremonies existed amongst the *Boruca* in regard to death have almost entirely disappeared. It is interesting that the *Boruca* do not cry at funerals. At the wake, there is a feast the size of which depends [556] upon the economic status of the deceased. Coffee and chicha are always served as drinks. The women put the body, at times with the hands folded as in prayer, on a long wooden bench or on wooden tablets, and cover it with any piece of cloth available. Three candles are placed alongside the body, one at each side of the face and one at the end. Sometimes, a candle is put by the feet. Prayers are recited all night during the wake. In the morning, men tie the body with fiber rope to the bench or planks, fastening to them two poles horizontally to serve as handles, and generally carry the whole to the church. Here an Indian, the warden, officiates in the absence of the priest. After the Mass, or the few prayers if there is no priest, the body still on the bench (see fig. 10, *a*), and still covered with cloth, is carried by the men to the cemetery, friends of the dead following. Here, bench and all, it is deposited in a shallow grave (about 4 feet), and very infrequently, leaves or flowers are scattered over or placed on it. When the deceased leaves no relative, his extra clothes are placed under his body and used as a bed in the grave. If the dead has enjoyed a good 766 position within the community during life, then a small tunnel is made in a side of the grave, and the body is placed there. This is called a "tomb." When a child dies, the body is tied in a white cloth and the one accordion in the village is played all the way to the graveyard. The whole town accompanies the body.

769 One year after the death of an individual, the *Boruca* celebrate what is known as the "birthday" of the death. Another feast is given at the house of the deceased. This feast must have a lot of chicha, and often lasts until the following morning or until the chicha disappears.

[p. 22-B]

I:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

The final disposal of the remains is a matter of great care. The whole 764
of the tribe goes to the district of Bri-bri for this purpose. The receptacle is a square pit, about four feet deep and ten feet square. This is paved on the bottom with stones, and is roofed over from the weather, by a series of heavy hewn slabs of a very durable wood, open on the front and ends, and sloping to the ground at the back. Each family possesses one of these pits and here, after the funeral feast, the bundle of bones is carried and deposited. After the rest, the remains of Santiago were carried to the "royal" pit and deposited without further ceremony.

The Cabecars, according to Mr. Lyon, have about the same ceremony, but their pits are mere holes, not paved, and covered by planks laid on the ground level.

The Tiribis have a death feast, but it differs in some respects from the others. The body is buried immediately after death, but no longer with the property of the deceased, and, of course, the defunct is not present at his final feast, as with the Bri-bris.

Mr. Lyon, to whom I owe much of the information in the present 766
memoir, has described to me one circumstance, in connection with these death feasts, that I have not witnessed. The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribis were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with "old man's beard" moss, sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a "tree calabash," [532]
properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy of this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian museum. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, "to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm." Neither Lyon nor the Indians could give me a very clear account of what spirit, whether good or evil, this represented. But the people seemed to regard him as rather of the malevolent sort; to be classed under the general head of "*Bi*" or Devil. Doubtless this, at one time had a distinct meaning, now lost.

No strictly religious belief can be said to exist among these Indians, in 771
the sense that it is usually understood among us. They have, however, a series of ideas or beliefs which affect their daily lives and are never lost sight of. In connection with the funeral feast, described above, I have referred to their idea of a future state.

During the year that the body lies in the woods, the disembodied spirit 775
prowls around, living on wild fruits, of which the wild cacao is the only one of which I know the name, although others were also pointed out to me. At the end of that time, when the funeral fire is kindled, the spirit is thus attracted to the feast, whence it departs on its final journey.

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
624 select the first and second mayordomos of the church, and the two women who are to cook for the church. These personages function during *fiestas* or the visits of the priest, and are appointed yearly. If there is a change in the personnel, the former mayordomo has to hand over all the religious symbols and whatever money there may be to the new one.

437 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.**
426 The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of
175 trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Texabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things.*

[Continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

● 771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

* See Informe, 1697.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

[798]

● 771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

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When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia*[28a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

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[28a] See below.

[p. 25-A]

6:Suone I-5 (1956-1968)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 51 (1)] Cabecar Bribri

598 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[100] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking
775 of them. The good and bad people all go to *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything
772 from beneath the earth to make place for the
776 Indians there. In this underground domain, there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one
753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals themselves. This is one reason why the medicine
[756] man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-
776

[100] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

MYTHS

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by
776 spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god,
776 had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
[614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ṇą* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLá* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tọmí* are guardians of animals. *Lạn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLá*).[2] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbó*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[3]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dinamą́* in Cabécar and *díkuṇ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bék-namą́* in Cabécar and *tsirule* in Bribri.[281] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuṇ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

[2 [see category 116, p. 64. Analyst.]
[3 [see category 116, p. 56. Analyst.]

6:Stone I-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 51 (A)] Cabecar Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

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771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-

776 [100] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at *surstsapku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

[484] [782] [487]

urigakí is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book.[1]

(1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 [776] *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[162] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

[772]

[1] [See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

614 Kipirjk-uak, Edible fruit of a vine clan.
Amu-kir-uak, Agave-patch clan.
616 Tsiru-ru-uak, Ripe chocolatē-bean clan.
Uni-uak.
Sibri-uak, Forked post water or ravine clan.
Dauibri-uak, Ravine clan.
Amuk-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Akter-uak, Rocky-place clan.
Kur-ki-uak, Name of place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.
Kacha-ut-uak, Achiote clan.
Bobri-uak, Name of a place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.

776 Pittier, who has published a brief paper on the folklore of the Bribri and the Brunka,[2b] states that their primitive supreme god was named *Sibú*, and was surrounded by secondary divinities called *Sórkurà*, *Jâburu*, and *Surá*, some of them good, others evil, both eternally tricking each other. All men were born from seeds, over which the deities fought. The sacred seeds were kept in baskets which *Sibú* gave into the care of the benevolent gods. The evil deities, however, continually sought for the seeds, and this was the origin of a series of adventures which are still narrated by the surviving pagan Bribri. The skunk is the trickster of Bribri mythology.

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796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

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[26a] See below.

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

[p. 25-B]

FOLKLORE

●773 Very little remains in the field of legends or myths. Certain ones, told as recently as the time of Pittier, for example, "El Encanto,"[40] are now forgotten. The tales which are still told appear for the most part to be unfinished, half-remembered stories, and are, to a great extent, crude and unsatisfactory. The writer found that the telling of legends was similar, in a measure, to the gathering of language data. Few people remembered details, and no [124] two people agreed on all details. The fundamental note in the tales collected is the im- [154] portance placed on witchcraft, in spite of the fact that the *Borucas* like to give the impression that they no longer believe nor remember anything about witchery. The following are four myths which are still told by the *Boruca* Indians.

539 **The "Mamram."** These are two bewitched women. They were orphaned girls who were from Boruca, and who used to fish the crabs and the crayfish in the creek which runs through the town. Each day, as they exhausted one spot, they moved a bit further along the water course, until one day they disappeared completely and did not return.

The shamans, however, found the girls, and tied them up, then moved them to Barranco. You know they are there today, because you can see the stones of their hearth. Their bodies are covered with hair, and they are ugly, not only in appearance, but also in character. They are very mean, and have bothered people so much in the vicinity, that more than one community has had to move. The last place they destroyed was Camakrán by Paso Caracol.

The Grandfather of the Volcano. A long time ago, the grandfather of the volcano fell in love with a girl and took care of her. She became pregnant. He brought her partridges, wild turkeys, *paweeles*, wild hogs, wild pigs, and deer. The girl had a son, and she took care of him and raised him until he was six. Then the father came with a great wind and took the boy from his mother, and carried him to his house.

The father continued to visit the mother nightly, however, bringing her dried meat.

[40] Pittier, 1941, pp. 93–94.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibá*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[805] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

539 they discovered the way over the cordillera. They got to the other side, and there they found out that the hogs had turned into men like themselves. And these are the *Brurán*[1] people.

III. THE TALE OF OUR DYING AWAY.

773 Our forefathers told us that in far-away times, when we lived in other countries, the gods allowed us to be eaten by birds and animals.

Once upon a time, when many of our people were playing on a 539 plain, there came flying a mighty eagle, and he caught one of our kin and blood, and threw him into a large basket he was carrying. He carried him away to the top of the Kamuk,[2] where he fell asleep, because he was very tired. At that time the eagle never thought of eating up our kinsman. On the morn, he flew again, carrying off his prey far away to the peak of Nëmósul, where he rested, without thinking yet of eating him. Again he flew away, far away, and got to the ridge of Nëmóie, where he met with powerful jaguars. And he told them how he had brought the man. One of the jaguars then proposed to him that they should eat the man together. The eagle consented, and they ate him. They ate him, and after that, the eagle flew up, high up to the top of Nëmóie. And this is the reason 773 why we see white spots near the top of Nëmóie; they are the bones of our kinsman, and there it was that man was eaten for the first [823] time by birds and animals, because the jaguar taught the eagle how to eat him. Our forefathers also used to say that on the same ridge of Nëmóie there are stones shaped like jaguars. Whenever any one goes there, those stones become alive and true jaguars, because they are not stones at all, but bad spirits.

Such is the tale of our forefathers, and they also used to say, that once upon a time strange men became a prey to the jaguars, on that same ridge of Nëmóie. And this is why we are not permitted to live in these dangerous places.

IV. HOW SIBÓ KILLED SÓRKURA.

539 Sórkura was in the habit of drinking the water of a spring in which the skunk used to ease his body. Sibó, the almighty God, thought it would be well that Sórkura should kill the skunk. And so it happened: Sórkura went to watch the skunk, killed it, and hung its dead body to dry on the fire, since it was a prophet of ill-

[1] Brurán is the Indian name for Térraba, the Tirub colony in the Diquis Valley.

[133] [2] Kamuk or Pico Blanco is the most conspicuous peak of the Talamanca mountains; it is 2914 m. above sea-level, according to Gabb. Nëmósul and Nëmóie are two secondary summits, the first at the entrance of the Coen Valley, the second on the ridge between the Estrella and Tararia basins.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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there was standing a man of stately appearance. He asked, "Here I am; how art thou?" The other answered, "Well; why didst thou come here?" And he told how he had shot at a tapir, and had lost it. Then the man of the house went on, and said, "Why dost thou shoot to play? When thou shootest, do it so as to kill, so that the poor beast does not fall a prey to the worms. But I see thou art tired, so come in and have a seat." And he brought him *chicha*, and gave him to eat the meat of the tapir at which the hunter had shot without effect, but which the owner of the house had killed. 539

And when he had rested, drunk, and eaten, the hunter said that he had visited his host. But this one replied, "There, take thou this piece of cane, and plant it at thine home, and when the cane has grown its full growth again, then, but not until then, shalt thou be able to speak once more."

When the hunter got to his house, he could not utter even a word, so he planted the cane; and it grew, and when it had attained its full height, then the hunter could talk again, and he told all that had happened to him.

The man in whose house the hunter had been was the king of the tapirs, and this is why he treated him so.

VI. THE KING OF THE WILD HOGS.

Among the beasts, the wild hogs also have a king. He is to all 773 appearance like a very white and good-looking fellow, who goes 825 through the woods with a big stick in his hand. He lives in an enchanted place on the heights of San-krá-ua, and his door is guarded by a huge tiger.

The king of the hogs is displeased when the Indians wound his [224] subjects without killing them at once. Once upon a time there was in Boruca one of those bad hunters who had the reputation of being 539 a bad archer, and who always wounded the animals, but never killed them. One day he went into the woods, and met with a large herd of hogs, after which he ran and ran, without being able to reach them. When he paid attention to the place he had got into, he saw that he had gone astray. Then he went ahead until he came into the presence of the king of the hogs, who caught him by the throat and said, "Why dost thou hurt all my hogs without ever killing them? Now thou shalt suffer for it, because thou shalt remain in my hands until thou hast healed them all." And there he stayed for a long time, healing hogs; and at the beginning they did not let him heal them, but came upon him to bite. So that he suffered a thousand deaths, until they were cured a little, and became so tame as to follow him everywhere.

When there were no more hogs to cure, the king called our

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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539 Brunka to his presence, and told him he could go, and to be careful not to wound hogs again without killing them. He also marked in his presence all the hogs he would be at liberty to kill. And the man went away through the woods, until he got to Krámra-us,[1] where he met with a few of his kinsmen who were hunting hogs. When they saw the man who used to cure them, the hogs always ran to him, and never would go away, so that he could easily kill all those which had been marked for him. And he always advised his companions never to wound animals, but to kill them right away.

VII. DON PEDRO CASCANTE.

(Legend of the hollow trail of El Pito.[2])

487 In very remote times, when the Spaniards had not yet arrived in these countries, the Indians only could climb up from the coast of
773 Quepos to the high mountains of Dota by following the long and
[481] tiresome ridge of El Pito, bound together by means of the royal vine into files of ten to twenty, and pulled by witchcraft without any effort from their side. But, also, on each journey one man disappeared without the others being aware when or how, and that was the toll they paid for the dreaded ascent.

539 This great calamity had lasted for numberless years, and the trail to El Pito became deeper and narrower from day to day, on account of the way they had to go over it, bound together in long files, when a very holy missionary father left Cartago, riding a strong white mule, to go and win over the Indians. And as he was going down to the coast through the fearful road of El Pito, he met the "Encanto" which had taken the form of a big turkey, and would not get out of the road to let the holy man pass. Then the father became very angry; he alighted from his mule, bound the turkey with a blessed string, and dragged him down hill until they got to the place called "Alto de los Cotos." There he tied him to a large tree which he blessed, and told him that he would stay there up to the day of the final doom. And from that day hence, the "Encanto" never again annoyed the passers-by.

Only a certain Pedro Cascante, who had a large breeding-farm of mules and cattle, down on the plain of "El Calicanto," allowed himself to become a prey to his avarice, and on account of it, he lost his soul.

Cascante had become very rich by carrying out to San Marcos the

[103] [1] Krámra-us, name of a place on the lower Diquis.

[2] This trail, so deeply cut into the ridge of El Pito as to be tunnel-like at a few places, leads from San Marcos, once one of the principal residences of the Quepos Indians, down to the coastal plains of the Pacific.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 51 (A)]
Cabecar
Bribri

538 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares
773 and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[100] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking
775 of them. The good and bad people all go to *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything
772 from beneath the earth to make place for the
776 Indians there. In this underground domain, there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one
753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals them-
[756] selves. This is one reason why the medicine man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-
776

[100] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

MYTHS

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by
776 spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god,
776 had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
[614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ṉą* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tǫmí* are guardians of animals. *Lạn* or *kiritụn* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[1] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbś*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dínamú* in Cabécar and *díkuṇ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bák-namú* in Cabécar and *tsirule* in Bribri.[161] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuṇ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

[1] [see category 116, p. 64. Analyst.]
[2] [see category 116, p. 56. Analyst.]

535 example, *burète* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsó* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsó* or *kəmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171] [206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[366] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[366] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[366] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann [147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *bék-namá* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 765 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wímbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the [753] mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLáʒibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLáʒibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [101] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ki* in Bribri and *namá* in Cabécar.
[102] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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dried armadillo skin is scraped with a large bean-like seed; in the same 766
manner as I have seen the negroes of the West Indies scrape a roughened 535
calabash with a bone. The dancers clasp each other over the shoulder, [534]
around the waist, or hook arms; both sexes taking part in the dancing, but not in the singing or drumming, these being the especial province of the men. The steps are usually about three forward and to one side, and then the same number backward. When arranged in a circle, this carries them gradually around the musicians. When in a straight line, they keep on the same spot. The songs are a sort of recitative, sometimes im- [533]
prompts, sometimes of fixed words; the chorus a sort of "fol-de-rol," a series of meaningless syllables. These songs for dancing must not, however, be confounded with the sacred songs of the priests, of which I shall have occasion to make fuller mention in the proper place.

The dances are kept up nearly all, and sometimes all night at the funeral feast; the participants retiring from time to time and sleeping an hour or two when exhausted, and returning with renewed vigor to chicha drinking, eating, and dancing. It is particularly on these occasions, 766
when the older people are too drunk, or too busy to keep strict watch, that the younger folks manage to evade their vigilance and ——. These [584]
eminently practical courtships almost invariably precede the asking of the father's consent by the would-be bridegroom.

After more than two weeks of this license and debauchery, during which three cows, about a dozen pigs, hundreds of bunches of plantains, several quintals of rice, and hundreds of gallons of chicha had been devoured, the *bi-ka-kra* or steward announced that the commissary had given out and the riot must come to an end. I was notified according to previous agreement and went at the time appointed. As distinguished [123]
guests, our party of four were shown to the best hammocks, where we were seated, and in a few minutes served with cups of chocolate. In a [574]
little while, all of the priests seated themselves on low benches, the leader in the middle. The lay chorus singers were ranged in a double line facing each other and below the priests. The fire was carefully carried from its place under the corpse and piled almost between the feet of the principal priest. All drank chocolate and the priests sounded their 533
rattles. The leader began a low dirge-like song in the sacred jargon, 766
which I was told described in detail the journey of the defunct to the other 775
world. It told of the dangerous rivers he had to cross, where alligators lay in wait to devour him; of the great serpents who disputed his path; of the high hills he had to climb with weary steps; of the fearful precipices he must scale; of the beautiful birds with sweet songs, compared with which even the flute-like *silguero* was as a crow; of the gorgeous butterflies that lightened up the path like flying flowers, and finally of his safe arrival at the country of the great *Si-bu*, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself.

The song was divided into stanzas, and the priests all followed the lead 533
of their chief, the words being a series of set phrases, but in a language 766

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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The final disposal of the remains is a matter of great care. The whole 764
of the tribe goes to the district of Bri-bri for this purpose. The receptacle is a square pit, about four feet deep and ten feet square. This is paved on the bottom with stones, and is roofed over from the weather, by a series of heavy hewn slabs of a very durable wood, open on the front and ends, and sloping to the ground at the back. Each family possesses one of these pits and here, after the funeral feast, the bundle of bones is carried and deposited. After the rest, the remains of Santiago were carried to the "royal" pit and deposited without further ceremony.

The Cabecars, according to Mr. Lyon, have about the same ceremony, but their pits are mere holes, not paved, and covered by planks laid on the ground level.

The Tiribis have a death feast, but it differs in some respects from the others. The body is buried immediately after death, but no longer with the property of the deceased, and, of course, the defunct is not present at his final feast, as with the Bri-bris.

Mr. Lyon, to whom I owe much of the information in the present 766
memoir, has described to me one circumstance, in connection with these death feasts, that I have not witnessed. The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribis were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with "old man's beard" moss, sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a "tree calabash," [532]
properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy of this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian museum. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, "to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm." Neither Lyon nor the Indians could give me a very clear account of what spirit, whether good or evil, this represented. But the people seemed to regard him as rather of the malevolent sort; to be classed under the general head of "*Bi*" or Devil. Doubtless this, at one time had a distinct meaning, now lost.

No strictly religious belief can be said to exist among these Indians, in 771
the sense that it is usually understood among us. They have, however, a series of ideas or beliefs which affect their daily lives and are never lost sight of. In connection with the funeral feast, described above, I have referred to their idea of a future state.

During the year that the body lies in the woods, the disembodied spirit 775
prowls around, living on wild fruits, of which the wild cacao is the only one of which I know the name, although others were also pointed out to me. At the end of that time, when the funeral fire is kindled, the spirit is thus attracted to the feast, whence it departs on its final journey.

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775 When I asked an Indian where it went, he responded, to the country of *Si-ba'*, and in reply to the question; where is that? he pointed unhesitatingly to the zenith. On inquiring where the road was, he told me it was invisible to the eyes of the living, but that the spirit (*wig'bru*) could see it.

In the other world there are no troubles, no cares. There is plenty to eat and to drink, of those things that the Indian loves most here. Plantains and corn are never wanting; meat and chicha are always to be had; and chocolate, the luxury, *par excellence* of the Costa Rican Indian never runs out, or becomes scarce as, alas too often, it does in Talamanca. He needs all his arms and implements, but it does not seem that he will be obliged to work. These little discrepancies, the wisest *Tsu-gur* does not attempt to explain. After death, the soul remains wandering about near the corpse until the burial feast. Then, by means of the songs of the *Tsu-gurs* or priests, it makes its journey to the "promised land."

789 Their superstitions are however, somewhat more definite and tangible since they affect their every day actions. There are two classes of uncleanness, *nya* and *bu-ku-ru'*. Anything that is essentially filthy, or that was connected with the death of a person is "*nya*," anything unclean in the Hebraic or Hindu sense is *bu-ku-ru'*. But *bu-ku-ru'* is even more powerful than it is supposed to be by the Orientals. It suffices not only [753] to make one sick, but even kills. In a party where *bu-ku-ru'* is excited, it does not affect all alike, but only attacks the weakest. *Bu-ku-ru'* emanates in a variety of ways; arms, utensils, even houses become affected by it after long disuse and before they can be used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a long time, the custom is to beat them with a stick before touching them. I have seen a woman take a long walking stick and beat a basket hanging from the roof of a house by a cord. On asking what that was for, I was told that the basket contained her treasures, that she would probably want to take something out the next day and that she was driving off the *bu-ku-ru'*. A house long unused must be swept and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short, every accessible part of the interior. The next day it is fit for occupation. A place not visited for a long time or reached for the first time, is *bu-ku-ru'*. On our return from the ascent of Pico Blanco, nearly all the party suffered from little calenturas, the result of extraordinary exposure to wet and cold and of want of food. The Indians said that the peak was especially *bu-ku-ru'*, since nobody had ever been on it before. Even we foreigners were sick from it, and had any of them gone to the summit, they would have surely died. On one occasion, while buying some implements, I pulled down off a rack, two or three "blow guns?" that, from the dust on them, must have lain there undisturbed for weeks, perhaps months. As I reached out my hand, I heard the warning cry of "*bu-ku-ru'*" from all around; laughingly disregarding it, and telling them that *bu-ku-ru'* couldn't hurt us, I began examining them.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite." 764

The bones were kept in the house on a rack of cane during the ceremony for two weeks or more. The final rites consisted of a ritualistic chant, by the shaman, describing the journey of the deceased to the other world, the dangerous rivers he had to cross, beset by alligators, by great serpents which lay in his path, and by fearful precipices. But the journey was not to be altogether dreadful, for beautiful birds, butterflies, and flowers were to be encountered, the song closing with a description of final arrival of the departed and reception in the Hereafter, where he would have nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep, and enjoy himself in the realm of the god *Sibû*. The fire was then extinguished, and the skeleton ceremonially conducted to its final resting place, amid a partial destruction of the property of the deceased, after which the bones were taken to the death house. 764 795 764

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and [765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis 764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri- 614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pu* (*see* Funeral and Bone 764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pu* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in • [775] *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches from rapine birds and beasts. After a year, 765 when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has [177] undertaken an educational program to in- corporate the Talamancans into the Costa [871] Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. [262] He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were

[775]

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur*
clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the
elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that
they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrehué*, or
sinąbwak groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next
to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests
heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by
the lower Coen and had a number of assistants
the highest of whom were called *ko*, and
apprentices known as *sini*.[108] He adds that
elaborate preparation was necessary before the
title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in
keeping with the idea that their position was
hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the fol-
lowing clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*,
and *sənítrwa* (*see* The Clans and Myths:
Protectors of Clans). Their name in this lan-
guage is *səgLə*.

Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri,
[198] calls attention to the fact that the songs of
stsukur were in a language which neither he
nor the uninitiated could understand. As
Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri
Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110]
according to his spelling and that of Pittier,
the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is
the pronunciation given by the Bribri today.
There is, nevertheless, another angle to this
problem, particularly if one accepts the state-
ment that the Bribri Singers could come from
one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples
when singing and the adoption of foreign
songs even by the laymen. These aspects will
be discussed later under Curing and Songs,
respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéhrwək*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Cabecar

[P. 31 (B)]

767 764 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bikə'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at [273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has [756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former usage. Things must be prepared for the soul [775] of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This [768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the geographical location. Government and ecclesiastical authorities have prohibited the funda- [656] [797] mental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] [533] tion between *sini* and *sinəbwak?*. (*See* Social Organization.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.

[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

764 (*see* Fibers). They cover the bark cloth with the leaves of white *bijagua* (*murksí*) and tie it again with the special string. Leaves of the [824] white *bijagua* are essential for the dead. They [264] are not used to wrap or serve food as is the black *bijagua* (*bikuLəkə*) because they have a faint taste and odor. After the feast the bundle is "buried" in the forest. In effect, it is covered with briar bushes and branches or is even placed in a shallow grave.

Gabb [112] gives a description of two deaths he witnessed among the Bribri in the second half of the past century.

In 1947, the writer had the opportunity to be present at a ceremony for a little girl in Cabécar, the account of which follows. When we arrived at the house, a small ceremonial fire called *hamburu* had been made and beside it the *já* had placed a gourd filled with water. As we entered, they put another gourd filled with *chilate*, a preparation of ground maize, ripe bananas, and water, on a white *bijagua* leaf by the fire as well as a cotton burr and a little raised-rim grinding stone with a pestle on top.

Some cotton without seeds was tied with *pita* to a stick. There was also a *mochila* or net carrying bag with two small gourds filled with ground cacao and ground maize, respectively (fig. 11, *b*). The belief is that the soul goes 775 below where the sun comes from. When the sun rises, the soul goes along with it to the sky but always returns below. The food set by the fire is needed for this journey.

764 The *bika'kra* or Organizer of the Feast put this food on the raised shelf where the body was lying hidden by a banana leaf screen made with a pole frame. Then he undertook the task of seeing that there was enough food for the people present.

The grieved mother, a widow, remained apart from everyone, sitting at the very edge of the house, grimly silent. As long as the dead was there, custom decreed that she could not do a thing, neither eat, except to drink chocolate, nor talk at length. She also had to be bathed with hot water by a woman after the body was removed. Meanwhile the Organizer of Feasts arranged the banquet which various women were preparing over a big fire inside the house. He also fixed the raised shelf which was rather fragile.

[112] Gabb, 1875, pp. 497–99.

764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burío*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the ceremonial one which had the food for the [775] dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the [825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as [775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the [775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[997] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
[184] ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are the only persons to touch the body, however. The preparations, including a funeral feast and the blocking of cross roads on the main trail, are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves or a cloth were the usual procedures on the Pacific side before placing the dead in the grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for the first time. The school gave the planks and nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture. A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed mattress, a sack which was over the bed and upon which she lay, were removed by the Burier. On this occasion there were three Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped body and the planks for the cover were nailed on.

During this whole procedure, the family disappeared and none of the stand-bys would look at what was happening. When the coffin was ready, a girl took branches which had been cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretching from both doors of the house to the main trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery, blocking any opening in the path with branches. When a river had to be crossed, branches were placed on the rocks and at the shallow edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house from the grave. The Buriers followed with the coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [177] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the world. The task of the Singer was performed [767] by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítsrwa* and *mínúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *mínúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbuwak*, *sulariwak*, and *ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 51(1)] Cabecar Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[100] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking of them. The good and bad people all go to 775 *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything 772 from beneath the earth to make place for the 776 Indians there. In this underground domain, there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one 753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals themselves. This is one reason why the medicine [756] man has his own and secret name for them.

771 776 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-

[100] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

MYTHS

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by
776 spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god,
776 had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
[614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ṇą* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tǫmí* are guardians of animals. *Lạn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[2] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbó*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dinamą́* in Cabécar and *díkuṇ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bák-namą́* in Cabécar and *tsirule* in Bribri.[161] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuṇ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

[2] [see category 116, p 64. Analyst.]
[2] [see category 116, p 56. Analyst.]

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tpmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tpmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tpmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tpmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* who are souls of the dead. There is more than [774] one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLéjibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLéjibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [141] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ká* in Bribri and *nawá* in Cabécar.
[142] *See* Linguistic Term: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I 783
would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three
weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant,
poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called [262]
variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that [761]
party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns
that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is
a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being
disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they
consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires.
But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first [843]
pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the
house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all
the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge.
In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it [689]
was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be
obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife.
Nya (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman
is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and
has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that
have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either
thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them,
but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the
former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in [262]
his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, [834]
sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm
water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is
complete.

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great 776
spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tribis he is called *Zi-be'*, by the Terrabas *Zö-be'* and by the Borucas, *Si'-bö*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tiribi, *AuA* in Terraba, and *Ku-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bri-bris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these in-
776 habit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are
778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who
[753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Uren, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-jums*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *ba-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to
776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Aseas* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck,
[226] breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

324 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak
[293] further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent
[481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

614 Kipirjk-uak, Edible fruit of a vine clan.
Amu-kir-uak, Agave-patch clan.
616 Tsiru-ru-uak, Ripe chocolate-bean clan.
Uni-uak.
Sibri-uak, Forked post water or ravine clan.
Dauibri-uak, Ravine clan.
Amuk-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Akter-uak, Rocky-place clan.
Kur-ki-uak, Name of place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.
Kacha-ut-uak, Achiote clan.
Bobri-uak, Name of a place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.

776 Pittier, who has published a brief paper on the folklore of the Bribri and the Brunka,[2b] states that their primitive supreme god was named *Sibú*, and was surrounded by secondary divinities called *Sórkurá*, *Jáburu*, and *Surá*, some of them good, others evil, both eternally tricking each other. All men were born from seeds, over which the deities fought. The sacred seeds were kept in baskets which *Sibú* gave into the care of the benevolent gods. The evil deities, however, continually sought for the seeds, and this was the origin of a series of adventures which are still narrated by the surviving pagan Bribri. The skunk is the trickster of Bribri mythology.

773

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibá*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[808] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibá to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabé-
[614] car, an aspirant must belong to one of the following clans: túgwa, bLeriwa, sibawa, sənítswa, ɜ̃ɜ̃əwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred
[198] songs with words in an ancient or secret
[778] language unknown to the general public. These last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri
[754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and
[436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
● 776 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[244] Aguilar P., 1953.
[245] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Otón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[770] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
[172] which are obviously ceremonial have been found in caches associated with the Highland archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano
[171] (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American trait and are still used by medicine men among the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and medicine man staffs were carved as late as the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish, the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11, *c*) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood. There is a mystical connection between the medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact benevolent spirits who help him cure. In Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to the songs of the medicine man in the night; *kər* = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

756 There is still another wooden object used for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuʒeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside the ill person whose hand is held by the curer or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms part of this ceremony.

756 Stones are another very special part of the
778 equipment, the origin of which is also bound up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs). A medicine man may have any number of stones but there are two principal ones with a covering name which is sometimes mistaken by laymen as a third stone. This collective

[144] It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[145] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This [787] is extremely important because without a staff contact with the spirit, *duLar*, the messenger [776] of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLar*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLar* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis* [825] *Episcopus Diaconus* Lessom), hawk, paraquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ékékê*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *siąkure*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *siąbko*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
sią is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabu.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
Theological Beliefs). It also denotes unclean-
[776] liness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
ksisk (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[843] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[783] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
[752] or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

[825] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
926 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sanítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in the raids as the version cited denotes.

[P. 49(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cabécar
Bribri
Changuena

173 The Talamancan medicine man also used
726 his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[155] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured.
[103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper
● 776 Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress
[103] and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited
[614] by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried
173 *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he
776 wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called
[103] *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[155] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 51(A)] Cabecar Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[180] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking 775 of them. The good and bad people all go to *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything 772 from beneath the earth to make place for the 776 Indians there. In this underground domain, 753 there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals themselves. This is one reason why the medicine [756] man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-

776 [180] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many
776 of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god, had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god
776 mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
[614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ṇą* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tǫmí* are guardians of animals. *Lǫn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[1] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbó*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dínamą́* in Cabécar and *díkuṇ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bák-namą́* in Cabécar and *tsirule* in Bribri.[161] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuṇ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

[1] [see category 116, p. 64. Analyst.]
[2] [see category 116, p. 56. Analyst.]

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* who are souls of the dead. There is more than [774] one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLážibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLážibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [181] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ká* in Bribri and *namú* in Cabécar.
[180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

● 776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small [484] fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they [782] do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from [487] Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at *surstsaṇku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

urigakí is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book.[1]

(1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order [776] to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[772] [163] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

[1] [See category 116, pp 75-95 - Analyst.]

The Creation of the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

+ 539 82 *sibu* thought of making a moon so he got *arragropa*, a woman, to make it. It wasn't bright enough so he had to get a man to make a disk.

The Creation of the Sun

(*Bribri*)

sibu was annoyed that the moon did not brighten the world because he wanted to create man. He made a man and ordered him to make Sun. The man made a clay sun and hung it in the center of the sky. It brightened the world.

(3) The Myth of the Sun [168]

(*Bribri*)

The sun is Christian and a man, a valiant man, which *sibu* left us to light up the world. And he also left the moon to help him. If *sibu* hadn't left the sun, the world would be dark and cold. This is why *sibu* gave the sun heat so it could heat up the earth.

The moon was a woman and has no heat. *sibu* left her to light up the night.

As there are both the sun and the moon we can exist and live well.

The Reason for the Sun

(*Cabécar*)

Below us lies another world where the sun goes at night to light up. There is still another sun, however, which never moves but stays with *sibu* in heaven. When the world was first made there was no light. The devils were masters of the world, but *sibu* was the king. The chief of the devils said he would make light because he detested darkness. *sibu* did not approve, but the devil chief made a very small light because the devil's eyes were fire

[168] *See* Linguistic Texts: *divo*.
[169] Today in Panama.
[170] This is a Spanish term applied to Indian graves. It also signifies buried treasure.
[171] The Cabécares claim that the *arbaLu* made the

[776]

* 539 821 and they could catch light in their hands. It could not shine far, but it was light. *sibu* thought if he didn't do something, the devils would be more powerful than he. This is why he made the sun. He made it so everyone could see it, even the ants.

The Sea

(*Bribri*)

* 539 *sibu* made the world for his house and the sky for the roof. In the center which was in Chiriqui [169] he put a tree. This became the center of the world. The tree grew so rapidly that *sibu* was alarmed it would pierce the roof. He sent for the *kambra*, the lords of the ● [776] *huacas*,[170] who inhabited the world before the sun dawned and who made the grinding stones one finds in ancient graves. The *kambra* were bad spirits and *sibu* thought he could get rid of them by chopping the tree and having it fall on top of them. He only cut the portion with leaves, however. When this fell, the *kambra* held on to it and it became the sea. As this happened in Chiriqui where there was salt, the sea is salty.

The *kambra* later left Chiriqui and made the savannas here.[171] They wanted to work and plant them, but they were bad people. *sibu* felt he could not let man have what they had. For this reason there are two kinds of all the plants the Bribri need. When the *kambra* planted agave with thorns, *sibu* planted it without thorns. Good *pejibaye* was due to *sibu*; the bad to the *kambra*. The same is true of cacao.

The Sea [172]

(*Cabécar*)

In the beginning, there was only a large rock and no earth. *sibu* wanted earth so there could be people. He sent a beautiful woman named Sea to tell Thunder that he wanted to consult with him. Thunder refused to leave, so *sibu* continued to send Sea to persuade him. When Sea became pregnant, Thunder decided to go.

savannas and were the original occupants of the general region on the Pacific slope.

[172] This version was published by the writer in Honduras (*see* Stone, 1949a, p. 20) and was later reprinted in Costa Rica.

*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

sibu arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[173] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

Lightning

(*Cabécar*)

*539 821 ● 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuphan*.

The Rain

(*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karuibiké-*

[825] [173] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybides* Fam.).

[174] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

*539 *gra* and *karqimina*. The medicine man has to
821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
make rain or to stop the rain. September is
● 776 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
756 the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds
[241] will not be washed away. It is then that the
jawá chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

karqilikégra, karqimina
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [174]

(*Bribri and Cabécar*)

When *bukubLuie*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

(*Cabécar*)

*589 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
[753] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *seyé tsinkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2-4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(*Cabécar*)

*539 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother
●776 left him to live with his uncle by marriage,
821 *tio politico*, and had another son called *cuburɔ*.
823 *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namá*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the
[825] Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[178] [180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sɔjersɔ* (people) *juar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 *anus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
●776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
823 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
[825] lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
821 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamą́* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamą́*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamą́* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

> It is not with me
> This tree is my fruit
> This house is mine
> The trees are mine
> Go on to fight with others,
> This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamą́* (*bák namą́*) couldn't drown the people.

(8) *serike's* Mother[181]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 ● 776 *serike's* mother is *itsǫ́'s* daughter. *serike* himself is eight men in one. *itsǫ́* ate his own daughter, *serike's* mother. *serike*, the eight-in-one, wanted to go with a woman. He became angry with his grandfather and went with his family to the place where the world ends for four days. He told his grandfather to wait for him. He then went to his grandmother for four days and returned to look for the grandfather. He put on a feathered headdress and carried away and killed the grandfather. When the wind [821] blows daily in the summer it's a sign that *serike* is mad.

How *serike* Got his Staff

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 The family of *serike* had four long benches on which they sat to play ball. One day while he and his older brothers were playing [182] ball, he threw it too high and it fell into the largest *jaba* (basket) which hung on the roof side. Everyone looked for it without success. Finally *serike* said that he knew where it was and climbed up to the *jaba*.

There he found the ball and a jaw with teeth which said to him, "My son, why are you so careless that you don't know what's happened? I am your mother and you haven't noticed."

"When were you killed? Who did it?" the boy asked.

"It was your uncle who lives in the pool by the cliff."

"My little mother, tell me in what way we can revenge your death," the boy cried.

The jaw with teeth replied saying, "Don't you know that with two chile peppers you can get him. The old man eats chile. Take your hook and bait it with chile and fish out the demon, *bák namú*. Deceive him as he deceived me.

"He deceived me telling me that we were going hunting *dantas* (tapirs) as he knew I like *dantas*. Why I even carried a *jaba* full of peeled and toasted plantains and made a small shelter to sleep in.

"Your uncle sent me with a dog to run a

[181] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tserke amí*.

[776] [182] It should be remembered that *serike* is considered

*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namá* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namá*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [183]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namá*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namá* and his uncle, *aroromosa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromosa* smokes cigars there is a breeze. [821]

[776] [415] [824]

as five or eight men together.

[183] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[184]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

* 539
● 776
823

dinamą is an evil spirit. When the river water is white or milky, it's because *dinamą* has colored himself white. When it becomes a muddy red, it means that he has changed his color. If the rising or flood river is red, however, and not a muddy red, it is because the mother of the river *diminą* is menstruating. There is more than one water-jaguar and they function below large pools or waterfalls or when the rivers are high. Their fangs are large and red, and they have two tails. When a water-jaguar bites trees, as happens in flood times, the trees dry up from the heat of these fangs. When they bite people, they drag them down in the water, drown them, and eat them. It is easy to tell when a water-jaguar has caused a person's death. Their method of killing is to break the front of the skull in two places, and to bite them on the forehead and on the knees.

[761]

The first *dinamą* was the grandson of an old woman named *dikú witcké*. She was so bad that *sibu* did not allow her to live on earth. Therefore, her home is under the sea where she lives together with her grandson. *dinamą* inherited much of his grandmother's meanness, and she keeps an eye on him. When the surf thunders, it is a sign that he is about to leave the sea and go up the rivers after people. It is his grandmother who makes this noise because she is afraid that he will not return, and she watches at the river mouths to punish him.

(9a, b, and c) The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[185]

(*Cabécar*)

This river flows and goes and where it ends *oLobəsią* is watching that animals do not pass who eat men. When *oLobəsią* grows careless, however, the water-jaguar who eats men passes. It is then that people drown. What

[761]

[184] Known also as: *dinamą, bák-namą, ják namá tsirute*, and *dikun* or *dikum*.

[185] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ják namą* (stone-jaguar) *dinamą* (water-jaguar). Also see The Myth of *óknamą* and Linguistic Texts: *ók-nam-ąte*.

* 539 really happens to them is that they are eaten
●776 by the water-jaguar.
823 *oLobəsią* becomes aware that *dínamą́* has
[761] gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

(10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 The river flows downward and reaches the
776 mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the
823 water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the
821 river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it
[731] carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

(11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He
776 lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the
823 river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,
761

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *siá* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrastn*, and Linguistic Texts: *di-namą́*.

*539 make him sleep. It is then that the water-
●776 jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He
823 searches for cacao, and when he discovers a
761 well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamą́* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamą́*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 (*Cabécar*)

776 When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes
761 up and down inviting people to drink cacao
[823] with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after
[825] people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas
103 through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires
[133] to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on al-
[487] most all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamąte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namą́ tɔ́* (jaguar print).

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *sibawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P64(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

*589 [535] taught people how to dance and to sing the *following song:*

> *sibu* came in the form of a buzzard
> dressed as a man,
> Collar on his neck.
> The collar reflected,
> He came with the collar
> Ejené, ekujé,[199]
> Ejené, eanjé,[199]
> He came to give us the dance
> He came from the air.
> Ejené, ekujé,
> Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound [825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [199] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.

[533] [199] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

*539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

*539 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO***

(*Bribri*)

*539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiṇə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiṇə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

*539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

*** *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 The common dances among the Bribri are 773 those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[208] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLak*).

535 Another celebration to do with happiness 342 and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kǫmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's
224
533

[776] [208] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found
[172] in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars
[171] associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

(21) *duLeto*[212]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
533

Old timers, let's go;
Let's dance.
Now let's walk forward;
There's a place to see, old timers;
There's no place to see.
masLakésLa, the mountain, touches the river.
Let's go.

(22) Song for Cutting Wood for a House[213]

(*Bribri*)

We are going to tear down the house of *itsó*
where we went to hide
and when we reach our house with it
then we shall sing.

(23) Sister[214]

(*Bribri*)

Where sister, little ugly sister,
Where are you standing?
In what place are you coming on a raft?
Or in what place are you going.

(24) Lullaby,[215] Version 1

(*Bribri*)

Hush little one.
Don't you cry dear child
Sleep quietly
Why cry little one, baby.
Sleep, sleep, quietly sleep
Mother has gone to bring you a flower
Little ugly one, sleep quietly.

Lullaby, Version 2

(*Bribri*)

Little child, don't you cry, don't cry
While your mother goes to bring plantains.
Don't cry while your mother goes to plant cuttings.

[776]
[342]

[212] *itsó* is a spirit who doesn't die so they sing this in the belief that the house will last a long time. *See* Linguistic Texts: *itsó*.
[214] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tɔʒe*. This song is sung frequently by women when working.
[215] *See* Linguistic Texts: *aLaLa bua*.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539 stone jaguar small. *aLobosję*[388] [who is a] man was watching. He slept. (*Z*) He saw [that the stone jaguar] had passed. He sent the kingfisher [and] the cormorant after [him]. He awoke. He sent searchers. *aLobosję* was going to eat him. He passed through the center of the sea. He remained on the earth.

9b. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*, another version of the Stone Jaguar)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. *sibu* made this earth for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile he [the water-jaguar] passed. He woke up. . (*Z*) Then *serike* sent a cormorant to look for him [the water-jaguar] to eat. The road of the water-jaguar goes within the sea. He stays here in this place.

9c. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*) (Version 3)

1. [The water-jaguar] goes up the flowing river. *aLobosję* is there where this river ends. The water-jaguar goes up this [i.e., the river]. He eats us. When the river rises high, then the water carries us away. Then he eats us.

2. Then *serike* comes to carry him beneath the mountains. [From] there he takes the water-jaguar [and] carries him to *aLobosję*. (*Z*) *serike* comes. He comes with wind, with rainstorms. The river rises [and] he arrives to fight with *bukubLura* who carried off the mother of *serike*.

3. To this place he carries everything he finds as he carries the devil to give him to *aLobosję* to eat. When it thunders then *aLobosję* [is] hungry.

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aLobosję jəšišwa mege iswą. kapawą. (*Z*) swąitera ikawmi. trak patkaite, tǫgLə patkaite itagi. ǐkjnagą. išulek patkaite. oLobosią-te i-kəte-gǵwa. tkəgeu dəše[389] ǐaną. atanagę́ ji kągi sokəta.

9b. dí-namą́

1. šis mą išo dí-namą́. ką ji šuá sibote sojeną. jəšíšíwá kíLə ikénana. i-kapə́ąa. jedLéaka i-jkáją. ǐkjnaga. (*Z*) jégipa serikete tągLə patká išoLə kətéite. dí-namą́ ną́Lə tkə́wə́ dəše ǐawą. jiska kągi i-atanągę́.

9c. dí-namą́

1. jí digLə ramíu jenena ǐtkageąra. oLobosią kíLme jí digLə ną́jkukə ska. dí-namą́ rogeteą jete sejé kətégewą. mígą digLə pąr tąi, jera digLową so manę́tąmi. jera jiete so katáwą.

2. jera serike botągene itąmi kąbta rąina. jéska jiete i-šegesą mígə-ne oLobosią ją. (*Z*) serike botągera. idatse ąwą ra kLjra. digLə pąr gera bukubLura ną́jpągę serikera jenerə imina-ná maLetLotaejwa.

3. ką jéró bigíLe kuąite nębi boirə je mjągneiwą oLobosią chową-gLə. mígą ką buLąrgę jera oLobosią blǐlaté.

[776] [388] Many spirit names are formed by components of the words for the sacred stones and the bustard (see Songs: *Song of the Bustard Dance*) or by the words themselves. Thus in *aLobosję* we have *aLə* (bustard in Cabécar; in Bribri *aLə*) and *sję* (the over-all term for the sacred stones).

[389] Also means "salt."

[P.82]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

*539

10. *serike* and the Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. In the beginning *sibu* made this place for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile the water-jaguar passed. He woke up. (*Z*) Then *serike* sent the cormorant to look for [him so that] he could eat [him]. The road of the water-jaguar passes through the sea. Here in this place he remained.

11. *ók-namá-te*[371] (*Cabécar*)

1. *ók-namá-te* protects us. In the time of[372] pregnancy then he sleeps. Then the water-jaguar passes to bother us. When we drown[373] in the water then he drinks us like cacao. (*Z*) He considers[374] us as ripe cacao. He breaks [it[375] and] he puts [it] on his back. He goes with this from pool to pool[376] [saying] "let's drink cacao." People do not believe him.

2. Where the owner of the pool says, "Good," then there he drinks us. Then he throws away our body. Then *ók-namá* awakes. He sees [that] the weeds are dry.[377] Then he passes quickly. He sends the cormorant to look for [him] with *serike*.

3. The water-jaguar [is] bad. Because of this he hides far away. But there *serike* takes [him]. (*Z*) All who drink cacao like this *serike* carries all to *ók-namá*.

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10. serikete dí-namá

1. ši̇s mą ilo dí-namá. ką jí šuá sibote sógoto so-jéną. jošíšíwá káLu ikónana. i-kapáya. jedLéiska i-jkájy. ikjnągą. (*Z*) jégipa serikete tógLo patká iši̇oLo kotéi-te. dí-namá ną̨Lągi tkóju ró daše šąwa. jiuka kągi i-atanągę.

11. ók-namą-te

1. ók-namą-te sejé kananęgę. bigugę bukLu[377] kéaka jera jié kapajánami. jera dí-namą tkugęjú sejé wahLéwą. bigugé sejé šénawą digLó-ná jera jiéte so šawą tsiru šé. (*Z*) sejé sąąite tsiró Li. butsogęksąite je megągai-te itikigj. je-wa imigę tipo etka, etka, "so tsirú šo." ka pote ikuge.

2. maj tipo guaguá teišá, "ajo," jera jéska sejé šegęwąite. jera so kuLíto jąájtsąite.[378] jera ók-namą ikinagá. teisugę kaká tsinatuLamí. jera ijkájy bękti. togLo patkegęi-te iši̇uLo serike-ra.

3. dí-namą ro seLwí. je-kueigj jekbLągę komi. jera jéska serike teišegętsą. (*Z*) kLabete tsiró ša jegopi kLabé migę serike-wą ók-namą-ją.

[776]

[371] This spirit guards the entrance to the world under the sea.
[372] Literally, "when."
[373] Literally, "die."
[374] Literally, "looks at."
[375] I.e., us.
[376] Literally, "pool other other."
[377] The mark of the water on the vegetation on the river banks is a sign of flood.
[843] [377] A pregnant woman is said to be *kukLu*. The idea is that something evil or dangerous is in her (*see* Taboo).
[378] This signifies that the body is washed to the river bank and floats.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ." [84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [476] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).

301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark [824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own [237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konp* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).

[Text continues top of P. 21(B)--Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every [248] household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[Text continues bottom of P. 21(B)--Analyst]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of deer hide are used for minute bags which [824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often [252] made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, up to twelve feet in length and supported by [273] four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tiribi, *AuA* in Terraba, and *Ka-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bri-bris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these inhabit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are 776 778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who [753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-wo, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-wo. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Uron, would echo back from this hill to Sar-wo and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-jum*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *bu-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to 776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Asas* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck, breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who [226] were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak 824 further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent [293] [481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the 756
Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take for- 791
eign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. 789
He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, [276]
calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford; one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather. He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Cartago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success, and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he had the effrontery to calmly claim it as his doing! They also claim to "blow" a proposed route of travel, so as to drive away snakes and bring good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming 755
away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sick- [123]
ness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are used, and are said to be equally efficacious.

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt for a day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addi- 756
tion to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmities. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic [778]
merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend, who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One purported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamorphic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction. My little knowledge of medicine, and a moderately well-supplied medi- 123
cine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

301 237 789 778 *Necklaces.*—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

301 Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

301 321

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

●778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

[p. 25-B]

FOLKLORE

But the mother would say, "My child is what I want. Where is he?" 539

The father did not like this, and moved the boy to a different place, and gave him the name of San-kra'-ua so that the mother would not know where he lived.

The Serpent. This is a legend which is concerned with the creek and site of Boruca itself. The hole mentioned in the story is still pointed out between two of the undulating hills in the town. The serpent has a mystical connection with the serpent who thunders by rattling his tail, and with the Laguna de Sierpe which forms one of the seven mouths of the Diquis River. [178]

The serpent lived in the hole. He came out, and the woman was behind him at the edge of the entrance. The snake waited for her to give him chicha so he would become drunk, and they would embrace. Then she laughed with the snake. Then they bathed together in the Diquis River. Then the snake went to sleep in his hole, and the woman went to her house to make more chicha, so that day-after-tomorrow again the snake would become drunk. Thus they behaved.

Then the woman became pregnant by the snake. Then the people and the sun knew. Then the mother of the girl bewitched him, so that he was burned hanging.

Then the girl gave birth, and the people stood by ready with machetes to kill the little snakes. They were ready with machetes and with sticks. One little snake did not have a tail. The mother of the girl burned them all. Nothing remained but ashes. The mother felt sorry, and cried for her daughter.

It ends here. All of it.

The Legend of the Kagõera. The Kagõera were a branch of the *Boruca* who lived at a site called Vanilla between Curré and Lagarto. They were in the habit of making frequent visits to Drake's Bay, on the coast near the Osa Peninsula. The Kagõera could be distinguished from the rest of the tribe by a golden plaque which they wore on their forehead.

Among the Kagõera was a brother and a sister who lived together as a married couple.

[p. 28-B]

1/1 [See p. 428 for orthography.—Analyst]

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabé-
[614] car, an aspirant must belong to one of the following clans: túgwa, bLeriwa, síbawa, sənítswa, ɟɔɟɔwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred
[198] songs with words in an ancient or secret language unknown to the general public. These
● [778] last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri
[754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and
[436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
776 known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[244] Aguilar P., 1953.
[245] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Orón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[770] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
[172] which are obviously ceremonial have been found in caches associated with the Highland archeology on the slopes of Irazú volcano (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American
[171] trait and are still used by medicine men among the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and medicine man staffs were carved as late as the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish, the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11, *c*) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood. There is a mystical connection between the medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact benevolent spirits who help him cure. In Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to the songs of the medicine man in the night; *kər* = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

756 There is still another wooden object used for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuʒeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside the ill person whose hand is held by the curer or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms part of this ceremony.

756 Stones are another very special part of the
778 equipment, the origin of which is also bound up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs). A medicine man may have any number of stones but there are two principal ones with a covering name which is sometimes mistaken by laymen as a third stone. This collective

It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[146] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 term is *sią* or *sienkúsiwa*. Individually, they are
778 called *kúsuwa* or *dikúsiwa; sorkúsiwa* or *sorkúsuwa*. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves. Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to the medicine man on special occasions, or are handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan. When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish to give his own stones to a young professional, his brother or clan keeps them until a new doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without these two stones although other ones are also used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the particular animal when one hunts and it is for this reason the Indians say that medicine men never lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose a medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kuę́;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsuonanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

*539 trees and invited him to drink cacao out of new gourds. The chief replied that he would like to very much, but these little trees never produced. *sibu* answered, "Look! They do have fruit."

The other turned and seeing that the little trees had borne fruit said, "Good. Let's prepare the drink."

sibu made a mixture and together they started to drink but he only pretended. The worm chief set to and when he was full, vomited the *jabu* he had previously swallowed with everything in it.

Then *sibu* collected his seeds, saying that they were his. He dried them in the sun and from these we came.

The Populating of the Pacific Side of the Cordillera of Talamanca

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

At the beginning when *sibu* made the world, it was dark. Three men left Cabécar, in Talamanca, and cut a trail across the range. They were, *saLəʒəbí*, who led the group, *kuasrun*,[176] who became the first member of the Borucas, and his brother-in-law, *ʒəwik*.

In those days, the savannas on the other side (Pacific) were inhabited by the *sórbru*, the owners of the *tnakas*.[177] These were bad people who lived by killing others and did not want the people of Talamanca to dwell amongst them. When the three men reached Ujarrás, there was still no sun, but on arriving at Térraba, day began to break. It was then that a jaguar upon which one of the men was riding, [778] put his paw on a soft rock and the print stayed there.[178]

The owners of the *tnakas* disturbed the men so that they sent for an *usegLa*. He came from Talamanca in the form of a jaguar and killed all the *sórbru*. Then other people began to come from Talamanca to populate this side of the range.

[103] [176] Today this name is applied to the ridge that runs from China Kichá, in General Valley, to Boruca. According to the Borucas, *kuasrun* fled there during the Spanish conquest and lives in a cave. He is the oldest of the Borucas and knows all about their beginnings, but no one has seen him. They do not say that he came from Talamanca.

[192] [177] This is a phonetic (Cabécar) interpretation of

[P.58(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

(6) The Myth of the Eagle [178]

(*Cabécar, but taken over by the Bribri*)

* 639 The *túgwa* say that in the beginning of the world there was a large eagle who carried off all men and animals to his nest for food for his young ones. This eagle lived on a high peak in a place known as *suLéǰibí* which lies at the headwaters of the Tiliri River in Talamanca.

People did not know what to do because everyone was carried off. Finally, one man offered to kill the eagle. He made a cage of black palm (*Iriartea* sp.) and a knife of the same material. Then the man entered the cage.

The eagle carried him in this to the peak thinking he would have good food for his young ones and left him there believing his prey was safe. Returning to earth, he seized another man and fed him to his offspring.

When the eagle and his companion were asleep, the man in the cage crept out with his knife to kill the eagle. The eagle's companion turned to stone and the eagle himself fell headfirst into a lagoon which lay below his nest. When he touched the water, flames came forth; he was furious because he was the owner of the lagoon. The man became frightened at this and re-entered the cage. Then he threw a rope over the cliff and lowered himself to the ground.

He told what happened to another person and because he did so, he disappeared.

The Stone in the Talire River

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

● [778] In the upper Talire, there is a large boulder. This was the big eagle *p'u*. There were originally four: the mother, the father, and two children. They fell in flames into the lagoon and are now the boulder in the river. (*See p'u* in Linguistic Texts.)

[192] the Spanish word, *busca*, which literally means "a buried treasure." It is the term used in Costa Rica to signify Indian burials and the objects obtained from the graves.

[778] [178] This rock is situated in the savanna known as Mano del Tigre on the trail leading from Buenos Aires to Boruca.

[179] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ʒis, mq ilu Lɔga p'u.*

*539 776 823 761 make him sleep. It is then that the water-jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He searches for cacao, and when he discovers a well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamą* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamą*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 776 761 [823]

(*Cabécar*)

When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

[825] *onombrasén*, who is a spirit who looks after people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 103 [133] [487] *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on almost all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamąte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namą tś* (jaguar print).

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
103 caused by nature which with the help of the
[133] imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

* 539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *ɬɔwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *ɬɔwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

(14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[778] [193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave.

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *kɨ́ɜuLu namɨ́* (hunt jaguar).

*539 At night, they were given a large jug for a bed.

One of the prisoners noticed that the head of the house would go out to hunt but as soon as he left, the roar of a jaguar was heard. He spied on the man and discovered that outside of the house he was a jaguar but, by shaking himself, his hide fell off and he became a man who went into the forest.

The watching prisoner crept up to the jaguar skin and carried it off. When the man returned and did not find his jaguar skin, he became furious and began to eat the people.

One old woman, seeing the awful things that were happening, heated an earthen rod and stuck it in the mouth of the man-jaguar while he slept. Then she quickly hid in a little tunnel she had prepared beforehand. This is how the people in Alta Talamanca were rid of such a terrible scourge.

The Medicine Man's Stones

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

*539 756 ●778 When *sibu* made the first eight medicine men, he died for four days. Three of these men predicted that he would not stay dead but would go to the sky. One of these was *díkúswa* who was once a water bird and when he said that *sibu* would never die he was made into the most powerful of the *siá* or medicine man's three principal stones. All medicine men know when they themselves are going to die as [763] *díkúswa* disappears or divides himself in half. He is so powerful that only the most powerful doctors dare to use *díkúswa*. The majority rely on *sorkuswa*. All the *siá*, however, communicate with *sibu* and the medicine men in a "sacred" or private language unknown to the layman. [198]

(15) The Sacred Stones[195]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

There is a spot in Talamanca where there are large boulders. Here live the *siá*, the medicine men's stones. A new medicine man, if it is possible, goes there and leaves grains of white maize on the rocks at night. The next morning the stones appear.

[195] *See* Linguistic Texts: *siá*.

*539 *gruwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLibu* or *sənítsrua*.
614 The snake is the protector of the *kibegru-*
[824] *wák* clan because long ago at *sənítsrua*, where
[825] they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm
●778 at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from
186 *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the
535 form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[779] [197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an
[177] interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 84]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

* 539

14. Jaguar Hunt (*Cabécar*)

1. Before the Indians feared no one. They went to hunt. They spent much [time] in the forest then returned. One time one [person] went to hunt [and] found this house.

2. The people did not let him return.[284] They made him sleep in a clay vessel. He saw that the people went to hunt. (*2*) There they turned into jaguars. He saw that the jaguars turned [into people and] they shook themselves. The hide fell off. Then he became a person.

3. He who saw this hid the clothes. When the owners saw there were no clothes they turned into jaguars [and] ate this person. Then[285] the elder people killed the jaguar.

15. The Sacred Stones (*Bribri*)

1. The pool of the stones [of the medicine man], the pool of the stones, *sibu* left the stones [of the medicine man].

2. He left the pool of the stones for the world, the pool of the stones.

16. Tobacco (*Bribri*)

1. *sibu* is thinking[286] with us. A hummingbird came.

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14. kąšuLu namą

1. kér skąwak káte jirə bigətsəta. imjgę kąšuLə. sergę kąną tąi jegəpa iədagęnę. étabagLə egla imenę kąšəLə jete ju kwą.

2. ká-pete ipátke. skąjuína pete ikəpową. sąąi-tera pé míge kąšəLə. (*2*) jéską ijąrgę namą šę. pé jišišiwá te-isąá namą ratsę nąpákpə. ikuLítə jąnątsą. jera tsértsə-irə.

3. je pé te-isąą, téipaigLə bLáwa. bigúge iguaguá te-isąąra kái-páigLə juona jera išanáne namą šę jéte tsertsə katáwą. jégipa pé míkoLate namą ktaąą.

15. sją

1. sją-ditę,[287] sją-dipe, sją-męat sibu-tə.

2. sją-dipe kąta-tejat,[288] sją-dipe.

16. duą

1. sibu tsó-bikək[289] šątą. nąbotsą[290] debjtę.

[284] Literally, "sent them behind."
[285] Then *or* afterwards *or* later.
[286] Literally, "curing" as the medicine men do is implied here and not thinking.
[287] This signifies a place, i.e., the sacred pool in Talamanca where the stones "live."
[288] Medicine man's word.
[289] Medicine man's word.
[290] Medicine man's term.

[778]

[P. 86]

*539

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

19. *dikúswa*[201] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikúswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikúswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikúswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[202] You will never die." (*Z*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikúswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *kúswa*], dance [of *kúswa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

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19. dikúswa

1. ɛ̨tsą̨ kụLɛ́,[203] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[204] patkẹmj ɛ̨tsą̨ kụLɛ̨́-i-tsúk. buLáme-tą, sibu-tə dikúswa ichake, "ɓu-ruówami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iụ́té, "ké bu-ruókua. be-ẹə emę. ké be-ruókwą ɓụtę.[205] (*Z*) é-kuegi sibu-tə dikúswa[206] meąt-ɔé buąúnmeLe.

20. buLtakuLe[207]

1. kaogogə[208] kaageé jaegoange[209] kaanjé jaegogog.
kaanjé egoange kaanjé.

2. ta-kueą,[210] kuen-dí,[211] ta-kuen-dí, Lạn[212]-dí,
ta-soLoLa soLori,
ta-daa-donchi.
jɛ̨́[213]-iberke ikɔtsą́, jɛ̨́-iberke jɛ̨́n.

3. kaanjeeé[214] jekaa jéeé.

[755] [201] This is the medicine man's song against sickness. [202] I.e., that you are sick.
[552] [203] *kụLɛ́* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kụLɛ́*.
[778] [204] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cuyeo.
[205] This also means "nothing."
[206] The connotation is that the bird, *dikúswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikúswa*.
[197] [207] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[208] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[172] [209] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[210] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[211] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle. [212] *See* Theological Beliefs.
[213] *jɛ̨́* and *jɛ̨́n* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *kúswa*.
[214] These sounds signify adornments.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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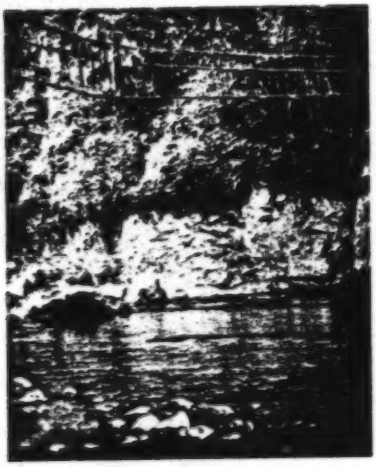
764



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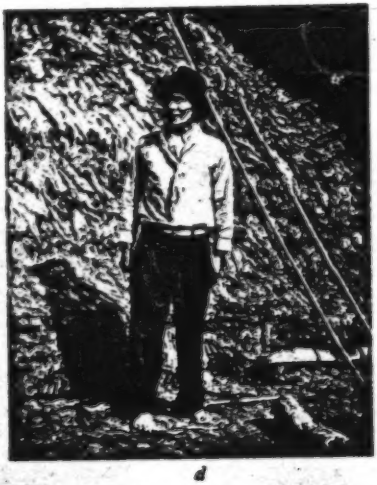

d

a, Vine bridge, Alta Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alta Coen. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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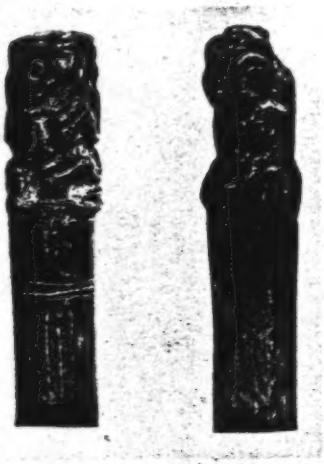
[172]



a

b

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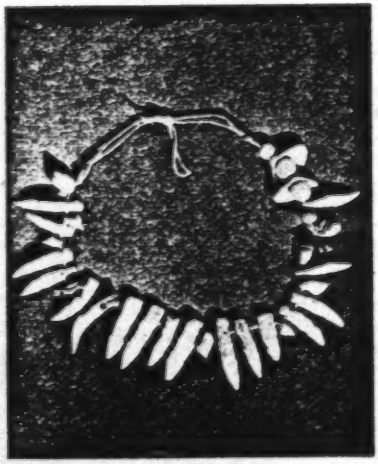
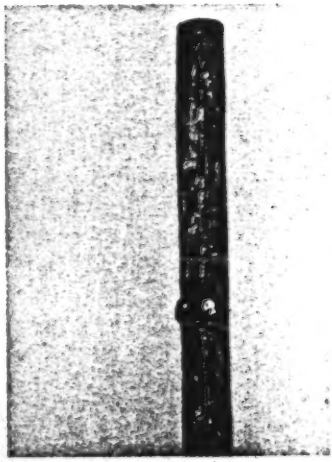


c



d

a, Ceremonial staff from cache on slopes of Irazú volcano, Central Plateau. *b*, Ceremonial staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Orón Jiménez L.). *c*, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bone, and beads to ward off evil (property of Don Julio Callejas T.). *d*, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beetle sights.

[END PLATE 11]

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
sią is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu* who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No one, not even the greatest medicine man, has ever seen him. He confers with the stone and disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some medicine men say that they have heard his presence in the sense that in the dead of night, when waiting for an answer, there is sometimes a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost importance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes *bukLú* and if it is his bad luck to return ill, then it is very dangerous. The only way to remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all around the house, touching it with a stick, and then to do the same to everything inside. The Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and *kəiək* (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[843] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[783] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
[752] should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the *bukLú* in her compel her to die.

825 Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 47(B)—Analyst]

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
926 between legend and actual history. Events are reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men of the Cabécares still recount their version of war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150] The following is an Indian account of this event.

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom of P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 825 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals [779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt [224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro- [776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated 753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be 825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is [776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had [756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. 784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch 825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* 614 Death) are the only persons who can touch 262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct [767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch [775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *mínúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *mínúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in 726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Terrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

*539 614 [824] [825] *grurwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítsrwa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítsrwa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the
[177] Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in regard to marriage is illustrated by the forma-
614 tion of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[184] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
[423] or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
[565] classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small [484] fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they [782] do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at [487] *surstsapku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

urigakí is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book.[1/4]

(1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order [776] to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[168] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[772] [168] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

[1/4 See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large
103 rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
[133] caused by nature which with the help of the imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

* 539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *ʃəwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *ʃəwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

(14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[778] [193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave.

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *kəʃuLu namuʃ* (hunt jaguar).

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green. By means of three strings, this was swung under a pole, ten feet long, raised on the shoulders of two men, who trotted off unconcernedly to the woods a mile or so distant. They were accompanied by two or three more, armed with machetes. 766

A little boy whom I had for a servant for a few months, died on one of my journeys. We watched by him and did all in our power to save him, and were assisted by two of our men, one of whom was an "*awa*" or doctor. As soon as we saw that he was dying, and I had given up the last hope, the *awa* took charge. He motioned us all off. From that moment the moribund becomes unclean and only the *awa* can touch him. As soon as we pronounced him dead, the doctor covered him up. Next morning, the death taking place about midnight, without ceremony he was bundled up in his blanket and the usual leaves, and carried off in the same manner to the bush. But he was of no consequence. Only a boy who was nobody and had done nothing. I mention this case to show the difference in treatment, according to the person. 764

Next to a woman in her first pregnancy, the most *bu-ku-ru'* (unclean) thing is a corpse. An animal that passes near one after it is placed in its temporary resting-place, is defiled forever, and must be killed, as unfit for food. Accordingly, an unfrequented spot is selected, where tame pigs or cattle never go. Here a low bench is made of straight sticks, about the size of a coffin, raised a foot or two from the ground; it is carefully fenced in; the corpse is laid on it, and the whole is then covered with another horizontal layer, making a sort of box, carefully bound together with vines. Over all, a pile of branches and brush-wood is thrown so that buzzards and other carrion-eating animals cannot obtain access to the body. The body remains here about a year, to allow complete decomposition. 764 783

In the meantime, the family, or next of kin, on whom devolves the responsibility, proceeds to secure a sufficient number of animals, pigs, or beeves, according to the importance of the defunct. He also plants a corn-field, to supply the material for the chicha. About a year, more or less, after the death, one or more priests are engaged. Generally one is sought and he selects his assistants. For an ordinary person, one is sufficient; while for a chief, or person of distinction half-a-dozen are hardly enough. The chief fixes the time when he will be ready. Another official, a steward, called *Bi-ka'-kra* is also engaged. This latter personage takes entire charge as commissary and master of ceremonies. Under his direction, the corn is ground for the chicha. The number of bunches of plantains that he orders, is obtained; the animals are killed and cooked as he directs; and the food and drink are served to whom, and in what quantities he designates. The host resigns all to him and becomes thenceforth merely a guest, until all is over. 764

When the day approaches, a party goes to the place where the body was deposited. One person, set apart for similar unclean work, opens the package, cleans and re-arranges the bones and does them all up in a

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766 in part unintelligible to the uninitiated. At the end of each stanza was
[533] a chorus, where the priests, who during the stanza kept time with their rattles, now gave a peculiar twirl, and the lay singers joined in the chorus.

As the song approached its end, the leader was furnished with a big gourd of steaming chocolate, holding about a quart. As he finished, landing the dear departed safe beyond further troubles, he announced it with a most unearthly yell, in which all hands joined; he at the same time turning the chocolate over the fire, totally extinguishing it. The party at once arose and for a minute or two all was bustle and confusion of preparation.

A person, whose office it is to handle the dead, endeavored to lower the
[767] bundle but it was a little out of his reach. Nobody else could touch it
for fear of defiling himself. To lend a hand would have cost an Indian
[783] three days of purification. I drew my long knife, which all learn to carry in this country, as an actual necessity; and with a couple of blows cut the fastenings and brought the little cane rack, bundle of bones and all, tumbling into the outstretched arms of the official, with much more haste than solemnity. Nobody seemed shocked, and being a foreigner, and
[123] withal a medicine man, who had made cures where their best doctors had failed, I was of course impregnable to *bu-ku-ru'*. The aforesaid official now lashed the package to its stick, and two long slender strings of loosely twisted cotton were tied to the head of the package.

Santiago had had three wives. One of them had re-married to his suc-
[587] cessor; but there were two remaining in widowhood. A procession was formed. First came the priests with their rattles. Next the chorus singers with their drums. Next the corpse, borne by two men, and preceded by the two widows, each holding the end of one of the cotton strings, leading the dead, as it were, to his final resting-place. Next ourselves, as the most distinguished persons present, and escorted by the two chiefs. Behind us came the older men, and following them the usual rag, tag, and bob-tail of young men, women, boys, and persons of no account generally. Some of the boys however, true to boy nature, were as usual irrepressible, and instead of keeping decorously in place, skirmished ahead, and on the flanks of the procession, mounting stumps, logs, or other commanding points to take in the general effect of the pageant. As the procession filed out of the house, some old chicha jars
[768] were carried out and ostentatiously broken; but I observed that nothing of real value was destroyed. As soon as the line got fairly under way, the priests struck up another song which was kept up until the procession halted.

Everybody had been on so long a debauch that it was decided to take a rest of three or four days before the party started off. But it was necessary that the bones should be removed from the house. A temporary ranch had therefore been built a few hundred yards distant; and to this the remains were carried and deposited until the bearers were in a fit condition to proceed.

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775 When I asked an Indian where it went, he responded, to the country of *Si-bu'*, and in reply to the question; where is that? he pointed unhesitatingly to the zenith. On inquiring where the road was, he told me it was invisible to the eyes of the living, but that the spirit (*wig'bru*) could see it.

In the other world there are no troubles, no cares. There is plenty to eat and to drink, of those things that the Indian loves most here. Plantains and corn are never wanting; meat and chicha are always to be had; and chocolate, the luxury, *par excellence* of the Costa Rican Indian never runs out, or becomes scarce as, alas too often, it does in Talamanca. He needs all his arms and implements, but it does not seem that he will be obliged to work. These little discrepancies, the wisest *Tsu-gur* does not attempt to explain. After death, the soul remains wandering about near the corpse until the burial feast. Then, by means of the songs of the *Tsu-gurs* or priests, it makes its journey to the "promised land."

783 Their superstitions are however, somewhat more definite and tangible since they affect their every day actions. There are two classes of uncleanness, *nya* and *bu-ku-ru'*. Anything that is essentially filthy, or that was connected with the death of a person is "*nya*," anything unclean in the Hebraic or Hindu sense is *bu-ku-ru'*. But *bu-ku-ru'* is even more powerful than it is supposed to be by the Orientals. It suffices not only [753] to make one sick, but even kills. In a party where *bu-ku-ru'* is excited, it does not affect all alike, but only attacks the weakest. *Bu-ku-ru'* emanates in a variety of ways; arms, utensils, even houses become affected by it after long disuse and before they can be used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a long time, the custom is to beat them with a stick before touching them. I have seen a woman take a long walking stick and beat a basket hanging from the roof of a house by a cord. On asking what that was for, I was told that the basket contained her treasures, that she would probably want to take something out the next day and that she was driving off the *bu-ku-ru'*. A house long unused must be swept and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short, every accessible part of the interior. The next day it is fit for occupation. A place not visited for a long time or reached for the first time, is *bu-ku-ru'*. On our return from the ascent of Pico Blanco, nearly all the party suffered from little calenturas, the result of extraordinary exposure to wet and cold and of want of food. The Indians said that the peak was especially *bu-ku-ru'*, since nobody had ever been on it before. Even we foreigners were sick from it, and had any of them gone to the summit, they would have surely died. On one occasion, while buying some implements, I pulled down off a rack, two or three "blow guns" that, from the dust on them, must have lain there undisturbed for weeks, perhaps months. As I reached out my hand, I heard the warning cry of "*bu-ku-ru'*" from all around; laughingly disregarding it, and telling them that *bu-ku-ru'* couldn't hurt us, I began examining them.

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Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

783 [262] [761] [843] [689]

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

[262] [834]

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zi-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zi-bo'* and by the Boruca, *Si'-bŏk*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

776

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accidental discovery at rare intervals, of a half-rotten trunk in the woods. It is prized principally for its color, which is between that of old mahogany and rosewood, and which is probably in part due to seasoning, or to some change in the heart, consequent on the decomposition of the surface. When an Indian finds one of these sticks, he marks the spot, but dares not take possession immediately. He must purify himself by a three days fast before he can begin work on it. It is believed that these sticks are under the protection of a poisonous snake, and if the person has not properly prepared himself, the guardian will revenge the outrage by biting him. 824 [783]

The privileged classes, apart from the chiefs, are three. Two of these are hereditary. The *U-se'-ka-ra* is a sort of high priest, and is of nearly as great importance in the eyes of the people as the chief. In fact, the time was, and not very long ago either, when the chiefs themselves made journeys to visit him as suppliants. The present incumbent is a youth of perhaps twenty-five years of age, and is not yet full fledged. His predecessor, his father, died recently, and, until after the funeral feast, he cannot enter fully into the exercise of his functions. The family lives far back in the hills of Cabecar, and, although a member of that despised tribe, has from time immemorial held undisputed sway over both it and the Iri-bris. [565] 793

The former *U-se'-ka-ra* was very arrogant, and would hold no communication with foreigners. He claimed supernatural powers, and held frequent interviews with spirits. On these occasions he went alone to a cave, several miles from his house, and spent days together there. On his return he would not converse even with his own family. Nobody but his familiar, now a very old man, was allowed to serve him, or even to speak to him for a certain number of days after his return from one of these mysterious journeys. He rarely traveled about, or visited his neighbors. He lived by levying contributions on the people, or by voluntary presents. His only beverage was chocolate, and the cacao was contributed as voluntary gifts from people far and near. If he entered a house, and offered to buy, or expressed even admiration for anything, whether a chicken, a pig, or any other object, it was at once presented to him. It was considered as good as forfeited. If not presented, it would be sure to die anyhow, and his ill-will would be gained besides. In case of any public calamity, like an epidemic disease, or a scarcity of food from drought, the chief only must visit him, and beg his intercessions with the spirits. He would pay no attention to private appeals. In case he felt inclined to be gracious, he would retire to his cave, and in due time after order a fast. The young man who now holds the position, is one of the finest looking men in the country. He is tall and well formed, his good-natured looking face bears an expression of seriousness hardly in keeping with his youth; and his whole bearing is grave and impressive. I was forcibly struck by his manner, being so strongly in contrast with the light-hearted, talkative character of most of the people. When in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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sacred rattle. Thus we were sometimes obliged to wait several days until the tabu was removed before we could buy various objects. This removal, of course, required that the shaman be paid a fee, sometimes equaling or exceeding the price we paid for the object. We were also given to understand that some forms of *bukurú* were limited as to time, and expired automatically at the end of a fixed number of days after the charm was pronounced, without the aid of the shaman. Several times, blowguns which had their orifices stuffed with feathers or down were observed, apparently to indicate that they were tabu. Small objects were also placed in hollow bamboo tubes and the ends closed with feathers in order to safeguard them. 784

Gabb[21] seems to have gathered a somewhat different idea, for he says: 783

"There are two classes of uncleanness, *nya* and *bu-ku-ru'*. Anything that is essentially filthy or that was connected with the death of a person is '*nya*,' anything unclean in the Hebraic or Hindu sense is *bu-ku-ru'* . . . . *Bu-ku-ru'* emanates in a variety of ways; arms, utensils, even houses become affected by it after long

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

783 disuse and before they can be used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a long time, the custom is to beat them with a stick before touching them . . . . A house long unused must be swept and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short, every accessible part of the interior. The next day, it is fit for occupation. A place not visited for a long time or reached for the first time is *bu-ku-ru'* . . . .
843 But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young
783 woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally
783 filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

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"Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the 'doctor' blows a few whiffs of tobacco smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete." 783

NOTES

1. Gabb, W. M. On the Indian tribes and languages of Costa Rica, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, vol. xiv, p. 483, Phil'a, 1875. 113
2. Pittier de Fábrega, H. (*a*) Nombres geográficos de Costa Rica. I. Talamanaca. San José de Costa Rica, 1895. (*b*) Folk-lore of the Bribri and Brunka Indians in Costa Rica, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, vol. xvi, no. lx, pp. 1–9, Jan.–Mar. 1903.
3. Sapper, Carl. Beitrage zur Ethnographie des südlichen Mittelamerika, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, B. 47, H. 2, p. 31, Gotha, 1901.
4. Brinton, Daniel G. The American race. New York, 1891, p. 189.
5. Thomas *and* Swanton. Indian languages of Mexico and Central America, *Bull. 44, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1911.

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old [439 524] rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is 324 for grinding corn and cacao.

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 [825] The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[82] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 [783] **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camíbar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camíbar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[82] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid. 756 The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aik* 846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe [824] who is also washed with leaves which supposedly have protective powers. These leaves [751] include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day, [783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabécar. 756 After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the purpose.[101] [783] He blows smoke on her and the child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps [756] the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[192] [101] This is called the *papakusk* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however, that certain vestiges of traditional customs [178] persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a [765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.** There is an elaborate group of officials con- 764 nected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one [784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person [783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the [756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ʒarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest- [554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókuṃ* in Bribri and *keri* in Cabécar. They are [756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are [825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a poscum.

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* [825] (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

[P. 47(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
siq is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
koisk (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[845] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[783] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
[752] should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

825 Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)--Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
726 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)--Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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ing, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it." 293

The stick, which was seen by the writer, is still unobtainable.

Gold Ornaments.—Pendants of gold were formerly worn as chiefs' insignia, and, it is said, were also given to successful partisans in the Tiribi war. They are now nearly a thing of the past, as the whites have long eagerly sought and purchased them. These ornaments were made in the form of eagles (sometimes double-headed), alligators, and frogs, and were worn as breast-plates or gorgets. They no doubt were entirely similar to the antique forms from the graves at Las Mercedes. Señor Ricardo Fernandez Guardia[17] reproduces a photograph of Antonio Saldaña, father of Ramón and last "king" of the Bribri, with several large gold eagles round his neck. These eagles are also noted by Gabb.[18] 301 [622]

As the Bribri believe that death will overtake the Indian owner who sells one of these gold ornaments, it may be that there are really more of them in existence than the 784 [763]

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Bribri

•784 natives will admit. This penalty may be avoided, however, by calling in the services of the nearest shaman, who removes the taboo, or *búkuru*, by blowing upon the object and singing certain songs to the accompaniment of his medicine rattle. The following day it may be handled and disposed of with impunity.

226 *Fish Traps.*—Fish are taken by blocking small tributaries of a river and stranding them, by shooting with arrows or catching them in traps. Unfortunately none of these processes was observed, but pl. XXIX reproduces a photograph of a tributary of Coen river across which a temporary dam had been made to divert the course of the stream and leave the fish high and dry.

481 At this point we may mention the Bribri method of crossing swollen streams by means of the ingenious device of weighting themselves with heavy stones borne on the shoulders (pl. XXX). The writer did not have the good fortune to witness this performance, but we are enabled to introduce the accompanying illustration through the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

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Bribri

766 "The warriors among the Bri-bris, who fought in the war with the Tiribris were honored with a little different ceremonial. They are now all gone, and the ceremony is extinct. At the death feast, a person entered, clad in a long gown, wig, and mask. The gown and wig were made of mastate, or bark cloth, covered with 'old man's beard moss,' sewed all over it, making a shaggy and nearly shapeless mass. The mask was made of half a 'tree calabash,' properly fixed up with a wax nose, &c. A copy of this entire dress was made for me by an old Indian, and is now in the Smithsonian Museum [pl. xxx]. The person thus accoutred, took part in the dance, made free with the women and scared the children without let or hindrance. Mothers with young children took them to him and placed them for a moment on his shoulder, 'to prevent the evil spirit from doing them harm.' "

784 *Tabu.*—On going into Bribri houses we frequently were earnestly warned by the Indians not to handle certain objects, as they were *bukurû* or tabu. On inquiry it was learned that it was customary for an Indian who wished to leave home to pronounce certain charms over his valuables, which then became *bukurû*, or tabu, not only to others but to himself, until a shaman was summoned to remove the spell by blowing upon them and singing to the time of his

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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sacred rattle. Thus we were sometimes obliged to wait several days until the tabu was removed before we could buy various objects. This removal, of course, required that the shaman be paid a fee, sometimes equaling or exceeding the price we paid for the object. We were also given to understand that some forms of *bukurú* were limited as to time, and expired automatically at the end of a fixed number of days after the charm was pronounced, without the aid of the shaman. Several times, blowguns which had their orifices stuffed with feathers or down were observed, apparently to indicate that they were tabu. Small objects were also placed in hollow bamboo tubes and the ends closed with feathers in order to safeguard them. 784

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[P. 26(A)]

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Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skíLi*		5 days after today *skíiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb[98] and Pittier[99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okụm* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [761] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
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[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

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764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
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[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ǯarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priesthood, but do have a decided social position
[554] because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókum* in Bribri and *keri* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

[P. 47 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
sią is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
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when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

● 784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
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ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
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tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
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around the house, touching it with a stick, and
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Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
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FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
726 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

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[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [965] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *havas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) [262] and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the 533 medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [756] their functions. The duties of the Singers were [775]

756 *Curanderas* or female witch doctors, for whom no word exists in the Boruca language, are part of the community. However, the lore is handed down from mother to daughter, with the result that the women of certain families are famous for curing powers, whereas other women of the community have none of this learning. Along with a more than general knowledge of herbs, roots, and plant life, the witch doctor must have a therapeutic sense combined with an instinctive knowledge of psychology. For this reason, in spite of the fact that the witch doctor passes her secrets on to all of her daughters, only the one or ones who are lucky enough to have such qualities practise. At times, when there is no female offspring, or when none is suited to practise, the *curandera* has been known to adopt a girl and train her to follow in her trade.

The witch doctors do not receive the same reverence that the *sukias* receive, even though the witch doctors are *Boruca* Indians and have more opportunity to practise on the people. This, and the fact that the witch doctors are women, while the *sukias* are male, may, of course, be the very reason why they are not feared. At times, however, the *sukia* has been known to teach the witch doctor some of his secrets, and it is certain that the *curandera* is highly respected by both sexes. Although the *curandera* is principally interested in female sicknesses, both men and women consult her.

Strangely enough, the most intimate details of the life of a patient are discussed openly with the witch doctor, even in the presence of a member of the opposite sex. Unlike the *sukia*, the *curandera* will accept pay for her services.

● 787 In addition to her use of plants, the witch doctor sometimes employs some form of sorcery to impress her patients. A favorite method is to tie a thread, preferably a silk one, around the little stones called *sukia stones*, which are found in the ancient graves, and to hang them from the hand or from the ceiling of the house. The *curandera* reads the answers to the questions asked her by the patient from the manner in which the stones swing.

* See Pittier, 1891, p. 93.

[p. 26-A]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SAI9 Talamanca SAI9

539 willed, "May he let me have the whistle! May he look back into the house!" And as this happened, Sibú ran away and ran on whistling all the while. Meanwhile Sórkura thought he would go and set him an ambush on the path. He took four of his spears and his shield, hung his conch upon a string around his body, and said to his people: "I will go and kill Sibú; when you hear my conch resound, Sibú shall be dead. Then you are to warm up my cacao, as I will soon be back." He then went and waited for Sibú to pass by, and when Sibú came along, he threw one of his spears at him. But Sibú had on the back of his head another ear, which warned him that some one was going to shoot at him. The spear fell noisily on his side. Sórkura made another throw, but without effect. And now Sibú took one of the spears in his hand, and threw it at Sórkura, who received it on his shield. Then Sibú willed, "I will kill Sórkura; may he look over his shield!" Then he took a new aim, and Sórkura was shot just in the middle of his face. And Sibú took the conch, and blew: *Tuú, tuú,* so that the woods resounded, and he cut Sórkura's body into pieces with his knife, and made it into flesh, bones, blood, and bowels, which ever since have been [787] things of ill-omen to us.[1] Sórkura's people waited long, and kept his chocolate warm for him; but he never came back. Sibú had killed Sórkura!

V. THE KING OF THE TAPIRS.

[825] Like the wild hogs and the deer, the tapirs have also their king. Two Bribri went hunting into the woods, each one carrying his bow and arrows. They met with a white tapir, and tried to kill it; but they did not succeed. Both ran after it, but they lost its track, and one of them went astray, no one ever knew how. The other looked for him everywhere, but did not find him. So he went back to his home, where he asked for his companion, and, as he had not come back, everybody thought that he had met with a mishap, and lost his life.

The lost man ran far away behind the tapir until he lost sight of it; then he stood still to rest. Soon his ear perceived the crowing of a cock. He then thought that there was some house near, and, having gone to see, he got to a large *palenque.*[2] He went in, and

[1] Every time the Indians find in the woods leaves sprinkled with blood, or bones and excrement, the origin of which they cannot explain, they see in them Sórkura's relics, and turn away with awe; also leaves having the appearance of being spotted with blood, such as frequently occur in certain groups of plants (*Araceæ, Begonia, Columnea,* etc.), are considered to be of the same origin, and are signs of ill-omen for the undertaking they are engaged upon.

[2] Palenque is the *Spanish* or possibly *Nahua* word employed in Costa Rica to [104] designate the large conical houses of the Bribri, who call the same *ú-surl.*

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *havas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- [262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) [262] and wild herbs cooked without salt.

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756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned
a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[770] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
[172] which are obviously ceremonial have been
found in caches associated with the Highland
archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano
(fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American
[171] trait and are still used by medicine men among
the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the
Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and
medicine man staffs were carved as late as
the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish,
the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11,
c) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red
wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood.
There is a mystical connection between the
medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact
benevolent spirits who help him cure. In
Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally
translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to
the songs of the medicine man in the night;
kər = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine
men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used
756 for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves
with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuʒeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside
the ill person whose hand is held by the curer
or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms
part of this ceremony.

Stones are another very special part of the
756 equipment, the origin of which is also bound
778 up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs).
A medicine man may have any number of
stones but there are two principal ones with
a covering name which is sometimes mistaken
by laymen as a third stone. This collective

[144] It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[145] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This is extremely important because without a staff [787] contact with the spirit, *duLar*, the messenger [776] of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLar*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLar* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis* [825] *Episcopus Diaconus* Lessom), hawk, paraquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ékéké*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *sąkure*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *sąbko*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

756 the largest stone on the bench. Most of the songs referred to certain birds in the woodland. As the aspirant cannot touch the stones until they have been put into his hands, each medicine man took the stones from the center and placed them in the hands of the novice.

[354] It was quite dark, so the first wife made a candle from beeswax, rolling it long, and tore a strip of cloth to wrap around it. When finished, it appeared very much like a licorice whip. She put this candle on the side of the bench so that it lit up everything on it.

The aspirant had had to fast all day within his room. Now two ears of white maize and one raw palmito (which is white) was put inside the room for later use.

At 2:45 A.M. the same ceremony with first chocolate and then chicha was held. This must be done four times during the night. The [801] number four is bound up with all semireligious acts as it is intimately connected with certain histories of *sibu* (*see* Legends). The head man put two pieces of cotton on top of a carrying bag. Then all went to the kitchen house and brought back a white chicken and a white rooster saying, "We are going to serve the feast" to each person. The witnesses answered, "Good." An iron pot containing bananas and palmito was brought in and the same statements were repeated. The first wife took another bundle of leaves from the *tabanco* and the women served rice and chicken in them. Again there followed the ceremony of the cup being changed from left to right.

At 4:00 A.M., two medicine men, including the chief one, went to the kitchen house with the novice, taking some *aiik* leaves. They were followed by the first wife carrying a sick child. This was one of the important steps in the initiation because it showed the aspirant how to go about curing an ill person. The head medicine man took the novice by the hand and together they drew the leaves over the fire so as to soften but not burn them. They fanned the child with the leaves. During this process there was not a whimper from the patient. This was done four times and then the novice repeated it four times alone. The chief man stayed beside the pupil, however, and warned him not to burn the leaves. When [787] they crackled and popped as they were being drawn over the fire, it was considered a good

756 sign and that the novice would turn out to
[787] be a good curer.

After the fanning, the group returned to the main house and once more partook of the chocolate, food, and chicha. This time the aspirant took the place of the medicine man who passed the cups and was coached by the chief man.

The head man took a piece of cotton and picked up the pebblelike stones of the aspirant and sung over them. He wrapped them in cotton and put them in a small carrying bag with the largest of the stones on top. He placed this carrying bag in a bigger one and tied it up for the novice. He took another bag and lectured over it to one of the medicine men and then put it around his own neck. The other *jawá* picked up his stones and put them in the two carrying bags from whence they had come, while the chief man did the same with the stones of the others. Finally, he hung the bag belonging to the aspirant around the latter's neck.

A medicine man, acting as assistant, brought the head man five leaves of *poró-poró* (*Cochlospermum vitifolium* [Willd.] Spreng.) who
[824] shaped one of them into a cup and put it on the small bench. He put a pinch of Honduras bark, *cáscara amarga* (*Sweetia panamensis* Benth.), on each of the other leaves piling them on top of one another. The rest of the medicine he tied up in a leaf and gave to the aspirant who put it in a carrying bag hanging on the wall. Both then moved to the entrance of the house and the novice went outside. The chief man poured water from a small special gourd into the *poró-poró* cup and the novice had to mix the bark from one of the leaves in it and wash out his mouth. This had to be repeated until the contents of each leaf was used. The medicine left in the carrying bag was to be used in the same way after four days, with the chief medicine man present. On that occasion, the new doctor must talk to the stones also.

When the mouth washing was over, the head man took the carrying bag of the novice from the wall and put it over the latter's shoulder so that it hung down his right side. He proceeded to give the young man two
[852] new low benches made of white balsa wood and a white blanket which he wrapped around

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann [147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *bák-namị́* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
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[P. 47 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

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FOLKLORE

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776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [758] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLájibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLájibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [161] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ki* in Bribri and *namá* in Cabécar.
[162] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

*539
533

Sacred Songs

(18) SINGER'S SONG[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsɸ́*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

(19) *dikúsɯa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755
787] This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúsɯa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúsɯa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúsɯa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúsɯa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

Lay Songs

(20) THE MONKEY DANCE[211]

(*Bribri*)

[535] This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:
Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsɯa* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

[756] [209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *biʒəbLə-kək-keLi*. This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.
[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúsɯa*.
[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLɜakuLe*.
[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLeɜ; also* The Arts.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
[856] crawl and they are given anything they cry
863 for. It is interesting to note that habits in connection with excretion are taught practically from birth. The child is taken out of the house and held up while he does his needs. He is not allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
854 a father lie in a hammock with his small children beside him. Parents pay attention to personal details, such as wiping a child's nose or washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes are taught to swim and help to make fires, using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when sitting on the low benches or on the ground before the hearth. At the age of seven, they begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt, using small arrows for training. When the adults are out in the fields or hunting, children up to ten years old stay at home to tend the fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no school and all lore is learned by word of mouth on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have some connection with the handling of the dead (*see Death*). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line. Often they play with mud daubers' nests or similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that
827 which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the
843 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods
[343] and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *bu-ku-ru'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *awa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. *He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over* her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the 756
Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take for- 791
eign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of
purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads
of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away
rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. 789
He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, [276]
calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever
place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two
swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford;
one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in
our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather.
He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke
would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Cartago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the
name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success,
and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he
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good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically
the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming
away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sick- 755
ness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one [123]
to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he
made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any
small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are
used, and are said to be equally efficacious.

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew
tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about
diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt for a
day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated
under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular
periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addi- 756
tion to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would
have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the
other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmi-
ties. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic [778]
merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are
supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend,
who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One pur-
ported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other
animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they
were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamor-
phic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction.
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286 Ramón, "the king." This is a narrow strip, less than an inch broad and 28½ inches in length; in color it is red, with a blue central band and white stitches on the border. It is a fine piece of native work.

283 Pl. XIX, *d*, illustrates a wooden spindle for cotton thread. A spindle whorl of tortoise-shell from another spindle was also obtained.

301 237 ●789 778 *Necklaces.*—The Bribri women no longer wear the heavy bead necklaces described by Gabb, although the men still delight in similar ornaments, but made of jaguar teeth. These are especially difficult to obtain, since the Indians seem to have the idea that the possession of one of these ornaments endows the owner with some of the powers of the animal from whose teeth they are made.

301 Pl. XX, *d*, represents one of these ornaments, made of exceptionally large teeth strung on a fiber cord, alternating with small, red-glass trade beads. Fig. *c* of the same plate shows a smaller but more primitive necklace, in which the alternating beads are made of some species of snail-shell,

301 321

*539 *amus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
823 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
[825] lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
821 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamɨ́* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamɨ́*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamɨ́* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamɨ́* (*bák namɨ́*) couldn't drown the people.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

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Cabecar
Bribri

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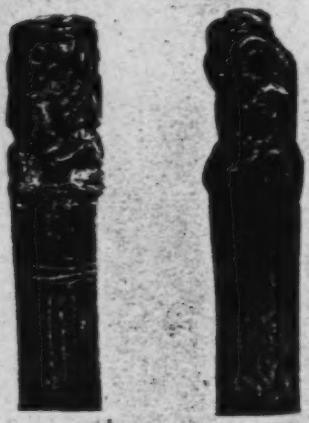
[172]



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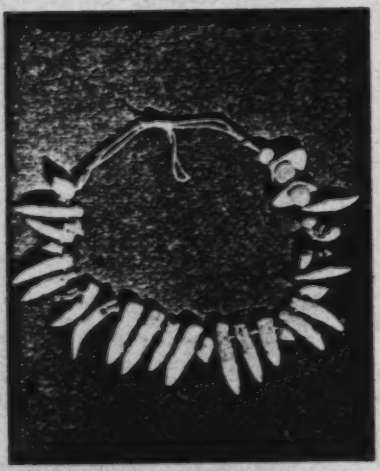

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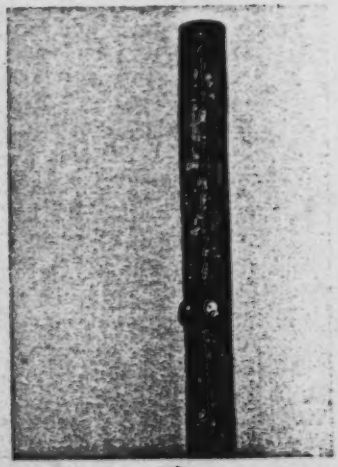

d

a, Ceremonial staff from cache on slopes of Irazú volcano, Central Plateau. *b*, Ceremonial staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Onón Jiménez L.). *c*, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, beans, and beads to ward off evil (property of Don Julio Callejas T.). *d*, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beads alight.

[END PLATE 11]

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace [126] of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

767 Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, 793 and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular, but many of the nouns are peculiar. *Si-bu*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they know. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

756 Finally come the *Awas*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profes- 791 sion, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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cine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon

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Gabb[8] speaks of three classes of shamans—the *usékara*, or "high priest"; the *tsúgur* (*tsuku*), who has charge of the ceremonies for the dead; and the *awa*, doctor or sorcerer, who cures diseases and controls the rain. He says that these latter treat diseases by making passes over the body of the patient with a sloth, opossum, alligator, or even a chicken. Their powers are based on the magic potency of calculi declared to be extracted from the viscera of animals. They bleed their patients with small lancets and give a counter irritant by beating the affected part with nettle leaves. 756 [791] [767]

Polygyny was practised in Gabb's time. The husband, he says, went to live with his father-in-law, or, if not, he bought his release with presents of live-stock in lieu of his services. 595 591

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations.—Several native types of dwellings still survive among the Bribri. The more usual variety is sideless, rectangular or oval in ground-plan, with a convex or 342

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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173 came among them, I could get no more satisfactory answer than that they went to Cartago to buy them. I have been told a vague story, however, that long ago there were two bands living in the country now occupied by the Bri-bris. Those living in the valley, around the junction of the branches of the Tilirí were more powerful than the mountaineers, and forced the latter to pay tribute when they descended to hunt, or cut the material for their bark-cloth clothing. But gradually the lowlanders died out; the highlanders, becoming the more powerful, rebelled against these impositions, and eventually emigrated in such numbers to the country of the former, that the distinction became lost by an amalgamation of the two parties. Even now the Bri-bris, who occupy the lowlands [563] and most of the hill regions of the Sicsola, look down on their neighbors the Cabecars and treat them as inferiors. The Cabecars, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge even a social supremacy, and in a mixed party submit to assume the more menial occupations, like bringing water and wood; and are always obliged to wait until the last when food or drink is being served. Few of the Bri-bris speak the Cabecar language, but there are few of the Cabecars who do not speak Bri-bri, and they usually [622] use it in the presence of strangers. The Cabecars have no chief of their own, but are entirely under the rule of the Bri-bri chief, and have been, from time immemorial. Their subjugation is, in short, complete. At the same time they have the honor of religious supremacy, in so far as [793] that the high priest, the "*Usekara*," whose office will be explained further on, belongs to their tribe. The ordinary priests, the "*Tsugurs*," who, like the "*Usekara*," are hereditary, come from a group of families on the Coen River, but belong to the Bri-bri tribe.

About the beginning of this century there was a bitter war between the 173 Bri-bris and the Tiribis. The youngest members of the war parties are now mostly dead, and the few remaining survivors are very old men. 721 The last of the warriors proper, mature men at that time, died about 1860, at an extremely advanced age. I have heard the traditions from both sides the question, and of course each party throws all the blame on the other. The Bri-bri story is that some people, a whole family, living on the extreme eastern portion of the Uren district, were found murdered, and no clue discovered to the perpetrators of the act. Not very long afterwards other murders occurred in an equally mysterious manner, which threw the whole country into a state of excitement. Afterwards a small party was attacked by some unknown Indians, a portion killed and some left to tell the tale. The tracks of the strangers were followed through the woods, always keeping to the east, until they were lost. Following this clue, the chief of the Bri-bris sent out a party of armed scouts, who climbed to the summit of the dividing ridge, overlooking the Tilorio. From here they discovered for the first time that they had neighbors; seeing their houses and cornfields in the distance. A large war party was fitted out; they passed the mountains, and without warning descended on the unsuspecting

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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accidental discovery at rare intervals, of a half-rotten trunk in the woods. 824
It is prized principally for its color, which is between that of old mahogany and rosewood, and which is probably in part due to seasoning, or to some change in the heart, consequent on the decomposition of the surface. When an Indian finds one of these sticks, he marks the spot, but dares not take possession immediately. He must purify himself by a [783]
three days fast before he can begin work on it. It is believed that these sticks are under the protection of a poisonous snake, and if the person has not properly prepared himself, the guardian will revenge the outrage by biting him.

The privileged classes, apart from the chiefs, are three. Two of these [565]
are hereditary. The *U-se'-ka-ra* is a sort of high priest, and is of nearly 793
as great importance in the eyes of the people as the chief. In fact, the time was, and not very long ago either, when the chiefs themselves made journeys to visit him as suppliants. The present incumbent is a youth of perhaps twenty-five years of age, and is not yet full fledged. His predecessor, his father, died recently, and, until after the funeral feast, he cannot enter fully into the exercise of his functions. The family lives far back in the hills of Cabecar, and, although a member of that despised tribe, has from time immemorial held undisputed sway over both it and the Iri-bris.

The former *U-se'-ka-ra* was very arrogant, and would hold no communication with foreigners. He claimed supernatural powers, and held frequent interviews with spirits. On these occasions he went alone to a cave, several miles from his house, and spent days together there. On his return he would not converse even with his own family. Nobody but his familiar, now a very old man, was allowed to serve him, or even to speak to him for a certain number of days after his return from one of these mysterious journeys. He rarely traveled about, or visited his neighbors. He lived by levying contributions on the people, or by voluntary presents. His only beverage was chocolate, and the cacao was contributed as voluntary gifts from people far and near. If he entered a house, and offered to buy, or expressed even admiration for anything, whether a chicken, a pig, or any other object, it was at once presented to him. It was considered as good as forfeited. If not presented, it would be sure to die anyhow, and his ill-will would be gained besides. In case of any public calamity, like an epidemic disease, or a scarcity of food from drought, the chief only must visit him, and beg his intercessions with the spirits. He would pay no attention to private appeals. In case he felt inclined to be gracious, he would retire to his cave, and in due time after order a fast. The young man who now holds the position, is one of the finest looking men in the country. He is tall and well formed, his good-natured looking face bears an expression of seriousness hardly in keeping with his youth; and his whole bearing is grave and impressive. I was forcibly struck by his manner, being so strongly in contrast with the light-hearted, talkative character of most of the people. When in

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

793 Cabecar he visited us twice, and on neither occasion did he speak, except when spoken to, unless it was to make some remark, in very few words, and in a low tone of voice, to some of his attendants. His dress consisted of a white shirt, not over clean, a woven cotton breech-cloth, a bright-red handkerchief, tied in a roll around his head, and a magnificent necklace [126] of four strands of large tiger's teeth. He sold me two of the strings for half-a-dollar, and I presented him with some trifles, among which was the rather suggestive article, a bar of soap. He accepted them without any acknowledgment. But then they don't know how to say, "thank you."

767 Next in importance are the *Tsu'-gurs*. These are the ordinary priests, 793 and their duties are confined to officiating at the feast for the dead. Like the preceding, they are hereditary; only members of one or two families can become priests, and these seem to have all descended from a common ancestor. I have already described the performances of the *Tsu'-gur* at the death-feast of Santiago, and there is nothing to add in that connection. Other feasts only differ in the less degree of profusion and the shorter time they occupy. But there is one circumstance of which I have said little, and that has always seemed to me mysterious. Unfortunately, from no want of effort on my part, I was not successful in investigating this more thoroughly. The songs of these priests are in a language, dialect, 198 or jargon, whichever it may be called, in great part unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some words used are in the vernacular, but many of the nouns are peculiar. *Si-bu*, or God, has at least twenty names; many natural objects have names peculiar to the priests, and the difference is so great that not only I, with my imperfect knowledge of the language, but Mr. Lyon, who speaks it as well as an Indian, could not understand even the purport of the songs. These songs are taught by rote to the young candidates to the priesthood, and are always rehearsed by the priests apart, before being sung. I made several efforts to obtain a vocabulary, but in each case was defeated, rather by the want of understanding on the part of the priest, than from any unwillingness to impart what they knew. At last I made an agreement with the most intelligent and best informed of them. He was to visit me at a certain time and answer all my questions —for a consideration. But a severe attack of rheumatism prevented his coming and lost me the last chance. I have no theory to offer as to the origin of this singular fact. But two explanations however, seem possible. Either the whole thing is an invention, which I think hardly probable, or the system is an exotic, and the songs are in the original language of the missionary who introduced it. I can hardly express my regret at failing to obtain some clue to so interesting a problem.

756 Finally come the *Awas*, sorcerers, or doctors. This is an open profes- 791 sion, and since it requires but little preparation, gives certain privileges and standing, and brings occasional emoluments, it is pretty numerously filled. The fellows are an arrant set of quacks, and I do not believe there is a single one who acts in good faith. Nevertheless, the people as a rule

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[627] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[692] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[681] usual method is for the family of the culprit
[184] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[423] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
692 not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
[565] classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

[P. 50(A)]

Cabecar
Bribri

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 648 The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 597 [714] The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*brosbi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 793 643 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
643 to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because of King *Berchí*[188] who took delight in severely castigating the medicine men and ordering all the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member of the *sáLwak*[189] clan, so-called because he had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He returned them to Talamanca and came back all alone. This trip took eight days. He was
173 not baptized, but later he was and received
797 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his family name. More people followed him and settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzín* in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for money and went to England to receive it. He sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[187] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[188] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[189] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 648 **Land Tenure.** The *Boruca* consider the territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be [609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 311 Each family has from three to five *manzanas* for their own use, often as far as a league (3 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, 423 has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church. ● 794 Each individual is required to do his share of [476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on [735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which 311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of [262] the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, [954] Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding [492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong ●794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent, 231 the patron of the community, roam the 422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal [411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens, 231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions [262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.) 137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the 252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *c*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
624 select the first and second mayordomos of the church, and the two women who are to cook for the church. These personages function during *fiestas* or the visits of the priest, and are appointed yearly. If there is a change in the personnel, the former mayordomo has to hand over all the religious symbols and whatever money there may be to the new one.

437 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.** The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the
426 habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of
175 trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Terabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borocas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things.*

[Continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
● 796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

* See Informe, 1697.

Pittier[28] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*. 438 175

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*–2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral. 438 648 [317 263]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of 796

[28] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

[798]

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

241

821

When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia*[28a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

825

773

[28a] See below.

[p. 25-A]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
[243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
● [796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
[184] dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for [824] cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every [248] household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially, 101
politically, and religiously, but differing markedly in language. The 131
Cabecars occupy the country from the frontiers of civilization to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tiliri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bris occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zborquin and the valley lying around the mouths of these streams. The Tiribris, now reduced to barely a hundred souls, live in two villages on the Tilorio or Changinola River. It is said that on the head waters of the Changina, a large fork of this latter stream, there are yet a few individuals of the Changina tribe, but the other Indians report them as implacably hostile and their very existence is only known by vague reports of their savage neighbors. The Shelaba tribe, formerly living on the lower part of the same river is now entirely extinct. A few half-breeds are all who perpetuate the blood, and their language is utterly lost. Still further down the coast, beyond the Costa Rican boundaries is another allied tribe, partly civilized, in so far as that they trade and work a little and drink a great deal of bad rum, spending most of their earnings on that bane of the race. They are called by foreigners Valientes. Crossing over to the Pacific slope, the Terrabas are tribally identical with the Tiribis. The tradition still exists in a vague form, that they are emigrants from the Atlantic side; but when or why the emigration took place, is [179] forgotten. The home of the tribe is in a very narrow, rough cañon, traversed by a river that might better be called a torrent, a country strongly contrasted with the fertile plains and broad savannas of Terraba, and it is not improbable that under the press of a crowded population several migrations took place. They still tell how, twenty or thirty years ago, a priest came over from Terraba, baptized all who would submit to [797] the rite, and by glowing stories of the abundance of meat and other inducements that he shrewdly imagined would tempt them, carried off over a dozen of their best men, who never returned. A glance at the vocabulary will show how little separated are these two branches of the tribe in language. The Borucas or Bruncas, who occupy a little village, not far from the headquarters of the Terrabas, are apparently the older occupants of the soil; perhaps crowded into a corner by the invaders.

Other tribal names are mentioned by various authors, such as Biceitas, &c. The name Biceita is not known in the country, and, although 101
used to the present day outside of the Indian country, is unknown to them, or at best, is supposed to be a Spanish word. The district of that name is probably the western part of Bri-bri, the most eastern point to which the slave-hunting expeditions from San José Cabécar penetrated. The Blancos are properly the Bri-bri tribe, but this word is rather loosely used, and is often applied alike to the Cabecars and Tiribis.

But little can be gathered of the history of these people. What hap- 173
pened in the times of their grandfathers is already ancient history and partly forgotten. All recollection of the first arrival of the Spaniards is now lost. They have no traditions of the use of stone implements before the introduction of metal. When asked what they did for axes before the traders

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 82, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 418.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent.

The products of these mountains for the use of man are plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] *saginos*,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls.

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[1] *Gulielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Tpomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Crax globicera.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus veraguensis.*

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

175 648 level lands of the great river *Estrella*,[14] where it joins the river *Coén*,[15] which comes down from *Cabécara*, and the *Arari*, which comes down from *Vicoita*.

175 648 797 Its destruction, according to the copy referred to, was in the month of August of the tenth year of the last century, and at the end of it. In the year 1689, the conquest and subjection of the heathen Indians of that province was undertaken by the venerable servant of God, the Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, founder of this College, who had good results in his apostolic work, for in a few years he succeeded in teaching and baptizing so great a number of Indians that they already made up sixteen settlements. But at the end of 1709, those barbarous tribes rebelled, together with those who were taught, baptized and settled, and they killed two out of the three friars who were there. There were Fray Pablo de Rebullida and Fray Antonio de Zamora, and nine or ten of the soldiers who were in the garrison, together with a woman and a boy, burning the churches and profaning the sacred vessels and the furniture thereof. Yet by the orders and the measures taken by the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia or Captaincy-General of this Kingdom, assisted by the good conduct of the Governor of the Province of *Costa Rica*, who at that time was Don Lorenzo de la Granda Balbín, and the military officers who accompanied him, and the Rev. Padre Fray Antonio de Andrade, a disciple of this College, who was saved out of that insurrection, they were successful in penetrating into the mountains and cap-

[114] [14] Among the papers relating to the foundation of the city of *Santiago de Talamanca* it appears that it was founded upon the banks of the *Tariro*, eight leagues from its mouth. Fray Manuel Urcullu is not mistaken as regards the site, but he falls into the same error already noted in the other reports of the missionaries, of calling the *Tariro*, *Tilorí* or *Siraola*, the *Estrella* river. The latter is the one now designated the *Chánguena* on some maps, *Changuinola* upon others and, finally, the *Tilorio* river. The latter is the real *Estrella* river, discovered and made known in 1564, by Juan Vásquez de Coronado. Its course, instead of running towards the coast of the Sea of the Antilles, as it does today, turned at nine and a half degrees of North latitude and continued towards the East in a line almost parallel to the said coast, until it emptied into the Bay of *Almirante*. The ancient channel of the river is well known by explorers, and in particular by Don José María Figueroa, who traced it upon the map of Costa Rica. Note by M. M. de Peralta.

[15] The river *Coén* is a tributary of the river *Tariro*.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

turing fifteen hundred Indians who had risen, with their *cacique*, and justice was done to the latter as well as to the others, and the holy vessels and the furnishings were recovered. As the rebels continued more insolent and were bound together in their disobedience and apostasy, the zeal of the said Reverend Padre Andrade and of the other friars who were under him could not re-establish this conquest and subjection; but now, extricated from the difficult and even impossible situation in which the enterprise then was, it should be restored to this College.

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797

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

[136] [133] [262]

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

[797] 174

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

[101]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra[43] and Salitre (*ʒerí*) and amount to
approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near
[162] the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival of Bribri here is not known although it was
[174] probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers[44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualyst]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Qualyst]

[103] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz
[797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
101 government in 1747 [45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886, vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 31 (B)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

767 764 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at [273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has [756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former usage. Things must be prepared for the soul [775] of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This [768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the geographical location. Government and ecclesiastical authorities have prohibited the fundamental part of the ancient rites, that is, the [797] keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[656]

[767] [533] tion between *shi* and *sinębuak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.

[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[111] Pittier, 1918, p. 17.

764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burio*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the
[775] ceremonial one which had the food for the dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the
[825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as
[775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the
[775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[797] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
[184] ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are the only persons to touch the body, however. The preparations, including a funeral feast and the blocking of cross roads on the main trail, are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves or a cloth were the usual procedures on the Pacific side before placing the dead in the grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for the first time. The school gave the planks and nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture. A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed mattress, a sack which was over the bed and upon which she lay, were removed by the Burier. On this occasion there were three Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped body and the planks for the cover were nailed on.

During this whole procedure, the family disappeared and none of the stand-bys would look at what was happening. When the coffin was ready, a girl took branches which had been cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretching from both doors of the house to the main trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery, blocking any opening in the path with branches. When a river had to be crossed, branches were placed on the rocks and at the shallow edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house from the grave. The Buriers followed with the coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
643 bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
[754] why there are none today.

The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because
643 of King *Berchí* [158] who took delight in severely
castigating the medicine men and ordering all
the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member
of the *sáLwak* [159] clan, so-called because he
had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed
at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He
returned them to Talamanca and came back
all alone. This trip took eight days. He was
173 not baptized, but later he was and received
● 797 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
family name. More people followed him and
settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s
cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbun-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca
and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzín*
in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for
money and went to England to receive it. He
sold the children of our people.

Berchí was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

[157] Some Indians say turtle shell.
[158] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.
[159] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301] [292] [293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648

The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

6:Sunne E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.103(8)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the
648 government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into
[439] his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that
644 he married twice. His first wife was Oleria, the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Sagarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Trisán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Trisán, 1922, p. 157.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

[798]

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

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When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia*[88a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

825

773

[88a] See below.

[p. 25-A]

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] These persons were considered unclean and [756] had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [177] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté huwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* [825] (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is ● [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

756 the largest stone on the bench. Most of the songs referred to certain birds in the woodland. As the aspirant cannot touch the stones until they have been put into his hands, each medicine man took the stones from the center and placed them in the hands of the novice.

[354] It was quite dark, so the first wife made a candle from beeswax, rolling it long, and tore a strip of cloth to wrap around it. When finished, it appeared very much like a licorice whip. She put this candle on the side of the bench so that it lit up everything on it.

The aspirant had had to fast all day within his room. Now two ears of white maize and one raw palmito (which is white) was put inside the room for later use.

At 2:45 A.M. the same ceremony with first chocolate and then chicha was held. This must be done four times during the night. The [801] number four is bound up with all semireligious acts as it is intimately connected with certain histories of *sibu* (*see* Legends). The head man put two pieces of cotton on top of a carrying bag. Then all went to the kitchen house and brought back a white chicken and a white rooster saying, "We are going to serve the feast" to each person. The witnesses answered, "Good." An iron pot containing bananas and palmito was brought in and the same statements were repeated. The first wife took another bundle of leaves from the *tabanco* and the women served rice and chicken in them. Again there followed the ceremony of the cup being changed from left to right.

At 4:00 A.M., two medicine men, including the chief one, went to the kitchen house with the novice, taking some *aik* leaves. They were followed by the first wife carrying a sick child. This was one of the important steps in the initiation because it showed the aspirant how to go about curing an ill person. The head medicine man took the novice by the hand and together they drew the leaves over the fire so as to soften but not burn them. They fanned the child with the leaves. During this process there was not a whimper from the patient. This was done four times and then the novice repeated it four times alone. The chief man stayed beside the pupil, however, and warned him not to burn the leaves. When [787] they crackled and popped as they were being drawn over the fire, it was considered a good

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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192 Plantains, bananas, maize, and beans must have been in use by the Indians before the arrival of Europeans, since they have specific names for all of them, but all domestic animals have only the names that came with them.

I have found very few words that I can trace clearly to foreign sources. The names of introduced animals, mentioned above, articles of clothing, and foreign utensils make up almost the entire list. We have *ar'-roz*, Spanish arroz'; *sombre'ro*, Sp. sombrero; *zapato*, pure Spanish; *pana*, English pan, all hollow vessels of thin metal, of whatever form; *cuchara*, Spanish; *bi-ze*, English bead, *ze* native word for anything round; *tigera*, Spanish; *pussy*, English; *chi-chi*, Aztec *tschichi*, the edible dog of Mexico (*fide* Belt), a word used all over Spanish America, and adopted by the Bri-bri and adjoining tribes in the Spanish form; *cachimba*, vulgar Spanish; *da-wa'*, probably corrupted from tabaco; *ko-no'*, corrupted from canoe; *vaca*, *caballo*, and *coche*, Spanish. *Alma*, a corpse, bears a suspicious resemblance to the Spanish *alma*, the soul. *Do-ko-ro'*, a chicken, seems to be derived from the crow of the cock; *i-s'-na*, is probably not the Spanish *llena*, with which it corresponds in meaning, but is derived from *e'-na*, finished. *Ese*, that, and *es-es* (= Spanish *eso es*) are probably derived from the Spanish.

The enumeration is decimal, and is simple in structure. Few pretend 302 to count beyond ten, and in counting loose objects if the number is considerable, they are set apart in groups of ten; thus forty-six would be four tens and six. In speaking of numbers the fingers come into play. It is as common to see three, four, or more fingers held up, with the remark "so many" as to hear the numeral mentioned. Beyond ten, the toes are called into service, and the surplus over the ten toes is counted on the fingers, held downwards in this case. The word for five, *akang*, is clearly (*u-ra*) *aka*, the fingers. Beyond ten we have "ten more one," &c., but from twenty upwards I found so much confusion of ideas and contradiction that I strongly suspected my informers of politely trying to invent compounds to please me. By careful questioning, and still better, by watching conversations, I found that twenty is "ten two times," &c., after which the form of the "teens" is repeated; so that twenty-one is "ten two times more one," *d'bob but juk ki et*. There is no word for one hundred unless we use *d'bob d'bob juk*, which would be legitimate and intelligible, although I confess I never heard it used.

Wa, *ka*, *ke*, and *ta* added as suffixes are equivalent to the English *ed*. 193 Thus *i-da-we'*, to die; *i-da-wonj'-wa*, dead; *lin'-a*, crazy; *ya lin'-a-ka*, he is crazed; *pat'ge*, to paint; *pat-pat'-ke*, painted; *su-tat'*, flat; *sut-tat'-ke*, flattened; *boi*, good; *boir'-ka*, healed; *bĕ-ta'*, a point; *bĕ-ta'-ta*, pointed, &c.

Kli used as suffix is equivalent to our *ish*; thus *boi*, good; *boi-kli*, goodish (*i. e.* pretty good or well); *tyng*, large; *tyng'-kli*, largish; *mat'-ke*, red; *mat'-kli*, reddish. *Ung* and *ong*, which in Terraba and Tiribi are almost the universal signs of the active verbs, are represented by the termination

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192x	needle	kuah	
		di-ka'	Thorn.
	negro	t-et-tse'+wak	*Tset-tse*, dark; *wak*, race.
	nest	du'+hu	*Du*, bird; *hu*, house.
	new	ju'-ni	
	night	nē-nyo'-wi	
	nipple	tsu+wo'+bō-ta	*Tsu-wo*, breast; *bō-ta'*, point.
	no	au	Negation.
		ke	Not.
	nobody	ke'+ji	*Ke*, not; *ji*, who.
	noise	ha-lar'	
	noon	di'+bō-ta	See *midday*.
	nose	ji'-kut	
	not	ke	
		kam	*A* as in father. Used only as follows—"*kam je bowo' betse'*" (not I fire prepared). "I have not kindled the fire."
	nothing	ke'+ku	*Ke*, not; *ku*, more.
		shun'-tai	Nothing whatever. Only used for "absolutely nothing."
	now	i'-ya	See *here*, and *to-day*.
[482] [147]	nuchal lump	ku-li'+duk-wo	*Ku-li*, see neck. The enlarged nuchal ligament caused by carrying heavy loads suspended from the forehead.
	numerals		
192x	1	et	
802	2	but	Impersonal.
		bui	Personal.
		bui	Counting days, future.
		bo	Counting days, past.
	3	m-nyat'	Impersonal.
		m-nyai'	Personal.
		m-nyar'	Counting days, future.
		m-nyon'	Counting days, past.
	4	keil	
		keng	Counting days, future.
		ka	Counting days, past.
	5	akang	
		akan	Counting days, past.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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6	terl ter'-i	Counting days. 192x
7	ku'gl ku'gu	Counting days, future. 802
8	pa'-gl pal pa	Counting days, future. Counting days, past.
9	su-nl'-to	
10	d-bob'	
11	d-bob-+-ki-+-et'	*Ki*, more; *et*, one.
19	d-bob-+-ki-+-but'	
18	d-bob-+-ki-+-m-nyat'	
20	d-bob-+-but'-juk	*But juk*, twice.
21	d-bob-+-but'-juk-+-ki-+-et	
old	ki-u'	
	i-uu'	Old and worn out, or decayed. 192x
	ke'ji-ko	Old person.
on	be-ta'-+-kin	*Be-ta'* summit; *kin*, region.
once	et'-+-ô-kur	*Et*, one; *e'-kur*, alone.
once, at a time	et-+-ket'-ko	See *only*.
only	e'-mi ket	See *alone*. *Et-+-ket*, only one; *but+ ke'*, only two,
open	ha'-si	
to open,	i-shku-+-ku'-ka	To uncover a vessel, to open a book; see to cover.
	i-wo'-+-wa	To open a door; see to shut.
	i-shung-+-pu' i-pu	To spread, to unfold. Also to strike, to push.
	i-wo-+-pu'	They sometimes say *ha shku pu*, literally, "push the door (open)," but *i-wo-wa* is better.
to oppose	iu-mu'-ka	
other	sâ-ka' hau'-ri et'-+-ô-kur	*Also*, *Different*, *Once*, There is no nearer way of approaching the idea.
otter	ha-wa'	*Lutra Brazilienis?*

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[296] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied
[412] to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[157] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
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MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

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804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tɔʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[23] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[24] following Pit-

[23] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
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6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P.25(A)] Bribri Cabecar

802 **Numerical System.** Both the Cabécares and the Bribri use the decimal system but have a complicated method of counting, depending upon the subject and, in part, the shape under consideration. The Cabécares, furthermore, have ordinal numbers. Gabb, Theil, Pittier, and Pozas [94] have already presented in detail the principles concerned with the numeration of these Talamancan peoples. In the present account, we reiterate the major points of these authors' observations and add some minor details of our own. Gabb and Pittier devote most of their attention to the Bribri, while Pozas has concentrated on the Cabécar.

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804 **Measures.** There is no given method of measure. *Havas* and baskets serve on both sides of the range. The Pacific people and those in the Talamanca Plain are also accustomed to use [177] the Spanish measures such as *quintal*, *cajuela*, etc., as well as their indigenous method (*see* Trade).

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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192x
[304]

short	hu'-ye hu'-shi-a	This was explained to me by the person holding his hands but a few inches apart; saying this was *hu'-ye*; with his hands about a yard apart he said *hu'-shi a*, while any greater length is *bi-tsing*, long.
shoulder	so'-bri	
shoulder blade	o	See *axe*.
shrimp	so'	
to shut	i-wo+tu' i-shku+pa-bō-ku'	See to close, to cover, to open.
sick	ki-ri'-na	
side	wo'+su-li u-ra'	Of the body. Right or left hand; *u-ru*, arm.
silence	bi'-nō	
similar	he'+kō-pi nyi'+ko-pi di-u'-si nyi+shtsel'	Alike, also, thus. Equal, alike. "Like that." Exactly alike, in speaking
to sing	ish-tsu'	See *priest*.
sister	kut+a'	
sister-in-law	bo'+kut	
skin	i-kwo'-lit pa	Cuticle, bark, scale, nail, feather, &c. Cuticle, surface, or any soft outer envelope.
skull	wo'-ki+dicha	*Wo-ki*, head; *di-cha*, bone
sky	hoñg'+kut-tū	See note to *country*.
to sleep	ki-puk'	
sleepy	ki-pu+wet'-ke	
sloping	o-utk'	See beveled.
sloth	sō-noñg' so'-ri di'-ra	*Choloepus Hoffmanni.* *Artopithecus castaniceps.* *Cyclothurus dorsalis.*
slow	en-ai-en-al'	
small	tsi'-la-la	See *little*.
small of back	tsiñg-wo	
to smell	la	
to smell good	a-mas-a-mas' m-nas-m-nas'-i	Like flowers and fluids. Like food.
smoke	shkon-o'	

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
[346 177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 417] Although most of the houses have no fences, a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana*
[245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or
312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manzana* usually comprising about ten thousand

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

● [804] = A *vara* equals 33 inches.

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Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A frame-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*si*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-was'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may result with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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darkness	koŋ+tu-i′-na	"The day darkens" (either from clouds or towards night). 192x
daughter	je+la+ra′-kur	*Já*, my, *la* (*la-la*) son; *ĕ-ra′-kur*, woman. For note on *je*, see *son*.
daughter-in-law	jak′+ĕ-ra	See father-in-law. *ĕ-ra*, (*ĕ-ra′-kur*.)
day	nyi′+we	Contradistinguished from night. 192x
	koŋ	Used in all other connections; as *koŋ se*, a cold day. 805
to-day	in′-ya	
to-morrow	bu-le′	
day after to-morrow	bui′+ki	This *ki*, is apparently "more."
3d day future	m-nyar′+ki	*M-nyat*, three.
4th " "	keng′+ki	*Keil*, four.
5th " "	skang′+ki	*Skang*, five.
6th " "	ter′-i+ki	*Teri*, six.
7th " "	ku′-gi+ki	*Ku′-gl*, seven.
8th " "	pai′+ki	*Pa′gl*, eight.
9th " "	koŋ+su-ni′-to	*Su-ni′-to*, nine.
10th " "	koŋ+d-bob′	*D-bob*, ten.
11th " "	koŋ+d-bob+ki+et′	See eleven.
yesterday	chi+ki′	
day before yesterday	bo′+kli	*Bo* (*but*), two.
3d day past	m-nyon′+li	
4th " "	ka′+ri	
5th " "	skan′+i	
dead	i-da-wo′+wa	See *to die*.
debt	mu′+i	See *money*. 192x
deep	i-shu+tyŋ′	*I-shung*, inside; *tyŋ*, large; large inside.
	(di)+tyŋ′	Deep water.
	wo+kŭ-chutk′	Applied to a *deep* vessel, when the mouth is contracted.
	wo+bli	The same, with the mouth not contracted.
deer	su-ri′	Large species.
	su-ri+ma-ru′	Small species; ma-ru′, reddish.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

192 to wrap	I-bĕ-ku′-wa	
to wring	I-wo+bĕ-tru′	See to roll.
wrinkled	jŭ-ku-nu-jŭ-ku-nu′	
wrist	u-ra+wo′+bak	
[205] year	da-wa′	The year is counted by the dry seasons when the flower stalks of the river cane are ripe and fit to cut for arrow shafts.
yellow	taki-ri′-ri	Bright yellow.
	dŭ-ku′-lum	Brownish yellow.
yes	ho	Synonymous; *Ho* is most commonly used.
	tu	
yesterday	chi-ki′	
you	ha	
young	pu′-pu	
yourself	me	Only used in compounds; see note on pronouns.

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8). [439 524]

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao. 324

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[32] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the [825]

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camibar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camibar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p. [783]

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[32] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

373 237 388 [296] [412] 824 [302] [157] [272] **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in every Boruca household. The women rub it in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain remedies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk. This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 802 [177] 804 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tə ʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.25(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

802 **Numerical System.** Both the Cabécares and the Bribri use the decimal system but have a complicated method of counting, depending upon the subject and, in part, the shape under consideration. The Cabécares, furthermore, have ordinal numbers. Gabb, Theil, Pittier, and Pozas [94] have already presented in detail the principles concerned with the numeration of these Talamancan peoples. In the present account, we reiterate the major points of these authors' observations and add some minor details of our own. Gabb and Pittier devote most of their attention to the Bribri, while Pozas has concentrated on the Cabécar.

The Bribri have six ways of counting. The numeral changes slightly if the subject is a person, an animal, a house, a round object, a large object, a plant or tree. The subject always precedes the number which differs slightly depending on this. There are, however, certain subjects which are followed not only by the number but also by a suffix or a word. In Bribri, for instance, a given tree, such as the *pejibaye*, is followed by the number and by the generic name "tree." The Cabécares have the same system with slight variations. In Cabécar, in the case of a given tree, the generic term is not necessary although it sometimes occurs. The common form is a word without meaning but which appears to be euphonic and obligatory, *káte*, which precedes the numeral.

804 **Measures.** There is no given method of measure. *Havas* and baskets serve on both sides of the range. The Pacific people and those in the Talamanca Plain are also accustomed to use the Spanish measures such as *quintal*, *cajuela*, etc., as well as their indigenous method (*see* Trade).

[177]

805 **Measurements of Time.** The year is known in both languages by the term for summer or dry season, *duwas* or *duas*. The wet season is called *kaLikeska*, rain (*kaLi*) time (*keska*). The yearly divisions are indicated by these two terms plus those for the changes of the moon: [95]

[94] Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1894; Pittier, 1904; Pozas, N.D.
[95] The terms given are Bribri. The same divisions are found in Cabécar, however, even though the words

NUMBERS AND MEASURES

805 192

New moon	*si* (moon)	*pęLs* (new)	
Growing moon	*si* (moon)	*tso* (half)	*kęk* (sky)
Full moon	*si* (moon)	*tuLsí* (full)	
Waning moon	*si* (moon)	*tuí* (less)	

The day is designated by the movement of the sun in the following fashion among the Bribri:

dawn	*buLám*[95]		
early morning from about 8 A.M. to midday	*díwə*[96]	(sun)	*kina* (came out)
midday	*díwə*	(sun)	*camba* (half)
afternoon	*díwə*	(sun)	*okaṇ* (up)
	díwə	(sun)	*butána* (lowers) or
	díwə	(sun)	*askewian* (spends itself or lowers)
evening	*díwət*	(sun)	*kam* (gone) or
	díwət	(sun)	*miam* (goes in)

A slightly simpler division is used by the Cabécar:

dawn	*kápir* (place)	*Kánirrawá* (dawning)
early morning	*sənira* (early)	
midday	*kęwá* (sun)	*mogi* (half)
afternoon	*komiskLá* (late)	

There are only two expressions for night:

Bribri:		
night	*kę* (place or time)	*tuina* (dark) *ór*
midnight	*kę* (place or time)	*cambus* (half)
Cabécar:		
night	*təwina* (dark)[97]	
midnight	*ká* (place)	*łałę* (half)

The counting of past and future time is also of interest. Both tribes have the same system. The list given here is in Bribri and is used up to 6.

Past	*Present*	*Future*
yesterday *chiki*	today *ítə*	tomorrow *buLé*
2 days past *báKLi*		2 days after today *bəiki*
3 days past *mənaLi*		3 days after today *mepek*
4 days past *tkáLi*		4 days after today *tkék*

are different.

[96] Sun can be called *díwə* or *díwəts*.

[97] Note that this is the same word used by the Bribri.

[P. 26(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skɨLi*		5 days after today *skɨiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require [756] the aid of the medicine man. Even on the Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb[98] and Pittier[99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1 [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the [798] priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians 241 water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, 821 believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul 825 in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still 773 tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia* [88a] there would not now be game around Boruça, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

[88a] See below.

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
822 posedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakánogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1] [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.55(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

The Stars [167]

(*Cabécar*)

*539
●82

When *sibu* began to make the sky his house, he needed a vine with which to tie it. There was a large serpent with great whiskers who dwelt below in the east where the sun rises.

sibu said to him, "I want a whisker to tie my house because there are no vines, and you have such lovely whiskers."

Now *sibu* was the first born so his mother's umbilical cord was long. His staff was made from this, and his mother kept it until he needed it. He sent five men to the snake for a whisker, giving his staff to one of them. He told all that when the sun was hot they should say to the serpent, "Uncle-by-marriage, how do you sleep?"

They did this and the snake answered that when his eyes were closed, he was awake, and when his eyes were opened, he slept. "But why look at me from so near?" he asked in anger.

One man approached even more closely and pulled out a whisker. It was so large that it took twenty-five men to roll it up and carry it to *sibu*. However, the man who pulled the whisker died. *sibu* did not like this and brought him back to life.

sibu used the whisker to tie his house in the fashion that modern houses are tied. The only difference was that each knot formed a star.

The History of the Sun and the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

The sun and the moon were twins, children of *brumia* and his wife, *sítəmé*. The twins caused the wrath of *sibu* because they committed incest. As punishment, he took away the force of the moon who was the female, and, therefore, she has no warmth.

The Creation of the Moon

(*Bribri*)

sibu ordered a woman to make a clay moon. She made it and hung it in the center of the sky. It gave so little light that it has to be used at night.

[167] A version of this is given by the writer in Spanish; *see* Stone, 1949a, pp. 20–21.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Bribri

The Creation of the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

+ 539
●82

sibu thought of making a moon so he got *arragropa*, a woman, to make it. It wasn't bright enough so he had to get a man to make a disk.

The Creation of the Sun

(*Bribri*)

sibu was annoyed that the moon did not brighten the world because he wanted to create man. He made a man and ordered him to make Sun. The man made a clay sun and hung it in the center of the sky. It brightened the world.

(3) The Myth of the Sun [168]

(*Bribri*)

The sun is Christian and a man, a valiant man, which *sibu* left us to light up the world. And he also left the moon to help him. If *sibu* hadn't left the sun, the world would be dark and cold. This is why *sibu* gave the sun heat so it could heat up the earth.

The moon was a woman and has no heat. *sibu* left her to light up the night.

As there are both the sun and the moon we can exist and live well.

The Reason for the Sun

(*Cabécar*)

Below us lies another world where the sun goes at night to light up. There is still another sun, however, which never moves but stays with *sibu* in heaven. When the world was first made there was no light. The devils were masters of the world, but *sibu* was the king. The chief of the devils said he would make light because he detested darkness. *sibu* did not approve, but the devil chief made a very small light because the devil's eyes were fire

[168] *See* Linguistic Texts: *díwa*.
[169] Today in Panama.
[170] This is a Spanish term applied to Indian graves. It also signifies buried treasure.
[171] The Cabécares claim that the *arbaLu* made the

[776]

* 539 ●821 and they could catch light in their hands. It could not shine far, but it was light. *sibu* thought if he didn't do something, the devils would be more powerful than he. This is why he made the sun. He made it so everyone could see it, even the ants.

The Sea

(*Bribri*)

* 539 *sibu* made the world for his house and the sky for the roof. In the center which was in Chiriqui[169] he put a tree. This became the center of the world. The tree grew so rapidly that *sibu* was alarmed it would pierce the roof. He sent for the *kambra*, the lords of the [776] *huacas*,[170] who inhabited the world before the sun dawned and who made the grinding stones one finds in ancient graves. The *kambra* were bad spirits and *sibu* thought he could get rid of them by chopping the tree and having it fall on top of them. He only cut the portion with leaves, however. When this fell, the *kambra* held on to it and it became the sea. As this happened in Chiriqui where there was salt, the sea is salty.

The *kambra* later left Chiriqui and made the savannas here.[171] They wanted to work and plant them, but they were bad people. *sibu* felt he could not let man have what they had. For this reason there are two kinds of all the plants the Bribri need. When the *kambra* planted agave with thorns, *sibu* planted it without thorns. Good *pejibaye* was due to *sibu;* the bad to the *kambra*. The same is true of cacao.

The Sea[172]

(*Cabécar*)

In the beginning, there was only a large rock and no earth. *sibu* wanted earth so there could be people. He sent a beautiful woman named Sea to tell Thunder that he wanted to consult with him. Thunder refused to leave, so *sibu* continued to send Sea to persuade him. When Sea became pregnant, Thunder decided to go.

savannas and were the original occupants of the general region on the Pacific slope.

[172] This version was published by the writer in Honduras (*see* Stone, 1949a, p. 20) and was later reprinted in Costa Rica.

*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

sibu arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[173] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

Lightning

(*Cabécar*)

*539 ●821 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuphan*.

The Rain

(*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karṇibiké-*

[825] [173] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybidea* Fam.).

[174] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

*539 *gra* and *karpimina*. The medicine man has to
●821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
make rain or to stop the rain. September is
776 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
756 the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds
will not be washed away. It is then that the
[241] *jawá* chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

karpibikégra, karpimina
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [174]

(*Bribri and Cabécar*)

When *bukubLute*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
[759] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tsinkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2–4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 ●821 823 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio politico*, and had another son called *cubura*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namé*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the [825] Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[178] [180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sajera* (people) *jaur* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 *amus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
●821 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
823 lightning bolt. He also frightens people who
[825] try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his
821 quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamą* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamą*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamą* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

> It is not with me
> This tree is my fruit
> This house is mine
> The trees are mine
> Go on to fight with others,
> This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamą* (*bák namą*) couldn't drown the people.

(8) *serike's* Mother[181]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 776 *serike's* mother is *itsǫ́'s* daughter. *serike* himself is eight men in one. *itsǫ́* ate his own daughter, *serike's* mother. *serike*, the eight-in-one, wanted to go with a woman. He became angry with his grandfather and went with his family to the place where the world ends for four days. He told his grandfather to wait for him. He then went to his grandmother for four days and returned to look for the grandfather. He put on a feathered headdress and carried away and killed the grandfather. When the wind blows daily in the summer it's a sign that *serike* is mad. [821]

How *serike* Got his Staff

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 The family of *serike* had four long benches on which they sat to play ball. One day while he and his older brothers were playing[182] ball, he threw it too high and it fell into the largest *jaba* (basket) which hung on the roof side. Everyone looked for it without success. Finally *serike* said that he knew where it was and climbed up to the *jaba*.

There he found the ball and a jaw with teeth which said to him, "My son, why are you so careless that you don't know what's happened? I am your mother and you haven't noticed."

"When were you killed? Who did it?" the boy asked.

"It was your uncle who lives in the pool by the cliff."

"My little mother, tell me in what way we can revenge your death," the boy cried.

The jaw with teeth replied saying, "Don't you know that with two chile peppers you can get him. The old man eats chile. Take your hook and bait it with chile and fish out the demon, *bák namú*. Deceive him as he deceived me.

"He deceived me telling me that we were going hunting *dantas* (tapirs) as he knew I like *dantas*. Why I even carried a *jaba* full of peeled and toasted plantains and made a small shelter to sleep in.

"Your uncle sent me with a dog to run a

[181] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tserke amí*.
[182] It should be remembered that *serike* is considered [776]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 60(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar

*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namé* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namé*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [188]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namé*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namé* and his uncle, *aroromosa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromosa* smokes cigars there is a breeze.

[521]

[776]
416
[824]

as five or eight men together.

[188] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

* 539 776 823 [761] really happens to them is that they are eaten by the water-jaguar.

oLobəsią becomes aware that *dínamą́* has gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

(10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 ● 821 [731] The river flows downward and reaches the mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

(11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 761 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *sią́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrasẽa*, and Linguistic Texts: *di-namą́*.

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "his- [184] tories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little [888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from one side of the range. He or rather they, as 484 these people do not undertake a trip alone, [576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[202]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
533 sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsęn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəwę́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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539 they discovered the way over the cordillera. They got to the other side, and there they found out that the hogs had turned into men like themselves. And these are the *Brurán*[1] people.

III. THE TALE OF OUR DYING AWAY.

773 Our forefathers told us that in far-away times, when we lived in other countries, the gods allowed us to be eaten by birds and animals.

Once upon a time, when many of our people were playing on a 539 plain, there came flying a mighty eagle, and he caught one of our kin and blood, and threw him into a large basket he was carrying. He carried him away to the top of the Kamuk,[2] where he fell asleep, because he was very tired. At that time the eagle never thought of eating up our kinsman. On the morn, he flew again, carrying off his prey far away to the peak of Nëmósul, where he rested, without thinking yet of eating him. Again he flew away, far away, and got to the ridge of Nëmóie, where he met with powerful jaguars. And he told them how he had brought the man. One of the jaguars then proposed to him that they should eat the man together. The eagle consented, and they ate him. They ate him, and after that, the eagle flew up, high up to the top of Nëmóie. And this is the reason 773 why we see white spots near the top of Nëmóie; they are the bones of our kinsman, and there it was that man was eaten for the first [823] time by birds and animals, because the jaguar taught the eagle how to eat him. Our forefathers also used to say that on the same ridge of Nëmóie there are stones shaped like jaguars. Whenever any one goes there, those stones become alive and true jaguars, because they are not stones at all, but bad spirits.

Such is the tale of our forefathers, and they also used to say, that once upon a time strange men became a prey to the jaguars, on that same ridge of Nëmóie. And this is why we are not permitted to live in these dangerous places.

IV. HOW SIBÚ KILLED SÓRKURA.

539 Sórkura was in the habit of drinking the water of a spring in which the skunk used to ease his body. Sibú, the almighty God, thought it would be well that Sórkura should kill the skunk. And so it happened: Sórkura went to watch the skunk, killed it, and hung its dead body to dry on the fire, since it was a prophet of ill-

[1] Brurán is the Indian name for Térraba, the Tirub colony in the Diquis Valley.

[133] [2] Kamuk or Pico Blanco is the most conspicuous peak of the Talamanca mountains; it is 2914 m. above sea-level, according to Gabb. Nëmósul and Nëmóie are two secondary summits, the first at the entrance of the Coen Valley, the second on the ridge between the Estrella and Tararia basins.

(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 821 823 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio politico*, and had another son called *cuburə*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namá*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the [825] Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[178] [180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sajersə* (people) *juar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 *anus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
823 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
[825] lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
821 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamɨ́* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamɨ́*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamɨ́* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jəwá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jəwá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamɨ́* (*bák namɨ́*) couldn't drown the people.

The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[184]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

* 539 776 ● 823 *dinamą* is an evil spirit. When the river water is white or milky, it's because *dinamą* has colored himself white. When it becomes a muddy red, it means that he has changed his color. If the rising or flood river is red, however, and not a muddy red, it is because the mother of the river *diminą* is menstruating. There is more than one water-jaguar and they function below large pools or waterfalls or when the rivers are high. Their fangs are large and red, and they have two tails. When a water-jaguar bites trees, as happens in flood times, the trees dry up from the heat of these fangs. When they bite people, they drag them [761] down in the water, drown them, and eat them. It is easy to tell when a water-jaguar has caused a person's death. Their method of killing is to break the front of the skull in two places, and to bite them on the forehead and on the knees.

The first *dinamą* was the grandson of an old woman named *dikú witcké*. She was so bad that *sibu* did not allow her to live on earth. Therefore, her home is under the sea where she lives together with her grandson. *dinamą* inherited much of his grandmother's meanness, and she keeps an eye on him. When the surf thunders, it is a sign that he is about to leave the sea and go up the rivers after people. It is his grandmother who makes this noise because she is afraid that he will not return, and she watches at the river mouths to punish him.

(9a, b, and c) The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[185]

(*Cabécar*)

This river flows and goes and where it ends *oLobəsią* is watching that animals do not pass who eat men. When *oLobəsią* grows careless, however, the water-jaguar who eats men [761] passes. It is then that people drown. What

[184] Known also as: *dinamą, bák-namą, ják namá tsirute*, and *dikun* or *dikum*.

[185] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ják namą* (stone-jaguar) *dinamą* (water-jaguar). Also see The Myth of *óknamą* and Linguistic Texts: *ók-nam-qte*.

* 539 776 really happens to them is that they are eaten by the water-jaguar.

● 823 [761] *oLobəsią* becomes aware that *dínamą́* has gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

(10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 821 The river flows downward and reaches the mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

[731] Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

(11) THE MYTH OF *óknamąte*[188]

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 761 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *sią́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrasén*, and Linguistic Texts: *dí-namą́*.

*539 make him sleep. It is then that the water-
776 jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He
searches for cacao, and when he discovers a
•823 well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is
761 when people drown because the water-jaguar
goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink
cacao with him. Wise people refuse because
they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamą́* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamą́*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 (*Cabécar*)
776
761 When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes
up and down inviting people to drink cacao
[823] with him. Most people refuse, but he always
gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar
drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after
[825] people, is warned by the cormorant and king-
fisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar
is drowning people by drinking their blood for
cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas
103 through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires
[133] to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on al-
[487] most all the maps of Costa Rica, from the
earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamąte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namą́ tɔ́* (jaguar print).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tribi, *Ash* in Terraba, and *Ka-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bri-bris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these inhabit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are 776 778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who [753] has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Uren, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-jums*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *bu-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to 776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Asas* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck, breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who [226] were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

824 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent [293] [481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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accidental discovery at rare intervals, of a half-rotten trunk in the woods. It is prized principally for its color, which is between that of old mahogany and rosewood, and which is probably in part due to seasoning, or to some change in the heart, consequent on the decomposition of the surface. When an Indian finds one of these sticks, he marks the spot, but dares not take possession immediately. He must purify himself by a three days fast before he can begin work on it. It is believed that these sticks are under the protection of a poisonous snake, and if the person has not properly prepared himself, the guardian will revenge the outrage by biting him. 824 [783]

The privileged classes, apart from the chiefs, are three. Two of these are hereditary. The *U-se'-ka-ra* is a sort of high priest, and is of nearly as great importance in the eyes of the people as the chief. In fact, the time was, and not very long ago either, when the chiefs themselves made journeys to visit him as suppliants. The present incumbent is a youth of perhaps twenty-five years of age, and is not yet full fledged. His predecessor, his father, died recently, and, until after the funeral feast, he cannot enter fully into the exercise of his functions. The family lives far back in the hills of Cabecar, and, although a member of that despised tribe, has from time immemorial held undisputed sway over both it and the Iri-bris. [565] 793

The former *U-se'-ka-ra* was very arrogant, and would hold no communication with foreigners. He claimed supernatural powers, and held frequent interviews with spirits. On these occasions he went alone to a cave, several miles from his house, and spent days together there. On his return he would not converse even with his own family. Nobody but his familiar, now a very old man, was allowed to serve him, or even to speak to him for a certain number of days after his return from one of these mysterious journeys. He rarely traveled about, or visited his neighbors. He lived by levying contributions on the people, or by voluntary presents. His only beverage was chocolate, and the cacao was contributed as voluntary gifts from people far and near. If he entered a house, and offered to buy, or expressed even admiration for anything, whether a chicken, a pig, or any other object, it was at once presented to him. It was considered as good as forfeited. If not presented, it would be sure to die anyhow, and his ill-will would be gained besides. In case of any public calamity, like an epidemic disease, or a scarcity of food from drought, the chief only must visit him, and beg his intercessions with the spirits. He would pay no attention to private appeals. In case he felt inclined to be gracious, he would retire to his cave, and in due time after order a fast. The young man who now holds the position, is one of the finest looking men in the country. He is tall and well formed, his good-natured looking face bears an expression of seriousness hardly in keeping with his youth; and his whole bearing is grave and impressive. I was forcibly struck by his manner, being so strongly in contrast with the light-hearted, talkative character of most of the people. When in

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejiballe* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilitti*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

417 usually from the *poro-poro* tree[16] (*Cochlospermum hibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco*
[324] *de fuego*, or *brutſ-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced.
241 One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *únbah*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

243 The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black[18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ʃjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *ɔskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *paweel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

[p. 7-B]

262 825 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are 223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to [411 177] shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine [824 278] (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an [227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

276 **Narcotics.** Tobacco is used extensively by both the men and the women. It is chewed mostly by the men, but also by the women. All people, including the children, smoke cigarettes, and both sexes use wooden pipes.

When hungry and no food is available, or

[Continued on p. 11-B, first paragraph]

HOUSES

342 Houses are built straight from the ground, without any attempt at a foundation, the floor being of earth. Occasionally, a shallow ditch is dug around the whole as a drain, and sometimes a low base of earth is built up and kept in place by wooden poles laid horizontally and supported by short vertical poles (see fig. 5, *c*), or by several wooden planks. Houses like this have earthen steps as an entrance. The majority of the structures, however, have a single pole at the very base serving as a finish between the house and the ground, and, in a measure, as a protection against water seepage from the outside (see fig. 5, *b*). None have porches.

In the lower, warmer areas, such as Curré and Lagarto, the houses frequently have a row of stones around their base, and even a protruding terrace of stones at the front (see fig. 5, *d*). This offers better protection in wet weather, as these sites are low and subject to backwashes from the river when rains and floods are heavy.

342 824 The shape of Boruca houses is square or rectangular. They are made of wooden poles with grass roofs. The wood used is *palo de mayo* (May tree) or the María tree, *palo María* (*Calophyllum brasiliense* Camb. var. *Rekoi* Standl.). There are two kinds of *palo de mayo*. One kind has white wood and is identified scientifically as *Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague, while the other, which is preferred and has a pinkish tinge is probably *Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.? The *palo María* also has a pinkish wood, and is used only when the tree is very small. On the coast, the wood of the *huiscoyol* palm (*Bactris minor* Jacq.) is used for roof rafters when available. It is not used in Boruca, as this palm does not grow there.

342 **House Construction.** The poles which are the thickest are placed vertically at the corners, by the doors, and at intervals along the

[Continued p. 11-B, second paragraph]

= *Cydista pubescens* Blake, according to Dr. R. J. Seibert, Turrialba, Costa Rica.

342 *bajareque* is never put on the walls neatly, but is always splotchy, giving the impression of a quick hasty job. The houses of the *Boruca* who live in the lowlands, e.g., in Curré and Lagarto, by the banks of the Diquis or Térraba River as a rule do not have *bajareque* because of the heat. When it is employed, it is only to cover the side where the prevailing winds touch.

The outstanding feature of Boruca houses is the roof which, except for a few houses generally in the lowlands, is made of grass. The few exceptions have roofs of corozo palm leaves or of the *sem* palm. The roofs are made with great care, and last from forty to fifty years.

A pole is tied horizontally to the top of all the vertical supporting poles (see fig. 6, *b*). The wood used is generally *palo de mayo*, or May tree. Other poles are tied vertically to these horizontal poles. These non-supporting vertical poles are then inclined until they converge and cross at the top, where they are fastened to two horizontal thick poles, one under, and one on top of the converged poles (see fig. 6, *b*). Anywhere from two to four pole braces, depending on the size of the house, are inclined from a bottom corner toward an opposite upper corner, usually reaching the center of the roof and not the corner. At intervals, thick poles are tied as horizontal braces to the vertical and converged supports (see fig. 6, *c*).

In between these braces, smaller poles are placed horizontally following the lines of the braces (see fig. 6, *c*, *d*).

342 824 Despite the fact that the savanna is full of various grasses, the Indians take great pains to procure only three special kinds which grow in these savannas, and which are considered essential for a Boruca roof. The first of these grasses is called in the Boruca tongue, *bjak*, and in Spanish, *zacate de sabana*. It resembles *calinguero*, which in other parts of Costa Rica is planted for cattle feed. However, *bjak* does not have an odor. This grass has a little fuzz all over it which makes it in a measure impenetrable to water, and is supposed to keep all drops from entering. The second kind is called in Boruca, *ʃupʃus*, and in Spanish, *zacate de comején*, or "termite grass," as the termite likes to make nests at its roots. This grass is

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. 342 They put these rolls on an ox or on their own [492 backs and take them to the building site (see 482] fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigona*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Cordage.** The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain [155] cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every-
[824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[296] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied
[412] to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
424 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[157] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[177] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tɔju-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-kra*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

[p. 20-B]

824

APPENDIX A: PLANT NAMES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	A	
alligator pear	*aguacate*	*Persea americana* Mill.
ando-riel (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
Arundinella	*cola de venado* or *cola de chivo*	*Arundinella Deppeana* Nees.
	B	
balsa	*balsa*	*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.
banana	*banano*	*Musa sapientum* "
banana	*guineo morado*	" " "
bean	*frijol*	*Phaseolus* sp.
bejuco de fierro (iron vine or *bejuco negro*)	*bejuco de fierro* or *bejuco negro*	perhaps *Anthurium scandens* (Aubl.) Engler; *Cydista pubescens* Blake
bejuco de fuego (fire vine)	*bejuco de fuego*	?
bejuco de hombre (man vine) or *ando-riel* (rail vine)	*bejuco de hombre* or *ando-riel*	?
bijagua	*bijagua*	*Calathea insignis* Petersen
bijagua, black	*bijagua negra*	*Calathea* spp.
bluing	*anil de mata*	*Justicia tinctoria* (Oerst.) Hemsl.
Boruca bean	*frijol de Boruca*	variation of *Phaseolus vulgaris* L.
	C	
cabuya	*cabuya*	*Furcroea* spp.; also *Agave* spp.
cacao or chocolate	*cacao*	*Theobroma Cacao* L.
cane, white or wild	*caña blanca*	*Gynerium sagittatum* (Aubl.) Beauv. (*saccharoides* Humb. & Bonpl.)
capulin, white	*capulin blanco*	*Muntingia Calabura* L.
caraña	*caraña*	*Protium* spp.
carbonero	*carbonero*	*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.
cashew	*marañón*	*Anacardium occidentale* L.
cassava (see yuca)		
castor bean	*castor*	*Ricinus communis* L.
cedar	*cedro*	*Cedrela* spp.
cedrón	*cedrón*	*Simaba Cedron* Planch.
chocolate (see cacao)		
chumico	*chumico*	*Curatella americana* L.
coffee	*café*	*Coffea* spp.
Conostegia	*kana kra'*	*Conostegia extinctoria* (Bonpl.) D. Don.
contrayerva	*contrayerba*	*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.
copaiba	*canibar*	*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.
copal	*copal*	*Protium costaricense* (Rose) Engler

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THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
cordoncillo	*cordoncillo*	*Piper* spp.
corn	*maíz*	*Zea Mays* L.
corozo palm	*corozo*	*Corozo oleifera* (HBK) L. H. Bailey
cotton	*algodón*	*Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.
cotton, colored	*tecolote*	*Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.
coyol palm	*coyol*	*Acrocomia vinifera* Oerst.
Cuphea	*tibu-kri*	*Cuphea urticulosa* Koehne
	D	
disciplina palm (dwarf)	*disciplina*	*Chamaedorea* sp.
	E	
espavel	*espavel*	*Anacardium excelsum* (Bert. & Balb.) Skeels
Elaeis	*tuskre'*	*Elaeis melanococa* Gaertn
	F	
fire vine (see *bejuco de fuego*)		
	G	
gourd	*jícara*; *guacal*	*Crescentia Cujete* L.
guácimo	*guácimo*	*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.
guaco	*guaco*	*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bompl.
guamacaste	*guamacaste*	*Enterolobium* (Pittier, 1941, p. 59 classifies this as *Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Grisebb.)
guava	*guayabo*	*Psidium Guajava* L.
	H	
hoja de durante	*hoja de durante*	*Bactris minor* Jacq.
huiscoyol palm	*huiscoyol*	
	I	
indigo	*añil*	*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.
Inga	*guava*	*Inga spectabilis* (Vahl) Willd.
	J	
jabonsillo	*jabonsillo*	*Leguminosae* sp.
	L	
little stick grass	*zacate de palito*	?
	M	
majagua	*majagua*	*Hampea* sp., and other spp.
mango	*mango*	*Mangifera indica* L.
mangrove	*mangle*	*Rhizophora Mangle* L.
man vine (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
María tree	*palo María*	*Calophyllum brasiliense* Camb. var. *Rekoi* Standl.
mastate, red	*mastate colorado*	*Brosimum utile* (HBK) Pittier
mastate, white	*mastate blanco*	*Brosimum* sp.? (Pittier, 1941, p. 63, wrongly classified this tree as *Brosimum utile*)
May tree, pink	*palo de mayo (rosado)*	*Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.?
May tree, white	*palo de mayo (blanco)*	*Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague

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APPENDIX A: PLANT NAMES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	N	
nance	*nance*	*Byrsonima crassifolia* (L.) DC.
nene or nemo	*nene or nemo*	*Abrus precatorius* L. ?
ñampi	*ñampi*	*Dioscorea trifida* L.
	O	
ojoche	*ojoche*	*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier
ojo de buey	*ojo de buey*	*Mucuna urens* (L.) DC.
orange	*naranjos*	*Citrus sinensis* (L.) Osbeck
	P	
pacaya palm	*pacaya*	*Chamaedorea* sp.
palmiera	*palmiera*	*Socratea* sp.
papaya	*papaya*	*Carica Papaya* L.
pejibaye palm	*pejibaye*	*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.
Philodendron	*so-kra'*	*Philodendron* spp.
pineapple	*piña*	*Ananas comosus* (L.) Merr.
pita	*pita*	*Aechmea magdalenae* André
plantain	*plátano*	*Musa paradisiaca* L.
poró	*poró*	(Probably, *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli; Pittier, 1908, p. 163, identifies this tree as *Erythrina corallodendron* L.)
poro-poro	*poro-poro*	*Cochlospermum vitifolium* Willd. (Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1908, p. 129; 1941, p. 68.)
	Q	
Quassia	*hombre grande*	*Quassia amara* L.
	R	
rail vine (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
rice	*arroz*	*Oryza sativa* L.
royal palm	*palma real*	*Scheelea rostrata* (Oerst.) Burret
rubber, wild	*hule macho*	*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook
	S	
sandbox tree	*javillo*	*Hura polyandra* Baill. Pittier, 1941, p. 59, classifies this tree as *Hura crepitans* L.
savanna grass	*zacate de sabana*	?
sem palm	*sem-kra'*	*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.
Serjania	*sierrilla*	*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.
sotacaballo	*sotacaballo*	*Pithecolobium latifolium* (L.) Benth.
Spanish plum	*jocote*	*Spondias purpurea* L.
squash	*calabazo*	*Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne
stilt palm	*chonta*	*Socratea durissima* Wendl.
stilt palm, black	*chonta negra*	*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit
Strychnos	*curarina*	*Strychnos toxifera* Schomb. ex Benth.
sugar cane	*caña dulce*	*Saccharum officinarum* L.

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THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	T	
turnip grass	*zacate de conejo*	?
tiquique	*tiquique*	*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott
tobacco	*tabaco*	*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.
	V	
vanilla	*vainilla*	*Vanilla fragrans* (Salisb) Ames
	Y	
yuca	*yuca*	*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.
yucca	*izote*	*Yucca elephantipes* Regel
yuquilla	*yuquilla*	*Curcumus longa* L.

[p.40]

[P.11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[see category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*). The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*). Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
411 large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
●824 sible, they are made of *morki*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakómogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*havas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

1 [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 [171] The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 The most common beverage is chicha, al- [272] though it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *fiampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Tala- [484] manca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 . . . in which are congregated all those of the same 342 family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves un- [361] available (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 The modern house is known in both languages [192] as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).
[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *buga* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of
[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of
[824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *buga*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubted-
[177] ly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilinearly to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from
[177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caarka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *havas*,[1] made by men and 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[29] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
[192] indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
[824] oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.
[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
[352] low stool is always present but a chair and a
table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[824] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[231] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
women but chiefly by the men.
[434] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[474] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every 248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hexes* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is
[137] among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
[436] times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *s*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into
[462] thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[36] Fletcher, 1938, p. 13.

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* [482] (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which [171] closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [482] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets are made from it.

[824] A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

283 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines
824 and rope.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth
as it requires considerable strength. There are
[462] three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made
[824] in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets,
[513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loin-
[438] cloths, and as an article of trade with the Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild
[415] rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous
415 for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape
[224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets.
[227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de bierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline.
[482] Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1926, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made with a metal point attached to a wooden [322] handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
● 824 on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. 824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
761 person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid.
756 The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik* (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe
846 who is also washed with leaves which sup-
[824] posedly have protective powers. These leaves
[751] include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day,
[783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé-
756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the
[783] child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps
[756] the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[192] [101] This is called the *papakusk* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is common and they are weaned anywhere from
[862] one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kusk* is "to bathe."
192 [108] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

764 (*see* Fibers). They cover the bark cloth with the leaves of white *bijagua* (*murksí*) and tie it again with the special string. Leaves of the [824] white *bijagua* are essential for the dead. They [264] are not used to wrap or serve food as is the black *bijagua* (*bikuLəkə*) because they have a faint taste and odor. After the feast the bundle is "buried" in the forest. In effect, it is covered with briar bushes and branches or is even placed in a shallow grave.

Gabb [112] gives a description of two deaths he witnessed among the Bribri in the second half of the past century.

In 1947, the writer had the opportunity to be present at a ceremony for a little girl in Cabécar, the account of which follows. When we arrived at the house, a small ceremonial fire called *hamburu* had been made and beside it the *já* had placed a gourd filled with water. As we entered, they put another gourd filled with *chilate*, a preparation of ground maize, ripe bananas, and water, on a white *bijagua* leaf by the fire as well as a cotton burr and a little raised-rim grinding stone with a pestle on top.

Some cotton without seeds was tied with *pita* to a stick. There was also a *mochila* or net carrying bag with two small gourds filled with ground cacao and ground maize, respectively (fig. 11, *b*). The belief is that the soul goes 775 below where the sun comes from. When the sun rises, the soul goes along with it to the sky but always returns below. The food set by the fire is needed for this journey.

764 The *bika'kra* or Organizer of the Feast put this food on the raised shelf where the body was lying hidden by a banana leaf screen made with a pole frame. Then he undertook the task of seeing that there was enough food for the people present.

The grieved mother, a widow, remained apart from everyone, sitting at the very edge of the house, grimly silent. As long as the dead was there, custom decreed that she could not do a thing, neither eat, except to drink chocolate, nor talk at length. She also had to be bathed with hot water by a woman after the body was removed. Meanwhile the Organizer of Feasts arranged the banquet which various women were preparing over a big fire inside the house. He also fixed the raised shelf which was rather fragile.

[112] Gabb, 1875, pp. 497-99.

765 of an individual a year or more after death.
The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[643] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today
is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essen-
tial contribution to the cultural background
of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[184] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[765] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of
the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the
purpose of ceremonials in connection with
such burials. Here the bones are taken from the
leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the
Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the
deceased and all his actions, for example: how
he planted, worked, what he did, and where
he went. The song also gives the reason for
his death. If the dead was female, the song
recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
[535] times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people
and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard.
Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near
the headwaters of a stream. Here are located
the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep,
round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
● [824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called
suri in Cabécar) which does not rot easily.
The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but
the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The
Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar
in that the bones should not in any way touch
the earth. An additional plank is inclined over
the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to
inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The
Burier removes the planks of the grave and
puts the bone package in with his hands while
the medicine man sings, explaining that now
the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

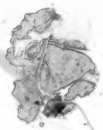
[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

756 term is *sią* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are
778 called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
swa. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves.
Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to
the medicine man on special occasions, or are
handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan.
When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish
to give his own stones to a young professional,
his brother or clan keeps them until a new
doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without
these two stones although other ones are also
used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild
pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the par-
ticular animal when one hunts and it is for this
reason the Indians say that medicine men never
lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose a medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.



756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

756 head man placed five folded carrying bags,
[352] one with a stone inside belonging to the novice; a paper package; two stones; and the basket with the feathers. These stones were not part of the *siq̨* and were handed to the chief medicine man by his wife. As each object was put on the bench, every medicine man and the aspirant had to put a hand on it. The principal medicine man took the basket and put it first on the stool and then on the earthen floor of the house and announced that it was time to rest. All got up.

At this point, the first wife of the head man handed him a gourd lined with banana leaves and filled with hot chocolate (unsweetened). He took it and all left the main house, singing, and went to a smaller one where there was a kitchen. There they said to two women who were cooking by the fire, "*i̧kȩʒichərkq̨*" (here many people do not fit), and "*siq̨ tsurú ibaq̨ siq̨*" (*siq̨* chocolate heat for *siq̨*).

[824] Then they took a pile of *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) leaves from a *tabanco* and brought it to the first house saying, "*ʒəbi* (this stands for *siq̨*) *dibaLa* (chocolate hot; if *ʒəbi* were not before this word, it would mean water hot, but the name for the stones changes the meaning) *mekq̨* (put)." This is a phrase used ceremoniously. Freely translated it signifies, "They are going to heat chocolate for *ʒəbi*."

The witnesses answered, "*ékéké*" (good).

The medicine men brought in the chocolate in an iron pot and placed it on the floor beside the bench with the stones, another bunch of leaves, and leaf-wrapped packages of white maize chicha. The *bijaguas* were to be used as cups for the chocolate. They said to those present, "Wait. We are going to serve the feast." All replied, "Good."

They brought in more leaves and a child came with water in a gourd. This was immediately taken by a medicine man and was placed on leaves on the floor beside the bench.

The first wife of the head medicine man and another woman sat on a long bench. They were to serve the feast. All women who participate in this ceremony must be old or at
[887] least middle-aged. The men sat opposite on another long bench and the chief one began to chant, "*milkadioʒək*" (let's drink this). Each medicine man, always holding his staff and

756 [787] sign and that the novice would turn out to be a good curer.

After the fanning, the group returned to the main house and once more partook of the chocolate, food, and chicha. This time the aspirant took the place of the medicine man who passed the cups and was coached by the chief man.

The head man took a piece of cotton and picked up the pebblelike stones of the aspirant and sung over them. He wrapped them in cotton and put them in a small carrying bag with the largest of the stones on top. He placed this carrying bag in a bigger one and tied it up for the novice. He took another bag and lectured over it to one of the medicine men and then put it around his own neck. The other *jawá* picked up his stones and put them in the two carrying bags from whence they had come, while the chief man did the same with the stones of the others. Finally, he hung the bag belonging to the aspirant around the latter's neck.

A medicine man, acting as assistant, brought the head man five leaves of *poró-poró* (*Cochlospermum vitifolium* [Willd.] Spreng.) who shaped one of them into a cup and put it on the small bench. He put a pinch of Honduras bark, *cáscara amarga* (*Sweetia panamensis* Benth.), on each of the other leaves piling them on top of one another. The rest of the medicine he tied up in a leaf and gave to the aspirant who put it in a carrying bag hanging on the wall. Both then moved to the entrance of the house and the novice went outside. The chief man poured water from a small special gourd into the *poró-poró* cup and the novice had to mix the bark from one of the leaves in it and wash out his mouth. This had to be repeated until the contents of each leaf was used. The medicine left in the carrying bag was to be used in the same way after four days, with the chief medicine man present. On that occasion, the new doctor must talk to the stones also. [824]

When the mouth washing was over, the head man took the carrying bag of the novice from the wall and put it over the latter's shoulder so that it hung down his right side. He proceeded to give the young man two new low benches made of white balsa wood and a white blanket which he wrapped around [352]

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Cabecar

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was
753 considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition.
[774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hák-namá* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 A medicine for snake bites is made from
● 824 *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and
757 is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and
755 magical elements included in curing are songs
533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to
[787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

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*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namú* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namú*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [183]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namú*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namú* and his uncle, *aroromosa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because [821] when *aroromosa* smokes cigars there is a breeze.

[776] as five or eight men together.
[416] [183] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.
[824]

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

● [824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *síbawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

*539 *gruwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítswa*.
614 The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítswa*, where
824 they lived, one of the first women in the world
825 belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm
778 at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from
186 *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the
535 form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.
103
[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.
779
177

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

* 539 ● 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO[200]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiŋə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiŋə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

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* 539 Humb. & Bonpl.), and the two kinds of what
[824] is commonly called wild cacao (*Theobroma angustifolium* D.C. and *Theobroma purpureum* Pittier) are formed from *spaLbu*, *soro*, and *tipə* respectively. Of these, only *siru* has won the hearts of all people, not alone of Talamanca, but of the entire world. And thus it is
[595] that as *sibu* had four wives, the Cabécar and the Bribri can have four also, but should not have more.

The Origin of the Whale

(*Bribri*)

A bad spirit disguised as man took up with a woman and she became pregnant. Eight days later she gave birth to twins who were crawling within four days and walking within the next four days. Still four days later, they began to kill birds with a blow gun.

It was then that the grandmother said to her daughter, "Your sons are not the sons of a man because they've grown so large. I am going to find out."

The twins heard their grandmother's remark.

When the old lady went to the forest where they hunted birds, instead of the boys she found two big snakes beside a wild fig tree. These serpents had birds.

The grandmother ran to the mother and cried, "Those two sons of yours are not human."

The boys, however, returned to the house as twins.

"You see," said the grandmother.

"Don't scold me so, mother," the woman replied. "Tomorrow I am going to see if it's true that they are not human."

The next morning the boys said to their mother, "We want you to go to the forest and pick up the birds we kill."

When the mother reached the woodland, she found that her twins were two large snakes. And they ate her.

The grandmother who was waiting at home, asked the boys at their return where their mother was.

"I don't know where she went, grandmother," one replied, "because she wasn't following us."

The next day, the twins said to their grand-

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They
273 are held when there is need of group labor
such as building a house, clearing a field,
making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
[571] at death or bone burial that groups of people
meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply
liberal quantities of chicha and at least suffi-
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Analysis]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the
preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of
clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana
skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[824] the red fruit of the *butsi* tree and is then tied
with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a
half to three feet and they are played by hand.
Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a
stick. The people on the Pacific side do not
have the upright drum but use the Chiricano
caja or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with
two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick
while those of land turtles are used in a similar
manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a
musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled
with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or
wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the up-
right drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and
1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty
drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific
side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Analysis]

[192] [204] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 100 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 100(B)--Analyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	Use
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropis* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLo	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kóLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever--mash stem and boil
[342] tsíchica	*Menispermacen Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] tsbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
duískLo	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 100(B)--Analyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	Use
barbo	*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri	fish poison
chuo	*Serjania* sp.	fish poison
	Pothomorphe piperaceae	boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] boruLá	*Eufobia sapium*	glue
chicarré	*Bocconia frutescéns*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom of P. 100(B)--Analyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.100(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apískicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

824
[278]
[845]
[272]
[844]

CABÉCAR

	Latin	Use
popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bóLk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacia sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

[278]
[386]
[515]
[278]

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ʃjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *ɔskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *pawel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 Fishing. The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8). [439 524]

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao. 324

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[82] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the [825]

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camibar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camibar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p. [783]

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[82] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

[798]

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

241

821

When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia*[25a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

825
773

[25a] See below.

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

[p. 25-B]

825

APPENDIX B: NAMES OF [illegible] ANIMALS, FISH, AND REPTILES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	A	
armadillo	*cosuco; armadillo*	*Dasypus novemcinctus* Linn.
	B	
bee (wild) from Caños Island[1]		*Apis Trigona* or *Apis Melipona*?
bee (wild)	*jicote*	*Melipona bechii* supsp. *bechii*
beehunter	*cascabela muda*	*Lachesis muta*
	C	
clam	*almeja*	?
crab (river)	*cangrejo del rio*	*Pseudotelphusa magna*
crayfish	*camarón*	?
croaker	*roncador*	?
curassow	*pavoel*	*Crax rubra* Linn.
	D	
deer	1) *cabra* 2) *venado*	1) *Mazama sartorii* Saussure 2) *Odocoilus* Boddaert
	G	
guan (crested)	*pava*	*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.
gustuss	*gustuss*	*Dasyprocta* sp.
	M	
macaw (scarlet)	*lapa; guacamaya*	*Ara macao* Linn.
[386] mollusk (large for purple dye)	*caracol; morada*	*Purpura patula* Gould
mollusk (small, for purple dye)	*caracol; molusco*	*Purpura biosquiformis* Duclos
monkey (red)	*mono colorado*	*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl
monkey (white-faced)	*carablanca*	*Cebus capucinus* Linn.
mullet (fresh water)	*sepemachin*	*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.
	P	
parakeet	*perico*	*Aratinga canicularis* Linn.
parrot	*loro*	*Amazona auropalliata* Lem.
perch	*mojarra*	*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.
pig (peccary)	*chancho del monte*	*Pecari angulatus* Cope
pig (wild boar?)	*cariblanco*	*Tayassu pecari* Fischer
pigeon	*paloma*	*Columba* sp.
pigeon (white wing)		
	S	
snook	*robalo*	*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey
	T	
sepezcuinte	*sepezcuinte*	*Coelogenys paca*
tinamou (chestnut-headed)	*gallina del monte*	*Tinamus major* Gmel.
toucan	*curré*	*Ramphastos ruasinonii* Gould

[1] The result of the analysis of the sample of Caños Island Wild Bees Wax by the Laboratorio Químico Oficial, República de Costa Rica, was the following:

Resin	78.17%
Wax	8.65%
Substances insoluble in ether	13.18%
	100.00%
Humidity	3.12%
Ashes	3.20%
Sugars	0.00%
Gloss	0.00%

September 21, 1945

[p. 41]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SAI9 Talamanca SAI9

539 willed, "May he let me have the whistle! May he look back into the house!" And as this happened, Sibú ran away and ran on whistling all the while. Meanwhile Sórkura thought he would go and set him an ambush on the path. He took four of his spears and his shield, hung his conch upon a string around his body, and said to his people: "I will go and kill Sibú; when you hear my conch resound, Sibú shall be dead. Then you are to warm up my cacao, as I will soon be back." He then went and waited for Sibú to pass by, and when Sibú came along, he threw one of his spears at him. But Sibú had on the back of his head another ear, which warned him that some one was going to shoot at him. The spear fell noisily on his side. Sórkura made another throw, but without effect. And now Sibú took one of the spears in his hand, and threw it at Sórkura, who received it on his shield. Then Sibú willed, "I will kill Sórkura; may he look over his shield!" Then he took a new aim, and Sórkura was shot just in the middle of his face. And Sibú took the conch, and blew: *Tuú, tuú*, so that the woods resounded, and he cut Sórkura's body into pieces with his knife, and made it into flesh, bones, blood, and bowels, which ever since have been [787] things of ill-omen to us.[1] Sórkura's people waited long, and kept his chocolate warm for him; but he never came back. Sibú had killed Sórkura!

V. THE KING OF THE TAPIRS.

[825] Like the wild hogs and the deer, the tapirs have also their king. Two Bribri went hunting into the woods, each one carrying his bow and arrows. They met with a white tapir, and tried to kill it; but they did not succeed. Both ran after it, but they lost its track, and one of them went astray, no one ever knew how. The other looked for him everywhere, but did not find him. So he went back to his home, where he asked for his companion, and, as he had not come back, everybody thought that he had met with a mishap, and lost his life.

The lost man ran far away behind the tapir until he lost sight of it; then he stood still to rest. Soon his ear perceived the crowing of a cock. He then thought that there was some house near, and, having gone to see, he got to a large *palenque*.[2] He went in, and

[1] Every time the Indians find in the woods leaves sprinkled with blood, or bones and excrement, the origin of which they cannot explain, they see in them Sórkura's relics, and turn away with awe; also leaves having the appearance of being spotted with blood, such as frequently occur in certain groups of plants (*Araceæ*, *Begonia*, *Columnea*, etc.), are considered to be of the same origin, and are signs of ill-omen for the undertaking they are engaged upon.

[2] Palenque is the *Spanish* or possibly *Nahua* word employed in Costa Rica to [104] designate the large conical houses of the Bribri, who call the same *ó-suri*.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

there was standing a man of stately appearance. He asked, "Here I am; how art thou?" The other answered, "Well; why didst thou come here?" And he told how he had shot at a tapir, and had lost it. Then the man of the house went on, and said, "Why dost thou shoot to play? When thou shootest, do it so as to kill, so that the poor beast does not fall a prey to the worms. But I see thou art tired, so come in and have a seat." And he brought him *chicha*, and gave him to eat the meat of the tapir at which the hunter had shot without effect, but which the owner of the house had killed. 539

And when he had rested, drunk, and eaten, the hunter said that he had visited his host. But this one replied, "There, take thou this piece of cane, and plant it at thine home, and when the cane has grown its full growth again, then, but not until then, shalt thou be able to speak once more."

When the hunter got to his house, he could not utter even a word, so he planted the cane; and it grew, and when it had attained its full height, then the hunter could talk again, and he told all that had happened to him.

The man in whose house the hunter had been was the king of the tapirs, and this is why he treated him so.

VI. THE KING OF THE WILD HOGS.

Among the beasts, the wild hogs also have a king. He is to all appearance like a very white and good-looking fellow, who goes through the woods with a big stick in his hand. He lives in an enchanted place on the heights of San-krá-ua, and his door is guarded by a huge tiger. 773 825

The king of the hogs is displeased when the Indians wound his subjects without killing them at once. Once upon a time there was in Boruca one of those bad hunters who had the reputation of being a bad archer, and who always wounded the animals, but never killed them. One day he went into the woods, and met with a large herd of hogs, after which he ran and ran, without being able to reach them. When he paid attention to the place he had got into, he saw that he had gone astray. Then he went ahead until he came into the presence of the king of the hogs, who caught him by the throat and said, "Why dost thou hurt all my hogs without ever killing them? Now thou shalt suffer for it, because thou shalt remain in my hands until thou hast healed them all." And there he stayed for a long time, healing hogs; and at the beginning they did not let him heal them, but came upon him to bite. So that he suffered a thousand deaths, until they were cured a little, and became so tame as to follow him everywhere. [224] 539

When there were no more hogs to cure, the king called our

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
[177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group
[474] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
[237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
[825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
[178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil-
[777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own
[237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skęLi*		5 days after today *skęiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [756] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their prac- [609] tise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okụm* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
[178] that certain vestiges of traditional customs persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.**
764 There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jəwá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ʒarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or *ókụm* in Bribri and *kerí* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are
● [825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

964 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burío*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the [775] ceremonial one which had the food for the dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the [825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as [775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the [775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[997] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté ɨuwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the world. The task of the Singer was performed [767] by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[115] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
224 stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[115] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[116] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
[627] tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[692] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[681] usual method is for the family of the culprit
184 to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[423] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
[565] classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This [787] is extremely important because without a staff [776] contact with the spirit, *duLæ*, the messenger of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLæ*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLæ* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, [825] quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis Episcopus Diaconus* Lesson), hawk, parsquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ikéké*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *sikkure*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *sikkée*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

[P. 47 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
sią is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
Theological Beliefs). It also denotes unclean-
[776] liness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
ksiok (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[843] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[783] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
[752] or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.

825 Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
926 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 825 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals [779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt [224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro- [776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated 753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be 825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is [776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had [756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. 784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch 825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* 614 Death) are the only persons who can touch 262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct [767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch [775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, and *ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in 726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tφmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tφmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tφmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tφmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLáʒibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLáʒibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [141] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ká* in Bribri and *namá* in Cabécar.
[142] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

*539 which annoyed *sibu*. He sent to *okama*, a person who had tools, to fell it. *okama* was not very willing to carry out *sibu's* bidding until the latter said, "Listen to the sound of that tree. Soon it will break the air."

This convinced *okama* and he agreed to help down it. Then *sibu* told the deer to run and make a trail so that the tree could fall. This is the reason why the deer runs swiftly.

He sent the kingfisher and the cormorant with orders to take an end of the tree and make a large circle in the air until the two met. With that the tree fell and turned to water becoming the sea.

When the tree was in the sky, all the birds made nests in it. With its transformation into the sea, the nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles, and the leaves turned to crabs.

After this happened, Thunder broke a stone and from it pulled the large son of the devil and flattened him out in a round shape, making earth from him. This is why the earth is round.

Then *sibu* wanted to plant so he sent for a devil called Earthquake and said, "Move the earth."

Another devil, however, said to Earthquake, "Move the earth so that people will know that when there are earthquakes nothing will take root and sickness will come."

sibu liked the idea, so he planted wood and maize. The maize sprouted into men who were the Cabécares and Bribri. Then the bat asked, "*sibu*, how'll you pay me for being cut by the devil?"

"Oh," said *sibu*, "Just wait until there are people in the world and cows and pigs and horses. If you want to eat, you can eat these."

• [825] "Thanks," replied the bat. And it is for this reason that the bat likes to suck the blood of animals and of men.

There were now men but nothing to eat. So *sibu* said that he would bring and plant large pumpkins (*ayote*), yuca, *tiquizque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), plantains, *ñame*, and alligator pears. He brought the pumpkins, and from them came *tepezcuintles* (*Cuniculus virgatus*). He brought *tiquizque*, and from it came the wild boar. He brought yuca, and from it came the fish. The large plantain turned to deer, the *ñame* to tapirs, and the alligator pear to monkeys.

*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

sibu arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[173] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

Lightning

(*Cabécar*)

*539 821 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuṇban*.

The Rain

(*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karṇibikè-*

[825] [173] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybidae* Fam.).

[174] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 821 823 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio politico*, and had another son called *cuburə*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namą́*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the [825] Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[178] [180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sajerə* (people) *juar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 *enus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
823 lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
[825] lightning bolt. He also frightens people who
try to harm the Indians. This is why when a
storm is brewing, first the water birds appear;
next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise
and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
776 river to another, over mountains and around
821 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his
quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, im-
mediately a chasm forms causing *dínamɨ́* to
move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamɨ́*. This is
why there are always a few of these birds on
the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamɨ́* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must
sing the following song to convince him to
stop blowing:

> It is not with me
> This tree is my fruit
> This house is mine
> The trees are mine
> Go on to fight with others,
> This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
[761] ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people
to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to
serike saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come
and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamɨ́* (*bák namɨ́*) couldn't drown the people.

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Cabecar

*539 make him sleep. It is then that the water-
776 jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He
823 searches for cacao, and when he discovers a
761 well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamú* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamú*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

*539 (*Cabécar*)
776
761 When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes
[823] up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after
●[825] people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

778 *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas
103 through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires
[133] to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on al-
[487] most all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamúte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namú tó* (jaguar print).

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 ●[825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *síbawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

*539 614 [824] [825] *gruwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənitswa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənitswa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[779] [177] [197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

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*589 [595] taught people how to dance and to sing the following song:

> *sibu* came in the form of a buzzard
> dressed as a man,
> Collar on his neck.
> The collar reflected,
> He came with the collar
> Ejené, ekujé,[199]
> Ejené, eanjé,[199]
> He came to give us the dance
> He came from the air.
> Ejené, ekujé,
> Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound [825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [199] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.

[593] [199] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

Non-Theological Tales.

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825

The Grandmother of the Toad

(*Bribri*)

buké winchké is the grandmother of the toad. She lives where the sun sets and is a helper of *sibu*. When he gives her his hand, amoebas come. Therefore, it is impossible to cure them. He who is born to die of amoebas, must do so.

[761]

Why the Toads Have Ugly Buttocks

(*Bribri*)

Long ago the toads liked to dance the Monkey Dance (*see* Dances). This disgusted *sibu* so when they sat down, he partially dried their buttocks making them thinner than the rest of their body.

The Alligator[201]

(*Cabécar*)

The alligator lived in a large pool where he had a balsa (raft). He had a beard and a long tongue to catch whatever he wanted. When he saw people, he would stick out his tongue and pull them in.

sibu was annoyed with this and sent a man to pull the tongue out, giving him his staff to help with the task. The man put the staff on the alligator's tongue and pulled it and the beard out, both of which he gave to the sun to make its rays.

The Iguana

(*Cabécar*)

sibu heard a cry from afar. He told the iguana to find out from whence the cry came. The iguana, however, refused to do *sibu's* bidding. As a punishment, *sibu* beat him. Then the iguana cried, "If you put me in the river, I'll die."

He was put in the river, but he was content, because there he found the alligator, the serpent, and the crab. All were his friends and he liked to stay with them.

[136]

[201] There are no alligators in Costa Rica, only crocodiles.

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The Armadillo

(*Cabécar*)

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sibu wanted someone to guard the corn. The armadillo offered himself saying, "I can because I have no teeth."

On the third day, however, *sibu* discovered that the armadillo was eating the corn and he beat him. The animal cried and said to *sibu*, "If you throw me in the water, I won't die, but if you throw me on the earth I'll die."

sibu threw him on the earth and the armadillo promptly dug a hole.

The Armadillo

(*Bribri*)

The armadillo wanted to steal the four grains of maize *sibu* had to form the nation (our race). He planned to use a shell as a basket to carry them.

sibu found out and told the armadillo he should not do this and certainly should not use that shell.

"Don't punish me and you'll see I can be very useful," said the armadillo and put the shell on his back.

sibu picked him up by the tail and started to throw him when the animal said, "Don't throw me in the air. Throw me on the land."

sibu did so and where he fell he made a hole. The armadillo kept on digging in the hole. This is why he has a shell and why he lives in the earth.

The Lizard

(*Cabécar*)

sibu ordered the lizard to go underground on a mission for him. Instead of going, he forgot and slept in the sun. As a punishment, *sibu* put cacao butter on his back so that whenever he goes in the sun he shines.

The Crab

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

The crab was *sibu's* helper and was sent to earth to see what he could find. He dug in and fresh water came up for man.

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The Spider

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
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[177]

Most spiders in Talamanca have white eggs. These symbolize the stones which *sibu* left. *sibu* blew and the spider eggs became round and white. The medicine man's best stones are round and white. The Catholic priest also must have stones as *sibu* left them for both the medicine men and the priests. Without these stones there could be no mass. The Indian's stones are more valuable because *sibu* left them first. The stones found in graves are of no use now because the people then had other medicine men.

The Whale

(*Bribri*)

The whale lived in the sky with *sibu* but he liked to go to earth to eat people. *sibu* became worried that he would do away with man so he expelled him from the sky to the sea.

The Congo Monkey and Lightning

(*Bribri*)

Lightning in the form of man went hunting and met the Congo monkey. When he went to shoot, the monkey said, "Wait while I cover myself with my hands."

Then Lightning shot and all of the monkey was blackened by this except where he had his hands which was his lower portion between his legs. This is why the Congo monkey is black all over with the exception of this white part.

Later the Congo met the jaguar. The jaguar said, "Look, you have a loud voice but not so loud."

"Say," answered the Congo monkey, "my voice is louder than yours. I am going to be in the trees and my voice has to be heard from there, so yours can't be more powerful than mine."

The jaguar replied, "No, you're wrong." And he produced a cow's horn to help his voice along.

The monkey grabbed it and carried the horn to the tree top. The jaguar remained sad.

"Now we'll see who has the loudest voice,"

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little [888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 484 [576] Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
● 825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
226 instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
[574] closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bí	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsẹn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəṇẹ́* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
273

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539

4. There is the turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
(*2*) Shell pool,[215] devil pool, dance of *kásuma*, dance [of *kásuma*].
(*3*) *Ledj*[216] horizon,[217] beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon.

5. Brave child, beautiful horizon, brave child he, ended brave.

6. *See* Linguistic Text.

7. I say nothing more.

21. The Dance of *duLętə*[218] (*Bribri*)

1. The elders are going to [dance] *duLętə*;
Let's go [dance] *duLętə*;
Let's dance; now let's walk. (*2*) In the front place there is no place to see.

2. Sir,[219] sir, *masLakésLa*.[220]
It touches, touches [the other world].
Lari river does not touch, touch.

---

4. jockoko kasenje ta-kuea, kuen-dí, ta-kuen-dí, Lan-dí, ta-səLəLa səLonchi, ta-doa-donchi.
(*2*) ˜tadon-dí,[221] suen[222]-dí, iberke kosa jé-iberke.
(*3*) jé-Ledj ta-matedia ta-Lotedia, ta-nawengiwę,[223] ta-nawendia, taigewendiaLe, taigewendiaLe.

5. ta-natę manbLi,[224] taigewendiaLe, ta-natę-i-manbLi, taiLote[225] manbLi.

6. kaake[226] kasjeje jackoajeć.

7. ejke-ser-iche.

21. duLętə[227]

1. sképépa mi-duLętə;
mjika duLętak;
sədaLetś; iké-səlka. (*2*) woka[228] kélą kjaąk aje-kąni-kéta.

2. kéké, kéké, masLakésLa.[229]
i-kana, kana[230]
di-paLj Larj kei[231]-kana kana.

[215] Certain shells were part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Medicine Man's Paraphernalia).
[216] This is a name. [217] Literally, "where ends the sky."
[218] This is a dance name as in English one says waltz or fox trot.
[219] This is a term of respect used for elders. [220] A mountain going down the Lari River.
[221] *tadon* is the *carucol* or water snail. [222] *suen* is Térraba for *Lan*.
[223] This and the following three words signify "to adorn."
[224] This is a Térraba word to signify "something red" or "reflects."
[225] Literally, "closed" or "finished" or "end."
[226] These three words are included for sound only.
[227] This song is in part Bribri and in part Cabécar.
[228] The following is in Cabécar. [229] Bribri begins.
[230] "The other world" is understood here. [231] This is Cabécar.

[535]
[825]

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.* These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

* [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann [147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hák-namá* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and 757 is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

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142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the 827 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during 843 pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the [343] woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *ba-ku-ru'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *awa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

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868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

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● 832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

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251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *habas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 20), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

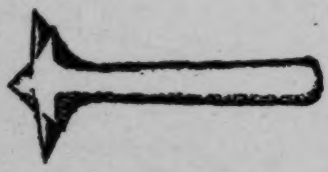

FIG. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily. [832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

[p. 10-A]

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Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-gun that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nga* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nga* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nga* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nga* and must be purified.

783 [262] [761] [843] [689]

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

[262] [834]

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tribis he is called *Zi-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zö-bo'* and by the Boruca, *Si'-bö*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

776

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291 mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men
[177] have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly the hair
302 was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright-colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat.

291 The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of mastate. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo-blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe and wound round the waist by the midribs. With nothing above nor below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partially conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty dress, I must do these
291 people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both
834 men and women. In a year and a half of life in their country, traveling constantly with a body of them, bathing, fording rivers, living in their houses, and seeing more than strangers generally do of the intimate domestic life of the people they are among, I can only recall a single instance of carelessness, and not one of a wanton exposure of those parts of the person, that their ideas of modesty required to be kept covered.

291 The dress just described is that of the Bri-bris and Cabecars. The Tiribi men, where they do not wear pantaloons, always use the native cotton breech-cloth, never the mastate. The women wear a long strip of cotton cloth, made with a hole in the middle, like a poncho, and reaching before and behind, nearly to the ground. It is gathered up at the waist by a belt, and the edges are caused to overlap at the same time, so that the whole person is securely covered. I was also told that under this they wear a species of breech-cloth or drawers. They are much more retiring in their manner than their Bri-bri sisters; never speak

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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● [894]

301 237 "For ornaments all wear necklaces; the favorite ones are made of teeth, of which those of the tiger are most highly prized. Only the canine teeth are used. Small strings are sometimes made of monkey, coon, or other teeth, but are not much thought of. I have seen one of these made of five strings of tiger teeth, gradually diminishing in size, and covering the entire breast of the wearer. The women rarely, almost never, wear these. If they wear teeth, they are of some very small animal. In place of them, they wear great quantities of glass beads. I have seen fully three pounds of beads around the neck of one old woman. . . . . Even little girls are often so loaded down that the weight must be irksome to them. . . . . On one occasion, I paid a man six dollars, all in Costa Rican quarters, for his month's work. After a few days, I went to his house and saw the entire sum strung on his wife's neck. Shells are some-

301

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868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a socket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

● 837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavugra*, who
[184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
849] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann [147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hák-namá* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

● 839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been 757 noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and 755 magical elements included in curing are songs 533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to [787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wímbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

844 tier,[35] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-krá*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
[178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuikʃ·as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

881 **Puberty.** There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikʃ·as* to drink so that they will not grow per long.

[35] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kuikʃas* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

575 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

* Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
● 841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even,
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
192 [100] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[100] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
siɥ is confronted with a question concerning
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presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
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784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
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around the house, touching it with a stick, and
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Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
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[752] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
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should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
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825 Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[779] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—analyst]

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
926 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavagra*, who
[184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
842] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

842 One of the most important functions of the witch doctor appears to be the control of birth. The *Boruca* have long been famous for having children only when they feel like it, not using an abortive, but a preventive or a provocative, as the case might be. They are very reticent [648] to admit even the existence of such a practice, however, through fear of the priest and of the Costa Rican Government, which in the past has persecuted the Talamancan peoples for this, as we shall see further on.

Both processes are brought about by taking certain liquid preparations given by the witch doctor. The sterilization process is called a *curada*, and when a woman has one or two children, the Indians say quite frankly that she is *curada*. It appears possible to be *curada* and then go to the *curandera* and become pregnant when one wants. Both remedies are drinks made from certain leaves, fungi, roots, and ferns. The sterilizing brew must be taken for fifteen days, stopped for fifteen days, and taken again for fifteen days. If badly prepared or taken too consistently without the interval in between, the drink is said to kill by causing hemorrhages. The neighbors of the *Boruca* all have, at least, the remedy to stop conception. The *Térraba*[30] do not practise it so often [177] today, as the Roman Catholic Church has apparently had more influence on them. The *Térraba* claim that their population has decreased violently since the past century because their women made themselves too sterile, and both sexes began to live together in any manner. They add that because of this, a curse has been put on them and they are dying out. It is a pity there is no census record to serve as comparative material. All of the remaining Talamanca peoples, such as the *Bribri*, the *Chirripó*, and the *Cabécares*, seem also to know this custom. In an unpublished report of Fathers Vincente Krautwog and Augustín Blessing of several trips made by them to the missions of Talamanca in the years 1894 to 1902, the originals of which are in the parochial archives in Limón, Costa Rica, the following statements are significant:

The women of the Estrella (valley) have very few children, because of certain remedies which they take

[p. 26-8]

842 without misgiving, publically, in order not to have off-spring. (These Indians were living in Caña Coén.)

I hardly baptized a baby, because a large portion of the women are sterile through a remedy which they take, be it from being deceived, be it from being lost, be it from their own evilness, taking and masticating in the woods the bark and the juice (sap) of dangerous trees. There are about four old women who are most guilty: María Caferina and Margarita in the house of Simeón, Rosalía, mother of Luis Quirós, and María, called "camisa," mother of the woman who lives with Miguel Medina, some four hours distant from Simeón. The evil of this "cure" ("curar"), being so alarming, I wrote a letter to the Mayor (Alcalde) don Lucas Alvarado, in which I authorized the authorities of Estrella to at least threaten these criminal women, in case they could not be intimidated, to take them prisoners to Limón. I attacked strongly on a thousand occasions this evil. . . .

The above was written in the year 1894. In 1897, we find the following:

The great evil of taking means not to bring forth young, is disappearing, and once again children are being born.

In Buenos Aires which is situated between Boruca and Talamanca, the Chirícano women are said to drink a preparation made by boiling [278] the leaves and stem of *Justicia tinctoria* ([Oerst.] Hemsl.) and drinking a gourd of this three times daily the first day of menstruation. As yet, we have not been able to verify this usage, but it is a curious fact that in the majority of the yards of these people this plant is [296] found. The excuse given for this plant is that it is used to wash clothes, serving as bluing.

The medicine to induce pregnancy is apparently more complicated than that to stop conception. The following is an analysis made by Dr. Reif in the United Fruit Company laboratory in La Lima, Honduras, of this medicine from the *Boruca* Indians:

278 842 A brown liquid with some flocculent precipitate and a strong odor of hydrogen sulfide indicating purition of organic matter. It is an aqueous solution containing some tannins but no alcohols, alkaloide or saponines. After evaporation of the liquid and removal of hydrogen sulfide smell, a strong odor re-

278 842 sembling that of Castoreum remained. This odor is possibly derived from glands of some tropical animal since beavers do not occur there.

The tannins would indicate that some bark or barks were used in the preparation. Microscopical examination of the residue did not give any clues.

[171] A few places where such practices as these are known are Africa, the Fiji Islands, and Ecuador.

278 757 The following is a list of the more generally known cures used by the *Boruca* and usually prescribed by the *curandera*.

Malaria is treated by drinking the liquid left from cooking the bark of a tree called *hombre grande* (*Quassia amara* L.), and sometimes, from boiling the fruits of the *cedrón* (*Simaba Cedron* Planch.)

For stomach-aches, a vine called in Boruca *so-kra'* (*Philodendron* sp.) is boiled with the ever useful *Kuikʃ·as* (*Piper* spp.), and drunk.

Dysentery in adults is treated by boiling the bark of the María tree, the guava tree, the leaves and the yuca-like root of the *contrayerva* (*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.), and the ripe vanilla pod (*Vanilla fragrans* [Salisb] Ames).

Rheumatism is treated by rubbing the afflicted parts with the oil of the copaiba tree.

To stop boils, the leaves of the *kana kra'* (*Conostegia extinctoria* [Bonpl.] D. Don.) are used in combination with a lard made from the marrow of the leg bones of a cow and lemon juice. The lard helps to keep the leaves in place, and is supposed to aid in drawing out the poison.

752 278 For snake bites, some Indians, but not all, as the majority go to a *sukia* for this, use the leaf of the *guaco* (*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.). They mash the leaf, soak it in water, and then put it on the afflicted parts. Another remedy for snake bites is to use the bulb or root of the *Strychnos* or *curarina* vine (*Strychnos toxifera* Schonb. ex Benth.). This is cut into pieces and mixed with the *guaco* leaf and boiled very well. The resulting liquid is drunk. The most effective remedy for snake bites, however, seems to be the resin from the *caraña* tree (*Protium* spp.). This tree grows on the coast, particularly near Dominical. The resin is mixed with honey and is both drunk and applied to the bite.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that
827 which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the
843 influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods
[343] and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *bu-ku-ru'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *awa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after which, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "eboo" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

783 [262] [761] [843] [689]

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

[262] [834]

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Sí-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zí-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zú-bo'* and by the Borucas, *Sí'-bûh*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

776

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

783 disuse and before they can be used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a long time, the custom is to beat them with a stick before touching them . . . . A house long unused must be swept and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short, every accessible part of the interior. The next day, it is fit for occupation. A place not visited for a long time or reached for the first time is *bu-ku-ru'* . . . .
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[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
805 192 5 days past *skfLi*		5 days after today *skfiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require [756] the aid of the medicine man. Even on the [184] Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [609] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

● 843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb [99] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [961] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[99] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1 [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

● 843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

[P. 47(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

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FOLKLORE

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THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

*539

10. *serike* and the Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. In the beginning *sibu* made this place for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile the water-jaguar passed. He woke up. (*2*) Then *serike* sent the cormorant to look for [him so that] he could eat [him]. The road of the water-jaguar passes through the sea. Here in this place he remained.

11. *ók-namá-te*[270] (*Cabécar*)

1. *ók-namá-te* protects us. In the time of[271] pregnancy then he sleeps. Then the water-jaguar passes to bother us. When we drown[272] in the water then he drinks us like cacao. (*2*) He considers[273] us as ripe cacao. He breaks [it[274] and] he puts [it] on his back. He goes with this from pool to pool[275] [saying] "let's drink cacao." People do not believe him.

2. Where the owner of the pool says, "Good," then there he drinks us. Then he throws away our body. Then *ók-namá* awakes. He sees [that] the weeds are dry.[276] Then he passes quickly. He sends the cormorant to look for [him] with *serike*.

3. The water-jaguar [is] bad. Because of this he hides far away. But there *serike* takes [him]. (*2*) All who drink cacao like this *serike* carries all to *ók-namá*.

---

10. serikete dí-namá

1. šis mą ilə dí-namá. ką jí šuá sibote ságotə sə-jéną. jəšíšíwá káLu ikánana. i-kapáua. jedLéiska i-jkájų. ikjnągą. (*2*) jégipa serikete tógLə patká iišeLə kətéi-te. dí-namá ną́Lagj tkáju ró dəše šąwa. jiska kagj i-atanagę.

11. ók-namą-te

1. ók-namą-te sejé kənanegę. bigugę bukLu[277] késka jera jié kapajánami. jera dí-namą tkągejú sejé wabLéwą. bigugé sejé šénawą digLó-ná jera jiéte sə šawą tsiru šé. (*2*) sejé sąąite tsiró Li. butsəgęksąite je megągai-te itikigj. je-wa imigę tipə etkə, etkə, "sə tsiró šə." ka pote ikuge.

2. maj tipə guaguá teišá, "ajo," jera jéska sejé šegęwąite. jera sə kuLítə jąąjtsąite.[278] jera ók-namą ikinagá. teisuegę kakó tsinatuLamí. jera ijkájų békti. togLə patkegęi-te iišuLə serike-ra.

3. dí-namą rə seLwí. je-kueigj jekhLagę komi. jera jéska serike teišegętsą. (*2*) kLabete tsiró ša jegəpi kLabé migę serike-wą ók-namą-ją.

[776]

[270] This spirit guards the entrance to the world under the sea.
[271] Literally, "when."
[272] Literally, "die."
[273] Literally, "looks at."
[274] Le., us.
[275] Literally, "pool other other."
[276] The mark of the water on the vegetation on the river banks is a sign of flood.
[277] A pregnant woman is said to be *bukLu*. The idea is that something evil or dangerous is in her (*see* Taboo).
[278] This signifies that the body is washed to the river bank and floats.

[843]

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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142 before, that of the mammary gland proper, on the approach of puberty, and is more obvious then, than after the gland has acquired its full rotundity. After marriage, the areola gradually sinks, leaving the nipple standing out prominently in its centre.

128 In treating of the manners and customs of these people, I shall include the three tribes of Tiribi, Bri-bri, and Cabecar as one, and shall only mention them separately where points of difference occur. First in the order comes the birth of the young savage.

789 827 843 All the world, or rather all the ignorant world, and even a part of that which considers itself reasonably enlightened, entertains a belief in the influence on the child, of certain impressions made on the mother during pregnancy. Doubtless the general mental state of the mother has an influence on her progeny. But the belief exists among these Indians, in its full force, that the sight of certain objects by the mother will influence her child physically. They go further. The mother is given to wearing certain charms to that end. The eyes of the fish hawk give the future fisher the power to see his prey beneath the water; the teeth of the tiger (also worn by both sexes for purely ornamental purposes), when used as an amulet makes the future hunter swift and strong in the chase; the hairs of a horse make him strong to carry loads, and a piece of cotton pushed inside of her girdle by a white man, is certain to make the child of a lighter complexion.

844 [343] When the time of parturition approaches, the father goes into the woods and builds a little shed, at a safe distance from the house. To this the woman retires as soon as she feels the labor pains coming on. Here, alone and unassisted, she brings forth her young. Difficult delivery is as rare as among the lower animals. As soon as the delivery is effected, the mother of the woman, if present, and in her absence, some other old woman approaches the mother and, with great circumspection to avoid the defilement of *bu-ku-ra'*, of which I shall speak further on, places within her reach a piece of wild cane, so split as to make a rude knife. The mother ties the umbilical cord and severs it with this knife. No other kind is permitted. She is also supplied in the same manner with some tepid water in a folded plantain leaf, in which she washes the child. She then collects the after-birth, &c., and buries it, after which she goes to the nearest water and bathes herself. An *awa*, or medicine man then ap-
846 pears on the scene. He causes the mother to theoretically wash herself again, by dipping her fingers into a calabash of water, which he forthwith drinks. He then lights a pipe of tobacco, blowing the smoke over her. He then purifies himself by washing his hands, after ~~which~~, and not before, all are permitted to return to the house. The recovery of the mother is so prompt that it may be more properly said, she has nothing to recover from. I have seen a young mother, with her first child not yet a week old, attending to her ordinary duties as if nothing had happened.

551 The matter of names is very loose and arbitrary. It is almost impossi-

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).
[439 524]

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao.
324

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[32] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the
[825]

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camibar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camibar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.
[783]

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[32] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

373 **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from
237 wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed
388 with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a
[294] vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied
[412] to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in
824 every Boruca household. The women rub it
[302] in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain reme-
[15] dies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk.
[272] This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS
OF TIME

805 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people
802 runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for
[17] the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does
804 not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE,

● 344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tə ʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[32] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[32] Pittier, 1908, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

844 tier,[35] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-krá*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
[178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuikʃ-as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

831 **Puberty.** There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikʃ-as* to drink so that they will not flow per lung.

[36] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

[p. 21-A]

805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1 [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

● 844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

756 term is *siá* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are
778 called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkú-*
[172] *swa*. They resemble small river stones and are sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves. Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to the medicine man on special occasions, or are handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan. When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish to give his own stones to a young professional, his brother or clan keeps them until a new doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without these two stones although other ones are also used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the particular animal when one hunts and it is for this reason the Indians say that medicine men never lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose the medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.100(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apískicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

824
[278]
[845]
[272]
[844]

CABÉCAR

	Latin	Use
popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bóLk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacia sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

[278]
[386]
[515]
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LIFE CYCLE

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** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid. The medicine man talks for two nights and 756 passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik* 846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe [824] who is also washed with leaves which sup- [751] posedly have protective powers. These leaves include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day, [783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé- 756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the [783] child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps [756] the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[192] [101] This is called the *papakusk* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taʒe*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense* [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[824] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

● 846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kusk* is "to bathe."
192 [108] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

[P.65(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

*539 312 757 [262]

In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

The Pejibaye

(*Bribri*)

*539 824 846

sibu gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) Tobacco[200]

(*Bribri*)

*539 276 [261]

sibu was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

Cacao (Chocolate)

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776

sibu had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiṇə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiṇə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

*539 824

This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even 582
against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden 684
limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers.

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the 837
woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour 684
if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for [848]
fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers 601
and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations.

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in 593
default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then 768
called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion.

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a per- 764
son of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I 766
had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the [372]
face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a [784]
small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation.

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavugra*, who
[184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
842] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

[p. 22-A]

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkíwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*ñame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak	kəberiwak
duriwak	uniwak
túbuLwak	

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak	mediwak
mógriwak	brupawak
kəbériwak	túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest
611 in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves
● [851] members of their *father's* clan in spite of the fact that the father has married outside of his people

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *nibor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to [767] resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid. The medicine man talks for two nights and 756 passes a variety of leaves, including *silk* 846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe [824] who is also washed with leaves which sup- [751] posedly have protective powers. These leaves include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogon citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day, [783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé- 756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the [783] child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

● 853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps [756] the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[101] This is called the *papakuak* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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ble for a stranger to learn the true name of an Indian, directly from the 551
person himself, although his friends may divulge it, and this is looked
upon almost in the light of either a breach of confidence, or a practical [522]
joke. After long acquaintance, they may be prevailed upon, but even
then are more apt to give a false name than to tell the truth, so great is
their reluctance. One fellow, who was my servant for over three months,
after always denying having a name, at last told me a pet name, or
"nick-name" that he had had as a child. It is customary for children
to have provisional names, or to be called only "boy" or "girl" as the
case may be, until the whim of an acquaintance or some equally arbitrary
circumstance fixes a title to them. Besides the native name, generally
derived from some personal quality, or not seldom the name of some ani-
mal or plant, almost all of the Indians possess a foreign name, by which
they are known, and which they do not hesitate to communicate. Among
themselves, when the name is unknown, a person is called by the name
of the place where he lives. Mr. Lyon says all the women have names,
as well as the men. But my experience with them is never to have heard
them called by other titles than "girl," "woman," "*wishy*" (applied
familiarly to young married women), or "so-and-so's wife" or daugh-
ter, except in the case of a few of the more civilized men, who have given
Christian names to their families.

Children are not generally weaned early. In case of the birth of a se- 862
cond child, the first is weaned perforce. But it is nothing strange to see
a child well able to walk, say even two years old, go to the breast as a
matter of course, although sufficiently accustomed to more solid food.

Small babies are carried on the back, astride the hips of the woman, 854
and supported by a broad strip of bark or cotton cloth, passed around
both, and secured in front by a dexterous tucking in of the ends. When
they become larger, they are carried on one hip, supported by the arm;
or are placed on top of the load, if the mother is traveling. They sit
perched on the bundle, with a foot dangling either over or behind each
shoulder of the mother, and soon learn to hold on like monkeys.

The training of the youth is left almost entirely to themselves. Among 866
the Tiribi they are taught to respect and obey their parents, but in the
other tribes they are more insolent and disrespectful to their parents than
to other persons. I have seen a boy of ten years old absolutely refuse to
obey some trifling command of his mother, and she seemed to have no
power to enforce her order. The little girls learn early to accompany the 868
older girls and women when they go out to bring water. Their usual
station, in the house, is at the side of the fire, where, as soon as they are
large enough, they assist in fanning the fire, preparing plantains for the
pot or watching the cooking. The boys will sometimes deign to hunt
fire-wood, but they are more apt to be playing by the side of the river
with mimic bow and arrow, learning to shoot fish under water. Their 524
toys are mostly diminutive copies of the tools and weapons of more ad- 868
vanced age. The machete of the man is represented by a good sized

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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415
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BRIBRI FAMILY TRAVELING, SHOWING BURDEN BASKET IN USE, ALSO THE METHOD OF CARRYING A CHILD.

[facing p. 62]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [854] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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[854]

also the method of carrying a child on the back of a Bribri woman when traveling.

A specimen of a handsome type of basket, made of split palm-leaves or of cane, fashioned in a diagonal twilled technique like some of the baskets of the Alibamu, Choc-

FIG. 4. Basket for holding trinkets (diam. 9¼ in.).

taw, and other Indians of our Gulf states, is illustrated in fig. 4. Such baskets are used for holding trinkets, and are not common.

longer easily accessible, caulking is done with 396
the wax from a related species found around 237
Boruca, or from the glue made from a palm belonging to the genus *Elaeis* and called in Boruca, *tuskra'* (see p. 19), and with the gum of the wild rubber tree (see pp. 19–20).

There remain certain families of "river In- 502
dians" who are famous for their skill with the dug-outs, particularly in the rapids, and there were formerly outstanding sailors for the sea-going *bongos*. On the river, both paddles with plain handles and poles are used.

Carrying Devices. Generally, the women 482
carry cargo (see figs. 7, *a*; 8, *a*). The men very [462]
seldom do such labor. A tumpline is used to support the article which rests on the back of the individual or in a *haba* (see below), which is also carried in a similar manner (see fig. 8, *a*). Occasionally, string bags (see fig. 8, *b–4*, *5*, 7, and p. 18) are swung from the forehead down the back. They are, however, rarely used like this, being generally left to hang on the house wall. Babies are carried in a shawl [854]
or cloth on the back.

MANUFACTURES

desired pieces. *Pita* is not used for heavy rope, 283
but is made into cord and a "fishing line" which is tied to the fishing spear or arrow (see p. 8). The leaf of the *cabuya* is beaten on stones until it is pulpy, after which it is washed, and then dried in the sun. When dry, it is pulled into strips.

Figure 8, *d* is a sample of the two kinds of rope the *Boruca* make. The upper portion is twisted and braided, while the lower half is only braided. This last method makes a stronger rope. When the rope is finished, it is tied at the end, and one of the strips is twisted around the whole, passed through the braid, and then pulled tightly.

Basketry. The typical basket of the *Bo-* 285
ruca is what is called in Spanish the *haba*, and in Boruca *ba'va*. It is woven by the men. The *haba* (see figs. 7, *b–2*; 8, *a*, *b–1*, *3*) is made only from the *bejuco negro*, the strips of which must be cut in lengths according to the size desired for the finished product, as in this type of basket one cannot add extra length or depth. The smallest *haba* is about 9 inches in depth, and is used for washing corn. For a

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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[417]

[291
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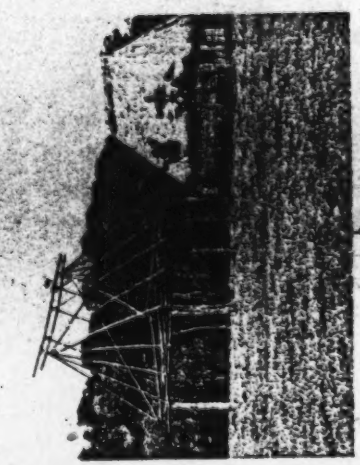

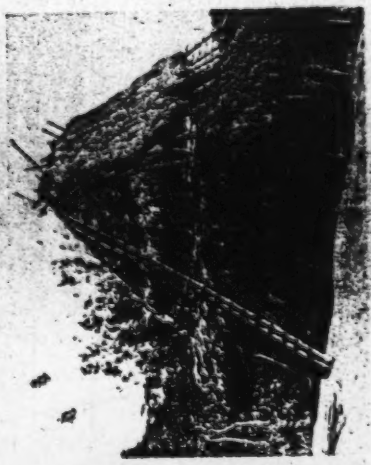

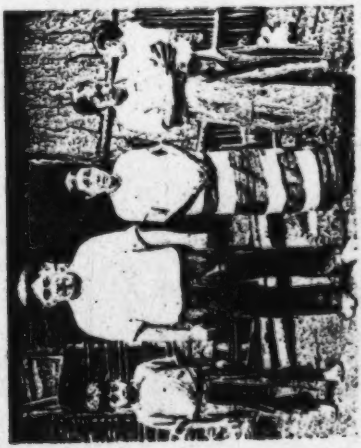

A, Two types of house construction in same house. *B*, Bare framework of roof, Palmar Norte. *C*, Roof [illegible] in more advanced stage, Boruca. *D*, Partly finished roof showing framework, grass, and ladder.

[p. 56]

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konọ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (FIG. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every 248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that they consider as very essential to prevent bad [777] luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing clothes, some women also make cotton thread [294] on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taʒe*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict
[262] diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[278] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

●854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuɔk* is "to bathe."
192 [100] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[101] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
[856] crawl and they are given anything they cry
863 for. It is interesting to note that habits in connection with excretion are taught practically from birth. The child is taken out of the house and held up while he does his needs. He is not allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or a father lie in a hammock with his small children beside him. Parents pay attention to personal details, such as wiping a child's nose or washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes are taught to swim and help to make fires, using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when sitting on the low benches or on the ground before the hearth. At the age of seven, they begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt, using small arrows for training. When the adults are out in the fields or hunting, children up to ten years old stay at home to tend the fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no school and all lore is learned by word of mouth on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have some connection with the handling of the dead (*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line. Often they play with mud daubers' nests or similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

142
291
301
302
[531]

a

b

[854]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. c, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. d, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]

.6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabécar

142
291
302

a

b

[516
301
854]

c

d

a, Bribri man. *b*, Bribri woman. *c*, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. Note Boruca metate on woman. *d*, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

[END PLATE 9]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

142
302
291

a

b

142
302
291
854
231

d

c

a, Bribri boy. *b*, Bribri girl. *c*, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. *d*, Bribri man.

[END PLATE 12]

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[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

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192 [189] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[190] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

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[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat three times a day in their own homes.

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[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no school and all lore is learned by word of mouth on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
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[167] lengthy manner to those who want to have some connection with the handling of the dead (*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line. Often they play with mud daubers' nests or similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

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535 [171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

The other dances which are performed in public are danced only by the younger generation. The steps are entirely borrowed from [177] the Chiriquíans, who formerly and even still inhabit much of southern Costa Rica. The favorite dances are the *cumbia*, the *punto Chiricano*, and the waltz. All of these, with the single exception of the waltz, are danced individually and not by a couple holding one another close.

525 **Games and Gambling.** The *Boruca* are not a gambling people. They appear to have no interest in any sort of gambling. Dice are almost unheard of, and perhaps one pack of cards can be found in the whole village.

524 857 The boys have a game called *cuepas*. This is played with round pieces of bee's wax shaped almost like the cap of a pop bottle. One of these are placed face down, and a boy throws a similar piece on top of it. If the result of the impact causes both pieces to be face up, the boy who threw the *cuepa* wins, and takes the other *cuepa* as well as his own. If the result is otherwise, he loses his *cuepa*. Boys carry a ball of wax in their pockets for the express purpose of making *cuepas*.

Tops, made of wood with a nail serving as the pointed end, are also seen. They are not very popular, however.

[p. 30-B]

[pp. 31 and 32 contain no text]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Bicryto;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Chonguen;* the fifth is called *Zeguo;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymí.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

822 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

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[P. 28 (B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

872 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ble for a stranger to learn the true name of an Indian, directly from the 551
person himself, although his friends may divulge it, and this is looked
upon almost in the light of either a breach of confidence, or a practical [522]
joke. After long acquaintance, they may be prevailed upon, but even
then are more apt to give a false name than to tell the truth, so great is
their reluctance. One fellow, who was my servant for over three months,
after always denying having a name, at last told me a pet name, or
"nick-name" that he had had as a child. It is customary for children
to have provisional names, or to be called only "boy" or "girl" as the
case may be, until the whim of an acquaintance or some equally arbitrary
circumstance fixes a title to them. Besides the native name, generally
derived from some personal quality, or not seldom the name of some ani-
mal or plant, almost all of the Indians possess a foreign name, by which
they are known, and which they do not hesitate to communicate. Among
themselves, when the name is unknown, a person is called by the name
of the place where he lives. Mr. Lyon says all the women have names,
as well as the men. But my experience with them is never to have heard
them called by other titles than "girl," "woman," "*wishy*" (applied
familiarly to young married women), or "so-and-so's wife" or daugh-
ter, except in the case of a few of the more civilized men, who have given
Christian names to their families.

Children are not generally weaned early. In case of the birth of a se- 862 ●
cond child, the first is weaned perforce. But it is nothing strange to see
a child well able to walk, say even two years old, go to the breast as a
matter of course, although sufficiently accustomed to more solid food.

Small babies are carried on the back, astride the hips of the woman, 854
and supported by a broad strip of bark or cotton cloth, passed around
both, and secured in front by a dexterous tucking in of the ends. When
they become larger, they are carried on one hip, supported by the arm;
or are placed on top of the load, if the mother is traveling. They sit
perched on the bundle, with a foot dangling either over or behind each
shoulder of the mother, and soon learn to hold on like monkeys.

The training of the youth is left almost entirely to themselves. Among 866
the Tiribi they are taught to respect and obey their parents, but in the
other tribes they are more insolent and disrespectful to their parents than
to other persons. I have seen a boy of ten years old absolutely refuse to
obey some trifling command of his mother, and she seemed to have no
power to enforce her order. The little girls learn early to accompany the 868
older girls and women when they go out to bring water. Their usual
station, in the house, is at the side of the fire, where, as soon as they are
large enough, they assist in fanning the fire, preparing plantains for the
pot or watching the cooking. The boys will sometimes deign to hunt
fire-wood, but they are more apt to be playing by the side of the river
with mimic bow and arrow, learning to shoot fish under water. Their 524
toys are mostly diminutive copies of the tools and weapons of more ad- 868
vanced age. The machete of the man is represented by a good sized

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844 tier,[35] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-krá*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
[178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuikſ·as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

● 863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

881 **Puberty.** There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikſ·as* to drink so that they will not grow per long.

[36] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

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1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on [836] principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [595] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other [585] equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of ceremony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The 614 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kɥikʃ-as* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

●868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

575 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

[a] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
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There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
101 *Talamancas;* the first is that of the same name, which embraces
131 two others called *Cabécara* and *Bicrylo;* the second is called *Térraba;* the third, *Thórar,* on account of living upon an island of that name on the coast of the North Sea;[11] the fourth is named *Chonguen;* the fifth is called *Zegua;* the sixth, *Thorasque,* and the seventh, *Guaymi.* Of these the last three are in the districts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme,* and the first four in this district of *Guatemala.*[12]

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike; for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
[411] spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
[868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
[857] skilfull in the handling of them.

All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Tala-*
291 *mancas* covering their private parts with girdles. The women all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
[286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get by cutting trees.

The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
304 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
[302] greatest hardiness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding places they put *copal,*[13] which makes them swell up, and some even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

[11] The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón.*

[12] The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
[114] inasmuch as the *Zeguas, Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies,* in the territory of *Costa Rica;* but it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of *Colón,* and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica.* M. M. P.

[13] *Protium copal.*

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765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, [868] took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in [415] boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burio* fiber over the leaf.

An old woman, dressed in machine-made [177] material decorated with a striped design to [767] resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burio* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for distinctions in beliefs and living habits between
101 one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

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[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

872 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
● [871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and
[765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis
764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri-
614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pu* (*see* Funeral and Bone
764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pu* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in
[775] *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches from rapine birds and beasts. After a year,
765 when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has
[177] undertaken an educational program to incorporate the Talamancans into the Costa
[871] Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kuikʃ-as* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

575 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

** Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

[p. 21-B]

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

● 892 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 Marriage. The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise fol[illegible]wed on both
[184] sides of the range although [illegible] yet unseen among the youth of the P[illegible]ope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. [illegible]st wife is always the head of the fam[illegible] and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

844 tier,[35] spells the Boruca name as *tsú-kra*. Both writers identify the plant as *Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne. The third composite of the bath is the bark of a tree growing along the Diquis River, which tree is called *sotacaballo* in Spanish (*Pithecolobium latifolium* [L.] Benth.). It is supposed to give luck and strength, because of its hard wood, to the child. The baby is then
301 given a bracelet, and, frequently a necklace,
751 which are made of tiger and caiman teeth and black and red and black seeds called *neno* or *nene* in Spanish, the black come from the male tree, and the red and black from the female. Pittier reports a similar seed used, but does not give its name, merely claiming that it comes from a small tree (*palo*). In addition, he adds, that the metacarpus of the wood rat and the second joint of the leg of the beetle or a member of the *Coleoptera* family, and the skulls of guatusas, a member of the rodent family, were used on the bracelet, strung on cotton thread, and wrapped three times around the arm. He states that this was to plant virtue in the child's heart.[36] Today, none of these last-
[178] mentioned items are seen. Even the teeth, which are used at present, and are supposed to bring strength to the child, are often replaced by coins.

846 The mother is bathed for three successive days with a liquid made from boiling the leaves of the *guayabo* tree (see p. 6), and the leaves of the *kuet* or *sotacaballo* to strengthen her. In addition to this, she does not drink milk or coffee, nor does she eat pork, nor wet her hands, nor touch food in the kitchen for fifteen days. She does not resume relations with her husband for forty days. However, at least four times a day, she drinks a brew made from the root of *kuikſ·as* or *cordoncillo* (see p. 11) This is taken to stop the lochia. The mother is up after two days, at the most, but does not resume regular work for eight days.

863 When the baby is between nine and ten months old, he is weaned, and fed atol made of rice and of corn.

● 881 Puberty. There is no evidence of puberty
841 ceremonies. When girls begin to menstruate, which occurs between twelve and fifteen years, they are given *kuikſ·as* to drink so that they will not grow per long.

[35] Pittier, 1908, p. 162.

[p. 21-A]

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

● 881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Furthermore, she cannot drink water other than that
[271] from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[264] during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kusk* is "to bathe."
192 [109] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[109] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

755 787 [776] The stones are also consulted for curing and for prophesying the result. When one of the *sią* is confronted with a question concerning the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu* who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No one, not even the greatest medicine man, has ever seen him. He confers with the stone and disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some medicine men say that they have heard his presence in the sense that in the dead of night, when waiting for an answer, there is sometimes a sound as that of a small chick.

784 [776] [783] **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see* Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanliness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost importance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes *bukLú* and if it is his bad luck to return ill, then it is very dangerous. The only way to remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all around the house, touching it with a stick, and then to do the same to everything inside. The Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and *ksisk* (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] [841] [843] [783] [752] [825] [779] The first menstrual period is particularly *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is ever free from tabu during this condition. A pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by this evil which requires a medicine man to cure or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the *bukLú* in her compel her to die.

Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

FOLKLORE

173 926 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn between legend and actual history. Events are reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men of the Cabécares still recount their version of war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150] The following is an Indian account of this event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

756 head man placed five folded carrying bags,
[352] one with a stone inside belonging to the novice; a paper package; two stones; and the basket with the feathers. These stones were not part of the *sɨ́ɨ́* and were handed to the chief medicine man by his wife. As each object was put on the bench, every medicine man and the aspirant had to put a hand on it. The principal medicine man took the basket and put it first on the stool and then on the earthen floor of the house and announced that it was time to rest. All got up.

At this point, the first wife of the head man handed him a gourd lined with banana leaves and filled with hot chocolate (unsweetened). He took it and all left the main house, singing, and went to a smaller one where there was a kitchen. There they said to two women who were cooking by the fire, "*ɨɨkeʒichərkɨ́*" (here many people do not fit), and "*sɨ́ɨ́ tsurú ibaɨ sɨ́ɨ́*" (*sɨ́ɨ́* chocolate heat for *sɨ́ɨ́*).

[824] Then they took a pile of *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) leaves from a *tabanco* and brought it to the first house saying, "*ʒəbi* (this stands for *sɨ́ɨ́*) *dibaLa* (chocolate hot; if *ʒəbi* were not before this word, it would mean water hot, but the name for the stones changes the meaning) *mekɨ́* (put)." This is a phrase used ceremoniously. Freely translated it signifies, "They are going to heat chocolate for *ʒəbi*."

The witnesses answered, "*ékékê*" (good).

The medicine men brought in the chocolate in an iron pot and placed it on the floor beside the bench with the stones, another bunch of leaves, and leaf-wrapped packages of white maize chicha. The *bijaguas* were to be used as cups for the chocolate. They said to those present, "Wait. We are going to serve the feast." All replied, "Good."

They brought in more leaves and a child came with water in a gourd. This was immediately taken by a medicine man and was placed on leaves on the floor beside the bench.

The first wife of the head medicine man and another woman sat on a long bench. They were to serve the feast. All women who participate in this ceremony must be old or at
[887] least middle-aged. The men sat opposite on another long bench and the chief one began to chant, "*milkadioʒək*" (let's drink this). Each medicine man, always holding his staff and

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to • [888] as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, presents of a piece of game are made to a 431 neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 484 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, [576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

888 *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 80]

* 539

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

4. The brother asked the sister, "Why did you come?" She answered her brother, "I came to return [to] this place." Thus they conversed together.

5. He heard the jaguar roar. The jaguar said to the woman [and] her brother, "We shall live in the house." They all went to work. When they returned, then everything was cooked. Thus it happened daily.

8. *serike*'s Mother (*Bribri*)

1. *serike*'s mother is the daughter of *itsǫ́*. *serike* is eight men [in one]. He once wanted to go with a woman. *itsǫ́* ate [*serike*'s] mother. Then they [the family] became angry with their grandfather. Afterwards they went where the world ends. (*Z*) But then they said to their grandfather, "We will return to see you within four days. You remain waiting for us here." Then [*serike*] went where his old grandmother [was[203]].

2. Four days went by. He returned right away to see his grandfather. Then he [*serike*] put plumes on his head. He met his grandfather. Then he carried away the root[204] to kill him. (*Z*) Then we see much wind blowing.[205] This happens in the summer all the time.

9a. The Stone Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the stone jaguar. Everywhere *sibu* made the

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4. ikəte ichagá ikutąną, "jirəwągLə bo betena?" ike kugaite, "sbita-jika ką mjnąną." jebibo ikta ną̨ra.

5. ksaitera namą uLurgę. namąte ila iLagLáną ləbuku bokeną, "sąte senewemi jujarga." jiewą migę kLabé ikabLə. biguge danera, jirə bikaLe tsǫ LiLejka. jerə kegarra.

8. serike amí

1. serike amí-rər itsǫ́ aLabusi. serike rər pagəL wepa. emí ké ą́ aLakarpa tą e-togLoną. itsǫ́-tə[206] imí kate-wa. nęę iepa uLąna iduo-ki. ukaska i-michórąk wę ką-ąak wəbLerkęę. (*Z*) éra éta iduó ą́ i-cheąt, "ką́ tkeL-njwową sarəmęLę bosuk. je mąąte sá kistsok." nęę i-michoe iujkékeLasąk.

2. kąre tkeL-njwowatą. ilkəąnąmęLę iduó ɜuLánmeLe. éta iwəkir-ki duka tuLákąiwą. iduó kuwą éta ikuąmiwą[207] ujtéwą. (*Z*) éta sé-tsó isuúktą simpé buLar tafe. é wambLéke duás kékəra.

9a. ják namą

1. ɜis-mą ilə namą ják. jiska sibete ikəwa namą ják tsəwiaégLa.

[554]
[888]

[203] Literally, "it was."
[204] I.e., the grandfather who is considered the root of the family.
[205] Literally, "smoke."
[206] Here *to* signifies action.
[207] *ikuą* is root; *mimą* is carried away.